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CONTENTS FOR 1905.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

	PAGE
I.—Some Problems of Ancient Indian History. No. III: The Gūrjara Clans. By A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, Ph.D., C.I.E.	1
II.—A Study of Paramārtha's Life of Vasu-bandhu; and the Date of Vasu-bandhu. By J. TAKAKUSU, M.R.A.S., M.A., Dr. Phil.	33
III.—The Pahlavi Texts of the Yasna Haptanghāiti (Y. XXXV—XLI (XLII)), for the first time critically translated. By Professor LAWRENCE MILLS	55
IV.—The Discussion between Abū Bishr Mattā and Abū Sa'id al-Sirāfi on the Merits of Logic and Grammar. By D. S. MARGOLIOUTH	79
V.—Jaunpur and Zafarābād Inscriptions. By Major W. Vost, I.M.S.	131
VI.—The Element <i>ilu</i> in Babylonian Divine Names. By THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES	143
VII.—St. Thomas and Gondophernes. By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (Retd.), Ph.D., C.I.E.	223
VIII.—A Japanese Thoreau of the Twelfth Century. By MINAKATA KUMAGUSU and F. VICTOR DICKINS	237
IX.—The Mānāvūḷu-sandesaya. By LIONEL D. BARNETT, M.A., D.Litt.	265
X.—Piśāca = 'Ωμοφάγος. By G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt.	285
XI.—Epigraphic Researches in Mysore. By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (Retd.), Ph.D., C.I.E.	289

	PAGE
XII.—Násir-i-Khusraw, Poet, Traveller, and Propagandist. By EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., F.B.A.....	313.
XIII.—Saketa, Sha-chi, or Pi-so-kia. By Major W. Vost, I.M.S.	437
XIV.—The Pahlavi Texts of the Srōš Yašt with its Intro- ductions, being Yasna LV–LVI (in S.B.E. xxxi LVI–LVII), for the first time critically translated. By Professor LAWRENCE MILLS	451
XV.—On a Dirham of <u>K</u> husru <u>S</u> hāh of 361 A.H., etc. By H. F. AMEDROZ	471
XVI.—The Nāgarakretāgama List of Countries on the Indo- Chinese Mainland (<i>circa</i> 1380 A.D.). By Colonel G. E. GERINI.....	485
XVII.—List of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Baillie Collection in the Library of Edinburgh University. By RICHARD BELL	513
XVIII.—Omar Khayyam. By H. BEVERIDGE	521
XIX.—Hellenism and Muhammadanism. By E. H. WHINFIELD, M.A.	527
XX.—Bhāmaha the Rhetorician. By M. T. NARASIMHIENGAR, B.A.	535
XXI.—Further Note on Musalman Coins collected by Mr. G. P. Tate in Seistan. By O. CODRINGTON, M.D., F.S.A.	547
XXII.—Nagpur Museum Buddhist Inscription of Bhavadēva Ranakēśarin. By Professor F. KIELHORN, C.I.E. ..	617
XXIII.—Note on a Jain Inscription at Mathurā. By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (Retd.), Ph.D., C.I.E.	635
XXIV.—The Pahlavi Texts of Yasna XIV, XV, XVI, XX, XXI, for the first time critically translated. By Professor LAWRENCE MILLS	657
XXV.—Notes on Three Buddhist Inscriptions. By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (Retd.), Ph.D., C.I.E.	679
XXVI.—Mas‘úd-i-Sa‘d-i-Salmán, by Mírzá Muḥammad b. ‘Abdu’l-Wahháb of Qazwín. Translated by E. G. BROWNE	693

	PAGE
XXVII.—The Haydarābād Codex of the Bābar-nāma or Wāqī'āt-i-bābarī of Zāhīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Bābar, Barlās Turk. By ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE	741
XXVIII.—Indices to the Dīwān of Abū Tammām. By D. S. MARGOLIOUTH	763
XXIX.—Notes on Indian Coins and Seals. Part VI. By E. J. RAPSON	783
XXX.—Some Case-Tablets from Tel-loh. By THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES	815

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

Oriental School at Hanoi	151
Kuṣana (Kushān) Inscriptions. By VINCENT A. SMITH	151
Vaisāli; Seals of Gupta Period. By VINCENT A. SMITH	152
The Inscription P. on the Mathurā Lion-Capital. By J. F. FLEET	154
Roman Coins found in Ceylon. By DONALD FERGUSON	156
The Works of Saṃgha-bhadra, an Opponent of Vasubandhu. By J. TAKAKUSU	158
Kātyāyanī-putra, as the Author of the Mahā-vibhāṣā. By J. TAKAKUSU	159
The Abhidharma Literature, Pāli and Chinese. By J. TAKAKUSU	160
Vindhya-vāsin. By J. TAKAKUSU	162
Gūrjara and Gauḍa. By A. M. T. JACKSON, I.C.S.	163
The Græco-Indian Kings Strato I Soter and Strato II Philopator. By E. J. RAPSON.....	164
Ginger. By J. JOLLY and F. W. THOMAS	167
"Throwing the Stone"	170
Saṃskṛta. By J. KIRSTE	353
Ceylon Epigraphy. By M. DE WICKREMasinghe	354
Vindhya-vāsin. By G. A. JACOB	355
"Throwing the Stone." By Major J. STUART KING ..	356

	PAGE
Vasashka; Vasushka. By J. F. FLEET	357
A Comment on "Some Problems of Ancient Indian History." By J. F. FLEET	358
Note on the Authorship of Nyāyabindu. By G. A. JACOB	361
The Temple of Muzazir in Armenia	362
Satī. By Wm. IRVINE	364
Description of Persia and Mesopotamia in the year 1340 A.D.	364
Jaunpur Inscriptions. By H. BEVERIDGE	364
Note on an Illuminated Persian Manuscript. By H. BEVERIDGE	365
Inscription in the Aṭāla Mosque. By R. P. DEWHURST, I.C.S.	366
A Study of some Onomatopœtic Deśī Words. By B. C. MAZUMDAR	555
Mosquitoes and Fever in Suśruta. By J. JOLLY	558
The Rev. W. Schmidt's two monographs on Indo-Chinese languages. By C.	560
The Baillie Collection of Arabic and Persian MSS. By Wm. IRVINE	560
Trikūṭa and the so-called Kalachuri or Chēdi Era. By J. F. FLEET	566
Harṣacarita, Introductory Verse 18. By F. W. THOMAS; M. T. NARASIMHIENGAR	569
Cases for Binding the Journal	572
Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra. By SATIS CHANDRA VIDYĀBHŪṢAṆA, M.A.	831
Mo-la-p'o. By R. BURN, I.C.S.	837
"Dvipatāmra-dēśa." By DONALD FERGUSON	838
The Date of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍī. By L. D. BARNETT	841
Omar Khayyam's Qita'. By H. BEVERIDGE	842
"The Musnud of Murshidabad (1704-1904)"	842
Testimonial to Professor Rhys Davids	843

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

	PAGE
Lady AMHERST OF HACKNEY. A Sketch of Egyptian History, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. Reviewed by T. G. PINCHES	173
JEAN CAPART. Les Débuts de l'Art en Égypte. By T. G. PINCHES	174
H. J. WEINTZ. Japanese Grammar Self-Taught.— Japanese Grammar. By F. VICTOR DICKINS	179
CAMILLE SAINSON. Nan - Tchao Ye - che, Histoire Particulière du Nan-Tchao. By S. W. B.	180
DON MARTINO DE ZILVA WICKREMASINGHE. Archæological Survey of Ceylon: Epigraphia Zeylanica, vol. i, part 1. By E. MÜLLER	183
PHILIP SCOTT-MONCRIEFF. The Book of Consolations, or the Pastoral Epistles of Mâr Îshô-yahbh of Kûphlânâ in Adiabene. Part I. By S. A. C.....	186
JAMES A. CRICHTON, D.D. Compendious Syriac Grammar. By S. A. COOK	188
FRIEDRICH HIRTH. Chinesische Ansichten über Bronzetrömmeln. By S. W. B.....	192
H. N. STUART. Catalogus der Munten en Amuletten van China, Japan, Corea, en Annam. By S. W. B.	194
Sir CLEMENTS MARKHAM, K.C.B., P.R.G.S. The Voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, 1595 to 1606. By DONALD FERGUSON.....	196
CHARLES FOSSEY. Manuel d'Assyriologie, Fouilles, Écriture, Langues, Littérature, Géographie, Histoire, Religion, Institutions, Art. By T. G. PINCHES	202
Rev. A. T. CLAY, Ph.D. The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. Vol. X: Business - documents of Murašû Sons of Nippur (Darius II). By T. G. PINCHES	205
MAHĀMAHŌPĀDHYĀYA SUDHĀKARA DVIVĒDĪ and SĀHITYŌ-PĀDHYĀYA PAṆḌIT SŪRYA PRASĀDA MĪŚRA. Mānasa-pātrikā. By G. A. GRIERSON	369

	PAGE
Dr. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, C.I.E., and H. A. STARK. A History of India. By VINCENT A. SMITH.....	370
VINCENT A. SMITH. The Early History of India from 600 B.C. to the Muhammadan Conquest, including the Invasion of Alexander the Great. By E. HULTZSCH	373
MAX VAN BERCHEM. Matériaux pour un Corpus In- scriptionum Arabicarum, première partie Égypte. By G. LE STRANGE	375
Colonel Sir THOMAS HUNGERFORD HOLDICH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., R.E. India. By WILLIAM IRVINE	376
LEONE CAETANI. Annali dell' Islām. Vol. I: Intro- duzione dell' anno 1 al 6 H. By H. HIRSCHFELD ..	379
RICHARD GARBE. Die Bhagavadgītā. By E. WASHBURN HOPKINS	384
C. F. OLDHAM. The Sun and the Serpent	389
WILHELM GEIGER. Dīpavaṃsa und Mahāvaṃsa, und die Geschichtliche Überlieferung in Ceylon. By T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.....	391
MAX WALLESER. Die buddhistische Philosophie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung. Erster Teil: Die philosophische Grundlage des älteren Buddhismus. By CAROLINE RHYS DAVIDS	395
HOWARD CROSBY BUTLER, A.M. Publications of an American Archæological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900. Part II: Architecture and other Arts. By J. D. CRACE.....	402
L. W. KING, M.A., F.S.A. Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I., King of Assyria about B.C. 1275. By T. G. PINCHES.....	405
ALFRED BOISSIER, Dr. Phil. Choix de Textes relatifs à la Divination assyro-babylonienne. By T. G. PINCHES.....	409
THOMAS WATERS (the late). On Yuan - Chwang's Travels in India (629-645 A.D.): Vol. I. (Edited by Professor T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, F.B.A., and Dr. S. W. BUSHELL, M.D., C.M.G.) By J. TAKAKUSU	412

CONTENTS.

xi

	PAGE
SULAIMAN AL-BISTANI. The Iliad of Homer, translated into Arabic verse. By D. S. MARGOLIOUTH	417
Sheikh IBRAHIM AL-YAZAJI. The Hunting-ground of the Forager and the Fountain of the Thirsty: Vol. I. By D. S. MARGOLIOUTH	423
MUḤAMMAD MAḤMŪD AL-RĀFI'Ī. The Book of Sovereignty and Government, by Ibn Ḳutaibah. By D. S. MARGOLIOUTH	423
MUḤAMMAD AL-ZUHRĪ AL-GHAMRĀWĪ. Deliverance after Stress, by Abu 'Ali al-Muḥassan al-Tanūkhī. By D. S. MARGOLIOUTH	425
KĀZIM BEY. Concordance to the Koran. By D. S. MARGOLIOUTH	426
CECIL CLEMENTI, M.A. Cantonese Love-Songs. By S. W. B.	427
THOMAS JENNER. Tsze Tëen Piào Mūh. By S. W. B.	430
RAJA BINAYA KRISHNA DEB. The Early History and Growth of Calcutta. By WILLIAM IRVINE	573
T. WITTON DAVIES, Ph.D. Heinrich Ewald: Orientalist and Theologian, 1803-1903	575
GASTON MIGEON. Chefs d'œuvre d'Art Japonais. By LAURENCE BINYON	845
G. LE STRANGE. The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate. By H. F. A.	850
D. EDUARDO SAAVEDRA. Homenaje a D. Francisco Codera en su jubilacion del profesorado. By H. HIRSCHFELD	851
E. J. W. GIBB (the late). Ed. by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.B. A History of Ottoman Poetry: Vols. II, III, and IV. By R. A. N.	856
FRITZ HOMMEL. Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des Alten Orients. By T. G. PINCHES	859
FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN. Les Cylindres de Goudéa. By T. G. PINCHES	862
HERMANN RANKE, Ph.D. Early Babylonian Personal Names from the Published Tablets of the so-called Hammurabi Dynasty. By T. G. PINCHES	865

	PAGE
Centenary Memorial Volume: Extra Number of the Bombay Branch of the R.A.S.	868
Professor K. FLORENZ. Geschichte der Japanischen Litteratur: Vol. I. By J. TAKAKUSU	869

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.	209, 433, 577, 612
The late Lord Northbrook	210
Anniversary Meeting	577

OBITUARY NOTICES.

Professor Edmund Hardy. By T. W. RHYE DAVIDS....	213
Dr. Emil Schlagintweit. By F. W. THOMAS.....	215
Sir William Muir. By C. J. LYALL	875

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY	219, 435, 615, 881
--------------------------------	--------------------

LIST OF MEMBERS	1-32
-----------------------	------

TITLE-PAGE AND CONTENTS FOR THE YEAR.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF AUTHORS FOR THE YEAR.

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

1905.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF AUTHORS.

	PAGE
AMEDROZ. On a Dirham of <u>Khusru Shāh</u> of 361 A.H., etc. ...	471
BARNETT. The <u>Mānāvūḷu-sandesaya</u>	265
BELL. List of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Baillie Collection in the Library of Edinburgh University.....	513
BEVERIDGE. Omar Khayyam	521
BEVERIDGE (Annette S.). The Haydarābād Codex of the <u>Bābar-nāma</u> or <u>Wāqī'āt-i-bābarī</u> of <u>Zahīru-d-dīn</u> <u>Muḥammad Bābar</u> , <u>Barlās Turk</u>	741
BROWNE. <u>Nāsir-i-Khusraw</u> , Poet, Traveller, and Propagandist	313
———— <u>Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān</u>	693
CODRINGTON. Further Note on Musalman Coins collected by Mr. G. P. Tate in Seistan	547
FLEET. St. Thomas and Gondophernes	223
———— Epigraphic Researches in Mysore	289
———— Note on a Jain Inscription at Mathurā	635
———— Notes on Three Buddhist Inscriptions	679
GERINI. The <u>Nāgarakretāgama</u> List of Countries on the Indo-Chinese Mainland (<i>circa</i> 1380 A.D.)	485
GRIERSON. <u>Pisāca</u> = <u>᾽Ωμοφάγος</u>	285
HOERNLE. Some Problems of Ancient Indian History. No. III : The <u>Gūrjara</u> Clans	1
KIELHORN. Nagpur Museum Buddhist Inscription of Bhava- <u>dēva</u> <u>Ranakēsarīn</u>	617
KUMAGUSU and DICKINS. A Japanese Thoreau of the Twelfth Century	237
MARGOLIOUTH. The Discussion between <u>Abū Bishr Mattā</u> and <u>Abū Sa'id al-Sirāfi</u> on the Merits of Logic and Grammar	79
———— Indices to the <u>Dīwān</u> of <u>Abū Tammām</u>	763

LIST OF AUTHORS.

	PAGE
MILLS. The Pahlavi Texts of the Yasna Haptanghāiti (Y. XXXV-XLI (XLII)), for the first time critically translated	55
—— The Pahlavi Texts of the Srōš Yašt with its Intro- ductions, being Yasna LV-LVI (in S.B.E. xxxi LVI-LVII), for the first time critically translated ..	451
—— The Pahlavi Texts of Yasna XIV, XV, XVI, XX, XXI, for the first time critically translated	657
NARASIMHIENGAR. Bhāmaha the Rhetorician	535
PINCHES. The Element <i>ilu</i> in Babylonian Divine Names ..	143
—— Some Case-Tablets from Tel-loh	815
RAPSON. Notes on Indian Coins and Seals. Part VI	783
TAKAKUSU. A Study of Paramārtha's Life of Vasu-bandhu; and the Date of Vasu-bandhu	33
VOST. Jaunpur and Zafarābād Inscriptions	131
—— Saketa, Sha-chi, or Pi-so-kia	437
WHINFIELD. Hellenism and Muhammadanism	527

JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

I.

SOME PROBLEMS OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY.

NO. III: THE GURJARA CLANS.

By A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, PH.D., C.I.E.

(Concluded from p. 662, October, 1904.)

I HAVE already expressed my agreement with General Sir A. Cunningham's theory that the emperors of Kanauj were Tomaras. For the evidence, such as it is, I must refer to his *Arch. Surv. Reports*, vol. i, p. 132 ff. From this theory, in combination with that of Mr. Bhandarkar, it follows, of course, that the Tomaras were a clan of the Gūrjara tribe. It is curious that the Tomaras are hardly ever mentioned in older records. There are, so far as I am aware, only two old inscriptions that name them. One is the Pehewa inscription (*E.I.* i, 244) of the time of Mahendrapāla (c. 885–910 A.D.), and the other is the Harsha inscription (*E.I.* ii, 116) of the Chohan Vighraharāja, dated 973 A.D., which would fall into the reign of Vijayapāla (c. 950 – 975 A.D.). Vighraharāja's great - grandfather Chandana is said to have defeated or slain (*hatvā*) a Tomara

lord (*iśa* and *bhūpa*) named Rudrena, and to have been a cause of terror (*bhaya-da*) to the sovereign (*Kṣitipati*). Seeing that Chandana's date would coincide with that of Kshitipāla (*alias* Mahipāla, c. 913–945 A.D.), it suggests itself that the term *Kṣitipati* may have been chosen on purpose in allusion to Kshitipāla's name, and that the Chohan Chandana may have been one of the chiefs who gave assistance to the Rāshtrakūṭa Indra III in his great war with Mahipāla. Chandana's grandson Simharāja is also said to have had an (apparently unsuccessful) encounter with a Tomara leader (*nāyaka*). Both this "leader" and the "lord" Rudrena must have been chiefs of minor divisions of the imperial Tomara clan of Gūrjaras.

Another minor division of the same clan is recorded in the Pehewa inscription (*E.I.* i, 244). This inscription mentions three generations of a Tomara family, resident apparently in or near Pehewa, in the Karnal District. Its chief interest, however, lies in a remark concerning the descent of the family. It states that the family originally sprang from a king (*rāja*) named Jāula, who, as is clearly implied, lived ages ago. The name Jāula is peculiar: it reminds one of the well-known coins of the Shāhi Javūvla or Jabula (Mr. Rapson's *Indian Coins*, p. 29), and of the Kura inscription (*E.I.* i, 239) of the "great king" (*mahārāja*) Toramāṇa Shāhi Jaūvla. Now there is an old Bandelkhand tradition (*J.A.S.B.* lxxi, 102) that "Toraman, the general of Rāja Gopāl, who was a Kachhwaha by race, invaded Eran in 243, and conquered all countries from Bhopal to Eran. Toraman's son (Sūr Sen) subdued Gwaliyor at the same time, and also built the famous fort of Gwaliyor in 285 [A.D.]. The descendants of Sūr Sen [i.e. the Kachhwahas] ruled over Central India for a long time," down to about 933 A.D., when the Parihar dynasty is said to have "invaded and conquered Gwaliyor." In passing, it may be noted that, according to this tradition, Toramāṇa was a Kachhwaha; also, that what it calls the Kachhwahas are evidently identical with the Gūrjaras. What makes the tradition interesting, however, is that, as a fact, there exists an Eran

inscription of Toramāṇa (*F.GI.*, p. 158),¹ as well as one of Goparāja, dated in the year 510 (*F.GI.*, p. 191). The Pehewa inscription shows that at the end of the ninth century there still survived a recollection of the descent of the Tomaras from a Jāvula king Toramāṇa; and the Bandelkhand tradition proves that even as late as the earlier part of the seventeenth century (Bard Kharg Rai, in Shah Jehan's reign, Sir A. Cunningham's *A.S. Reports*, ii, 370) there still lived a reminiscence of Toramāṇa's rule in Eran. The presumption is that the Toramāṇa of Eran and the Jāvula Toramāṇa were the same person. It has been said that "there is no evidence to show that the Toramāṇa of the Kura inscription [i.e. Jaūvla] is in any way connected with the Toramāṇa of the Eran inscription" (*E.I.* v, 72, note 1). But, as the case stands, it would be more correct to say that there is no evidence to show that the two Toramāṇas are not connected with each other. This is practically also the opinion of Bühler² (*E.I.* i, 239), Mr. Vincent Smith (*J.A.S.B.* lxiii, 186, 189), and Mr. Rapson (*Indian Coins*, p. 29). I do not mean to say that all these things are assured historical facts, but they do seem to me to offer the elements of a fairly sound working hypothesis. The Tomaras were Gūrjaras; so were the Kachhwahas and the Parihars; they all descend from the Jāvula king Toramāṇa, or rather were clans or divisions of a Jāvula tribe; in which case the Jāvulas would be Gūrjaras.

It has been accepted as an undoubted fact that Toramāṇa was the king of the Hūnas (White Huns or Ephthalites). The Hūnas are, no doubt, mentioned in numerous old Indian inscriptions, but the only Indian evidence connecting Toramāṇa with the Hūnas is the Mandasor inscription of 535 A.D. (*F.GI.*, p. 148). This inscription, though it does

¹ I adopt Dr. Fleet's practical suggestion regarding the method of citing the volume on the Gupta Inscriptions, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, p. 7, footnote.

² Bühler has been represented as denying the identity of the two Toramāṇas. This probably goes too far. What he says is "I am not able to assert that" the two are identical (*E.I.* i, 239); which may only mean that the identity seemed to him possible, though, for the reasons stated by him, he did not like to state it as a fact.

not say so, certainly suggests that Mihirakula, the son of Toramāṇa, whom Yaśodharman defeated, was the king, or leader, of the Hūnas. Dr. Fleet has suggested that "the Maitrakas, i.e. the Mihiras [the modern Mers], were the particular family or clan among the Hūnas to which Toramāṇa and Mihirakula belonged" (*F.G.I.*, Introd., p. 12). But if Dr. Hultzsch's interpretation of the passage on which the suggestion rests should be correct (*E.I.* iii, 319; I express no opinion on this point), the latter could not be any longer sustained. Moreover, the Mihiras (Mers or Mehars) were "attached from time immemorial to the Jethwā Rajputs" (*Ind. Ant.*, xv, 362), who are only the "Senior" (*Jethucā*) or *rājakula* (royal clan) of the Mehars. It seems more probable that Toramāṇa would belong to the royal clan; and this royal (or *jethucā*) clan may have been that of the Jāvulas, or (as they came to be called in later times) Tomaras. In fact, might not Tomara, a comparatively late Indian word, be an Indian corruption of Toramāṇa, signifying the descendants, or family, of Toramāṇa? A transposition of syllables (*aksharas*) is a by no means uncommon Indian habit. In the manuscripts of the *Rājataranginī*, the reading *Tomarāṇa* is found alternating with *Toramāṇa* (see Dr. Stein's edition, v, 233). Several good examples of ancient date are noted by Professor Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica* (vi, 3), and the habit is well-known to all acquainted with modern India. The Hunic connection of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula is certainly supported by extra-Indian evidence: thus Gollas, whom Kosmas Indikopleustes (c. 525 A.D.) calls the king of the Indian White Huns, is probably Mihirakula. But the Huns were evidently divided into several clans: a royal clan and several subordinate clans. The Gūrjaras may have been one of these clans. The exact ethnic relation of the Gūrjaras to the Hūnas is still very obscure. These may be generic names of the same people; or they may be specific names of subdivisions of the same people; or they may be names of two peoples, differing ethnically, but driven by connected causes to settle in India. It may be doubted whether even the contemporary Indians had an exact

knowledge of the inter-relation of these foreign peoples. Bāṇa, when enumerating the campaigns of Prabhākara Vardhana (c. 600 A.D.), distinguishes the Hūnas and Gūrjaras. He was undoubtedly referring to foreign peoples who, under differing names, were at that time overrunning the Panjab and Rajputana respectively, but his manner of using the names is no sufficient proof respecting the ethnic inter-relation of their bearers, or respecting the exact delimitation and denotation of the two names.¹

Mr. Bhandarkar has shown (p. 15 ff. of his paper on the Gūrjaras) that there is good reason to believe that the Solankīs (Chaulukyas), Parihars (Pratihāras), Parmars (Paramāras), and Chohans (Chāhumānas or Chāhuvānas), the four so-called Agnikula clans of Rajputs, are really, or were originally, divisions of the Gūrjaras. To these, the Tomaras may now be added as another Gūrjara division; and there is still another clan which may also be added to the list. This is the Kachhwahas (*Kacchapaghātas*). Regarding them there is an interesting Bandelkhand tradition, which is related by Diwān Bighe Bahādur Mazbūt Singh in his *History of Bandelkhand* (translated by Mr. Silberrad in *J.A.S.B.* lxxi (1902), pp. 100 ff.). It says that "about 933 [A.D.] the Parihar dynasty rose into importance and invaded and conquered Gwalior. The first king of the Parihar dynasty was Vajradaman, who subdued Central India. He was followed successively by Rajakīrat, Raja Bhuvanpāl I, and Raja Padhpāl. In 1093 succeeded Mahipāl,² but even before his accession the Chandels had got possession of the whole kingdom except Gwalior." Now there is a Sasbāhu inscription of Mahīpāla, of the year 1093 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, xv, 35). It mentions a line of eight Kachhwaha (*Kacchapaghāta*) princes, who are clearly identical with the Parihar princes of the Diwān. The

¹ Similarly, in the Badal Pillar inscription, of c. 925 A.D. (*E.I.* ii, 161, 165), the Hūnas and Gūrjaras are distinguished. But here it may be mere poetical license.

² I have slightly revised this remark, which, as printed in *J.A.S.B.*, makes no sense.

latter's list is short by three names, but the five names it mentions are not only the same as in the Sasbāhu inscription,¹ but also follow one another in the same order. For Vajradāman we have the date 977 A.D. (*J.A.S.B.* xxxi, 393; *E.I.* ii, 235). The Diwān calls him the first of the dynasty, but as he himself refers the rise of the dynasty to 933 A.D., his Vajradāman must clearly have had a predecessor, who, as the inscription shows, was Lakshmaṇa. In the inscription Vajradāman is said to have "defeated the ruler of Gādhinagara (or Kanauj) and conquered the fort of Gopādri (or Gwaliyor)." The Kanauj ruler here referred to must be either Vijayapāla, for whom we have the date 960 A.D. in the Rajor inscription, or his successor of the (at present) unknown name. As to Lakshmaṇa, the traditional date 933 A.D. suits fairly well, seeing that his son Vajradāman reigned in 977 A.D. In the *Journal A.S.B.*, vol. I, p. 46 (1881), it is stated that the Lakshmaṇa Sāgar at Bilhari is traditionally attributed to Lakshman Parihar, who is said to have reigned about 900 years, or 30 generations, ago. This gives us for him the approximate date 950 A.D. (i.e. 1880—930). The point, however, to which I wish to draw attention is that the tradition reported by Mr. V. Smith and that related by the Diwān agree in representing Lakshmaṇa and Vajradāman and their dynasty to have been Parihars, while in their own inscription they call themselves Kachhwahas. This would make for an identity of the Parihars and Kachhwahas; but, at any rate, it points to a close connection of them with the Gūrjaras, of whom, no doubt, they were subdivisions. Another indication of identity, or intimate connection, of the Kachhwahas and Gūrjaras has already been mentioned in connection with Toramāṇa. The rise of the Kachhwaha-Parihars under Lakshmaṇa, about 933 A.D., falls within the period of the reign of the Gūrjara emperor Mahipāla. Under him, with the decline of the power of the imperial (Tomara) clan, the chiefs of the subordinate clans began to assert their independence: the Parmars of

¹ The Diwān's Padhpāl is the Padmapāl of the inscription. Is it a misprint?

Malwa, under Krishnarāja, about 915 A.D.; the Chohans of Ajmīr, under Chandana, about the same date; and the Kachhwahas of Gwāliyor, under Lakshmaṇa, about 933 A.D. About the latter date, also, the Parihars of Alwar must have become independent under Sāvata, for his son Mathanadeva describes himself as an independent ruler in his Rajor grant of 960 A.D. (*E.I.* iii, 263).

As to the Chandels, who were the earliest to assert their independence, under Yaśovarman, and perhaps already under Harsha, about 910 A.D., it is not impossible that they also were really a subordinate Gūrjara clan. But I know of no clear evidence on this point.

With regard to the Chaulukya clan of Gūrjaras, it has already been stated (*J.R.A.S.*, 1904, p. 640) that they conquered for themselves an independent kingdom in Laṭa, in the latter part of the tenth century, and that from them that country received its modern name of Gujarat. It appears, however, that there were two distinct migrations of Chaulukyas into Laṭa, which took place at two distinct dates, though not separated by any great interval of time. On the first immigration we receive information from the Sūrat grant of the Chaulukya Kīrtirāja, dated in 1018 A.D. (*Vienna Or. Journ.*, vii, 88; *E.I.* v, App., No. 940). It tells us that Kīrtirāja's grandfather Bārapa obtained (*adhigamya*) the country of Laṭa. This vague remark is explained by the tradition (see details in *Ind. Ant.*, xii, 199; vi, 183, 184) that Bārapa took military service as a "general" under Tailapa, the restorer of the southern Chālukya empire. As a reward for his services, he would seem to have obtained a grant of land in Laṭa; and it would further seem that in this position of a great Laṭa landowner he came into collision with Mūlarāja, under whom the second, and more important, Chaulukya settlement in Laṭa took place. Mūlarāja's two earliest (known) grants are dated in 974 (*Vienna Or. Journ.*, v, 300) and 987 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, vi, 191; also Nos. 45 and 50, in *E.I.* v, App., pp. 7, 8). In these grants Mūlarāja claims to be no more than a *Mahārājādhirāja*. In his subsequent grant of 995 A.D. (*Vienna Or. Journ.*, v, 300;

E.I. v, App., p. 8, No. 52) he already claims the full imperial titles. It appears probable, therefore, that Mūlarāja's encounter with his kinsman Bārapa took place between 974 and 987 A.D. This also agrees with Bārapa's date as deducible from his grandson Kīrtirāja's grant of 1018 A.D., according to which he should have reigned from about 960 to 980 A.D. There is nothing to show that Bārapa was ever anything more than a Laṭa landholder. It was his grandson Kīrtirāja who first held some kind of dependent regal position in Laṭa. In the Sūrat grant of Kīrtirāja's grandson, Trilochanapāla, dated in the year 1051 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, xii, 201; *E.I.* v, App., p. 51, No. 356) he is said to have "attained the rank of a lord of Laṭa" (*Laṭa-bhūpa-padaṇim adhigamya*, verse 12). In his own grant, dated 1018 A.D., he only claims the title of "Governor-General" (*mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*). Even his grandson, Trilochanapāla, in his charter of 1051 A.D., still claims to be no more than a chief (*nṛpa*) and ruler (*bhoktā*) of the Laṭa country. At that time Mūlarāja's dynasty had already held the supreme power in Laṭa for several generations. It is quite clear that Bārapa's dynasty never held any but a subordinate position in Laṭa; and it is not from them that the country is likely to have acquired its new name of Gujarat. This it can only have done through the powerful position obtained by the Chaulukyas of Mūlarāja's dynasty. The latter conquered for himself the independent sovereignty of Laṭa, with the imperial title, about 995 A.D., as shown by his Baroda grant of that year. This assertion of independence, however, had probably as much reference to the imperial claims of the southern Chālukya Tailapa (973–997 A.D.) as to those of the northern Gūrjara monarch, Vijayapāla's successor of the unknown name (about 975–1000 A.D.).

Both Chaulukya branches, that of Bārapa as well as that of Mūlarāja, must have migrated into Laṭa from the country lying immediately in the north, that is, from Rajputana, the old home province of the Gūrjara race. Regarding this home, Bühler (*Ind. Ant.*, vi, 81) refers to a tradition of "most Jain chroniclers of Gujarāt," according to which

are by no means in agreement with one another. They offer the choice of Kanauj, Mathurā, Ayodhyā, and “Sooru” (Soron?). It seems pretty evident that they are drawing on their imagination for their facts.

The only mention of Kanauj that I can find in the chronicles accessible to me occurs in Arisimha's *Sukṛta Saṅkīrtana*, sarga ii, verse 5 (quoted by Bühler, *l.c.*, p. 41, compare p. 11; also *Ind. Ant.*, xii, 199), which describes Bārapa as the “general of the king of Kanyākubja.” Its date is about 1230 A.D. A still earlier reference, however, to Kanauj, in connection with the Chaulukyas, exists in the Sūrat grant of Trilochanapāla, of 1151 A.D. It appears to me to afford a clue to the origin of the tradition concerning Kanauj. Having related the story of the miraculous birth of Chulukya, it goes on to say of him that he married a Rāshtrakūṭa lady, and lived with her in Kanauj. The original of the passage runs as follows (*Ind. Ant.*, xii, 201, verse 6) :—

*Kanyākubje Mahārāja Rāshtrakūṭasya kanyakām |
labdhvā sukhāya tasyām tvaṁ Cauluky=āpnuhi santatim ||*

This has been translated to mean (*ibid.*, p. 203), “O thou Chaulukya, king of kings, marrying the princess of the Rāshtrakūṭas in Kanyākubja, bless thou (*the world*) with offspring obtained from her”; and thence the conclusion has been drawn (*ibid.*, p. 199; also *E.I.* v, App., p. 51, No. 356) that the grant referred to a “Rāshtrakūṭa Mahārāja of Kanyākubja.” But there is no ground for believing that Rāshtrakūṭa (Rahtor) kings of Kanauj ever existed; nor does the passage really say so. For *Kanyākubje* must be constructed with *āpnuhi*, and what the passage really means is “O Mahārāja Chaulukya, having married the daughter of the Rāshtrakūṭa, do thou, for the sake of the welfare (*of thy people*), beget offspring on her in Kanyākubja.” Accordingly it is Chaulukya who is represented as the Mahārāja of Kanauj, not the Rāshtrakūṭa. If we now remember that Kanauj was the capital of the great Gūrjara empire, and think of the prestige it must have

enjoyed as the seat of the imperial Gūrjara clan, it does not appear wonderful that the writer of Trilochana's grant should have chosen that town as the residence of the eponymous hero of the collateral Chaulukya clan. But, clearly, the writer's statement is of no historical value. What may have suggested to him the idea of Chaulukya marrying a Rāshtrakūṭa lady is at present impossible to say. That the Chaulukyas, on migrating to Laṭa, may have formed matrimonial connections with the Rāshtrakūṭa chiefs of that country is probable enough. It is to be noted that the grant does not describe the Rāshtrakūṭa whose daughter Chaulukya is said to have married by any regal title,—indeed, by any title whatsoever: she is simply a Rāshtrakūṭa lady. From Kīrtirāja's grant of 1018 A.D. it is clear that there were Rāshtrakūṭa chiefs subordinate to the Chaulukya "Governors-General" (*mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*) of Laṭa; and matrimonial alliances with them on the part of the Chaulukyas would be only natural. But further, as Kīrtirāja's grant is said¹ (*Vienna Or. Journ.*, vii, 89) to agree with that of Trilochanapāla in respect of "the origin of the name and race of the Chaulukyas," it may be concluded that the passage above referred to can be traced back to 1018 A.D. In all probability the tradition embodied in it goes back to the time of the founder of the dynasty, Bārapa, i.e. to about 975 A.D. That dynasty, no doubt, claimed from the beginning an ancestral connection with the royal clan of the Gūrjaras, whose capital was at Kanauj. The court-poets and bards converted this claim into an actual rule of the Chaulukya ancestors in Kanauj, but there is no good reason to believe that either Bārapa or Rāji or their immediate predecessors ever lived anywhere else than somewhere in Rajputana (see pp. 23, 24).

Both Chaulukya migrations into Laṭa took place about 975 A.D. This was the time of the reign of the Gūrjara emperor Vijayapāla (or possibly of his successor of the unknown name). What the cause of the migrations may

¹ It does not seem to have ever been textually published.

have been is not known. None of the inscriptions as yet discovered throws any light on this point. But as tradition makes Bārāpa a “general” of Tailapa, the heir of the Earlier Chālukya dynasty, I would suggest that the Chaulukyas may have been called in by that prince, who was about that time (from 973 A.D.) engaged in re-establishing the Chālukya rule over the southern empire, with the object of assisting him in his undertaking. For there seems good reason to believe that the Chālukyas were kinsmen of the Chaulukyas—that, in fact, they represent a very early immigration into Southern India of that portion of the Gūrjara stock which called itself Chālukya or Chaulukya. The very fact of the identity of the names goes to prove the original unity of the Chaulukyas and Chālukyas.¹ I am disposed to agree with Bühler (*Ind. Ant.*, vi, 182) that the two words are “only dialectic forms of the same name.” But, despite the attempted Sanskrit derivation of the genealogists, I would suggest that the name is not a Sanskritic word at all, but of foreign (Gūrjara or Hunic) origin.²

The migration of the Chālukyas from the north into the south appears to be generally admitted. As Dr. Fleet says, they themselves “always represent themselves as having come originally from the north” (*Ind. Ant.*, vii, 247); and he holds that “it is an undoubted fact that the Chālukyas did come originally from the north” (*ibid.*, vii, 246; xiv, 49). His theory, which I am disposed to accept, is that their southward migration took place under Pulikeśin I, about 550 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, vii, 247; viii, 12, 239). Before that Chālukya chief acquired his new capital Vātāpi (Badami) in the south, he had a capital in the north, where his grandfather Jayasimha ruled as the “chief” of the Chālukyas (or Chalukiyas). In the Mahākūṭa inscription of Pulikeśin’s son Mangaleśa, dated in the year 602 A.D., Jayasimha is

¹ The spelling of the latter form *Cālukya* varies with *Calukya* and *Calikya*. The form *Calukya* is used by the earlier, and *Cālukya* by the later dynasty of the Southern Empire.

² Might it be connected with the Turkī root *chāp*, gallop, *chāpānī*, a plundering raid, a charge of cavalry? See *J.A.S.B.*, extra number for 1878. Perhaps Turkī scholars would tell us.

described simply as a chief (*nr̥pa*, *Ind. Ant.*, xix, 16, line 2), while in the Aihole inscription of his grandson, Pulikeśin II, of the year 634 A.D., he is said to have been a king (*rājā*, *E.I.* vi, 4, verse 5). There is practically little difference between the two terms: they both indicate a mere chief or ruler. With reference to the cause of the Chālukya migration to the south, Dr. Fleet suggests (*Ind. Ant.*, vii, 247) that the Chālukyas may have been "originally feudatories of the Gūrjara kings, but, in the person of Pulikeśin I, threw off that yoke, and, migrating to the south, established an independent sovereignty of their own." That they were feudatories of the paramount Gūrjara king I agree; but seeing that the date of Jayasimha must be somewhere very near the date, about 533 A.D., of the great defeat inflicted on the Hūnas by Yaśodharman (i.e. Vikramāditya), and that the Gūrjaras were closely connected with the Hūnas, I would suggest that, when the combined Hūna-Gūrjara invasion was stemmed by the Mālava emperor Vikramāditya, the component parts of the invading hosts were dispersed, some (the main portion) settling for the time in Rajputana, others in the Panjab (Gujarat District), while a third portion, the Chālukya, moved southwards. This third portion, apparently after leaving a small detachment in Lata, where it founded the *Sāmanta* dynasty of Bharoj (see *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, p. 643), penetrated into the country south of the Narmadā, and there established the Chālukya empire of Badami (*Vātāpi*). Even then it was only a division of the Chālukya clan which proceeded south. Another division remained in Rajputana, whence, at a much later date, it followed the earlier emigrants southwards into Lata in the latter part of the tenth century, under Bārapa and Mūlarāja. The difference in the names of the two divisions of the clan—Chālukya (Chalukya, Chalikya) and Chaulukya—may well be explained by the fact that they separated at such a very early period, and for several centuries lived in localities so widely separated as the Dekhan and Rajputana. In the Aihole inscription of Pulikeśin II, above referred to, there is a remark which is worth noting in the present connection.

According to Professor Kielhorn, the inscription (*E.I.* vi, 2, verse 22) indicates that the "Gūrjaras submitted to Pulikeśin of their own accord." This is no more than one would expect on the theory that the Chālukyas themselves were members of the Gūrjara race. In that remark, it may be further noted, the Laṭas and Mālavas are joined with the Gūrjaras in the policy of voluntary submission. Here 'Laṭas' must refer to the Gūrjara (Chālukya) chiefs who settled in Laṭa as its *Sāmanta* rulers, while 'Mālavas' refers to the Gūrjara (Paramāra) chiefs who appear to have remained behind in Malwa, after the retirement of the main body of the Gūrjaras into Rajputana. Laṭas, Mālavas, and Gūrjaras, therefore, in that remark refer to the Gūrjaras in Laṭa (modern Gujarat), Malwa, and Rajputana respectively.

There is one point in connection with the Gūrjara theory (explained in No. II of my *Problems*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, p. 639) which it may be well to notice. In pursuance of that theory, and in support of it, Mr. Bhandarkar proposes a correction of the date of Dharmapāla, and consequently of the whole chronology of the so-called Pāla dynasty of Bengal. This correction I hold to be untenable; but that does not upset the Gūrjara theory, into which the usually accepted date of Dharmapāla fits perfectly well. In his paper on the Cambay Plates of Govinda IV (*E.I.* vii, p. 31 ff.), Mr. Bhandarkar says that "we have positive evidence that Dharmapāla lived in the earlier part of the tenth century, i.e. at least half a century later than he has hitherto been placed." His "positive evidence" is as follows: (1) the Bhagulpur and Khalimpur grants tell us that Dharmapāla, having defeated Indrarāja, and thus obtained the sovereignty of Kanauj, gave it over to Candrāyudha; (2) Kshitipāla was placed on the throne by the Chandel Harsha (see, however, p. 15); (3) the Rāshtrakūṭa Indra III attacked Kanauj, whose ruler at that time was Kshitipāla (or Mahīpāla). On these premises Professor Bhandarkar founds the following argument: (1) Indra III not only attacked Kanauj, but he must have ousted its ruler Kshitipāla; for, unless he had done so, Kshitipāla could

not have been *replaced* by Harsha; (2) Kshitipāla could not have been *replaced* on the throne of Kanauj, unless previously Indra III had been defeated; (3) that previous defeat of Indra III was effected by Dharmapāla, because he is said to have defeated Indrarāja; (4) Indrarāja's (i.e. Indra III's) defeat was followed by Chandrāyudha's enthronement in Kanauj, which shows that Chandrāyudha and Kshitipāla are identical. Now No. 3 of the argument implicates the assumption that Indrarāja and Indra III are the same person, which is precisely the point to be proved. Nos. 1 and 2 of the argument make the assumption that Kshitipāla was *replaced* on the throne of Kanauj; but the Khajurāho inscription (*E.I.* i, 121) says only that he was *placed*, not that he was *replaced*, on the throne, by the Chandel king. No. 4 of the argument necessitates the implication that the enthronement of Kshitipāla was the joint work of Harsha and Dharmapāla. This implication Mr. Bhandarkar expressly admits, and considers such a joint action as "what in all likelihood must have come to pass." But there is no "positive evidence" for it whatsoever; and the probability of it will, to most people, appear infinitesimal. What, in all probability, did occur has been explained in No. II of my *Problems* (*J.R.A.S.*, 1904, p. 656). Kshitipāla (i.e. Mahipāla) was originally placed on the throne, in succession to his brother Bhoja II, by the Chandel king (not Harsha, but) Yaśovarman; and Indra III in all probability was not defeated, either by Dharmapāla or anyone else, but returned to his own country after his successful raid on Kanauj. If it is supposed that Indra III returned in consequence of a defeat, that defeat could only have been inflicted on him by Yaśovarman, the friend of Mahipāla. But in that case the probability is that such a signal success over the powerful Rāshtrakūṭa emperor would have been enumerated in the list of Yaśovarman's successes in the practically contemporaneous Khajurāho inscription of 954 A.D. Verse 23 of that inscription (*E.I.* i, 132) gives a list of successes in war over a number of peoples, but the Rāshtrakūṭas are not among them. This being so, it is

not probable that Yaśovarman came into collision with Indra III.

As to Dharmapāla's date, there exists as yet only one positive piece of evidence, and that appears to me to be distinctly in favour of the date assigned to him by Professor Kielhorn (*E.I.* iv, 246). This is the date 1026 A.D. for the Bengal Mahipāla, and it admits no other date for Dharmapāla than the middle of the ninth century, say about 840 A.D. In two instances the Pālas are recorded in marriage connection with the Rāshtrakūṭas, but neither instance affords any help. Dharmapāla himself is said to have married a daughter of the Rāshtrakūṭa Parabala (*Ind. Ant.*, xxi, 254); but the *biruda* Parabala is otherwise unknown. Again, Rājyapāla married a daughter of the Rāshtrakūṭa Tunga (*Ind. Ant.*, xxi, 99). But the *biruda* Tunga is too vague to support any conclusions. It has been referred to Jagattunga II, but that prince never reigned (*E.I.* iv, 288, verse 16; also *E.I.* vi, 176); and though that may not be an absolute objection, the *biruda* Tunga was a speciality of the whole Rāshtrakūṭa family (*E.I.* vi, 189), and occurs in various combinations in connection with several of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperors. Admitting the middle of the ninth century for Dharmapāla, the bearer of the *biruda* Parabala might be Amoghavarsha I, and Tunga might refer to Govinda IV, called Nṛpatunga.

With Dharmapāla's date about 840 A.D. both identifications are incompatible, that of Chakrāyudha with Mahipāla (or Kshitipāla), and that of Indrarāja with Indra III. The probability undoubtedly is that, as suggested by Professor Kielhorn (*Ind. Ant.*, xx, 188¹), Chakrāyudha was Indrarāja's younger brother; and seeing that by defeating Indrarāja, Dharmapāla was enabled to give the kingdom of Kanauj to Chakrāyudha, it seems necessarily to follow that Indrarāja was the then (c. 840 A.D.) ruling king of Kanauj. As there was an Indrāyudha reigning in the north, i.e. in the

¹ Chandrāyudha cannot, however, be identified with Bhoja I (Ādivarāha), for though the latter's date would suit well enough, he was the most powerful member of the Gūrjara imperial house, and never required Dharmapāla's aid.

kingdom of Kanauj, in the year 783 A.D., it suggests itself (especially as Indrarāja may very well have borne also the name Indrāyudha, and as the same name is apt to recur in the same family) that Indrarāja and Chakrāyudha of Dharmapāla's time were descendants of the earlier Indrāyudha. This line of thought only follows out a suggestion, already thrown out by Professor Kielhorn (*E.I.* iv, 246, footnote 1) and Dr. Fleet (*E.I.* vi, 197). Further, seeing that, in all probability, Bhoja I was a contemporary of Dharmapāla, it further suggests itself that Bhoja I's conquest of the northern kingdom was the direct consequence of the disastrous war of that kingdom with Dharmapāla, which rendered it so weak as to finally perish under Bhoja I's attack.

The history of the northern kingdom of Kanauj is still almost a blank for the two centuries following immediately after the emperor Harsha Vardhana's death. That event was followed by a palace revolution (*Journal Asiatique*, 1900, p. 300), and a general anarchy and disruption of the empire. Between it and the conquest of Kanauj by Bhoja I, only three, or perhaps four, facts are known. First, there is the reign of Yaśovarman, to which belong the years 731–745 A.D. (see Dr. Stein's translation of the *Rājataranginī*, p. 132, footnote 134, for particulars). Secondly, there is the reign of Indrāyudha in 783 A.D. Thirdly, there is the defeat and deprivation of Indrarāja and the restoration of (his brother) Chakrāyudha by Dharmapāla, about 840 A.D. Fourthly, there is the mention of an unnamed king of Kanauj, who is said, in the *Rājataranginī*, to have been defeated by Jayapīḍa, a grandson of Lalitāditya (Muktāpīḍa), the conqueror of Yaśovarman. He was, therefore, probably also a grandson of Yaśovarman. Jayapīḍa reigned thirty-one years, about 772–803 A.D. The *Rājataranginī* says (iv, 471, Dr. Stein's transl., p. 103) that "after defeating the king of Kanyakubja in battle that king of surpassing valour (Jayapīḍa) carried off his throne, the ensign of royal power." This seems to indicate not only the defeat of the king of Kanauj, but a termination of his dynasty. If this surmise is correct, the subsequently mentioned kings Indrāyudha,

Indrarāja, and Chakrāyudha would have belonged to a new dynasty. But the name of neither dynasty—if there were two dynasties—is known at present.

Incidentally it may be noted here that an advance of Kashmirian troops so far into the centre of North India, as is implied by the relation of the *Rājataranginī*, is supported by a remark in the Khajurāho inscription of 954 A.D. That record describes (*E.I.* i, 132, verse 23) the Chandel king Yaśovarman as one “before whom perished the Kashmīrī warriors.”

The traditional genealogy of the Gūrjara emperors of Mahodaya–Kanauj commences with a prince named Devaśakti. The earliest occurrence of this genealogy is in the Daulatpurā grant of Bhoja I, dated in 843 A.D. (*E.I.* v, 208). Devaśakti's date, at the usual rate of twenty years for a reign, would be only about sixty years earlier, say about 770 to 780 A.D.; for he is the fourth predecessor of Bhoja I. In the genealogy he is clearly treated as a real person, and a queen is assigned to him, named Bhūyikā, who is said to be the mother of Vatsarāja. After an interval of only about sixty years one would suppose a correct knowledge of Bhoja's ancestry to have survived; and, of course, *devaśakti*, taken as a *bahuvrīhi* compound, is not an impossible name of a real person. Still, it is a curious name, and outside fable-literature it is unique, so far as I know. Might it not be a mere legendary name? It means literally ‘the power of Deva,’ and it is as if one of our royal houses who claim to reign by “the grace of God” were to make that “grace of God” the ancestor of their house. Might not this name *devaśakti* give us the earliest indication of the rise of the later legend of the miraculous birth of the ancestors of the Rajput clans?

A well-known form of this legend is related by Tod (Rajasthan, i, 86, 87, Madras ed.); also in the *Rāsmālā* (ii, 234), and by Sir Alexander Cunningham (*Arch. Survey Reports*, ii, 253 ff.). According to it Vasishta had once convened all the other sages on Mount Abū to perform a sacrifice before the assembled gods. In this they were

disturbed by the Asuras. Thereupon Vasishta caused to come forth from the sacrificial fire-pit successively the four eponymous ancestors of the so-called Agnikula or 'fire-clans' of Rajputs, the Parihars, Chālukyas (or Solankīs), Parmars, and Chohans. This form of the legend which makes all the four clans to have sprung equally from the sacred fire is given on the authority of the Rajput bards, especially of the Hindi bard Chand Bardāi. But Sir A. Cunningham suggests (*l.c.*, p. 254) that in the original legend the fire-birth must have been limited to the Chohans. Herein, I think, he is right. Chand lived about 1190 A.D., and he is, so far as I know, the earliest witness to the existence of the legend in the form above given. He certainly seems to limit the fire-birth to the Chohans. The legend is related by him in stanzas 124 ff. of the first book (*prastāva*) of his *Prithirāj Rāsau*.¹ The following are its essential portions :—

Taba su-rikkhi Bāciṣṭa kuṇḍa rocana raci tāmahi |
Dhariya dhyāna jajī homa madhya vedī sura sāmaha |
Taba pragatyaṁ Pratihāra, rāha tini thaurā su-dhāriya |
Phuni pragatyaṁ Cālukka, Brahma tini cālu su-sāriya |
Pāvāra pragatyaṁ bīra vara, kahyau rikkhhi para-māra
dhana |
Traya purukha juddha kīnau atula, naha Rakkhhasa
khuddanta tana || 124 ||

Taba citiya Bāciṣṭa, eha Āsura avicāriya || 127 ||

Anala-kuṇḍa kiya anala sajji upagāra sāra sura |

Upajyau anala Cāhuvāna taba cava su-bāhu asi bāha dhari ||

¹ So in the MSS. and in the *Bibliotheca Indica* ed., p. 67; but in M. V. Pandia's ed., p. 49, verses 127 ff. The text varies slightly; the only important difference is in Pandia's ed., line 4, *brahmacārī vrata dhāriya*, "he kept the brahmacārī vow," for *Brahma tini cālu su-sāriya*. That reading can hardly be correct, because it is incongruent with the tenour of the stanza, which intends to describe warriors, not ascetics. *Cālu* is also spelt *cullū*, *calū*, *calu*, *caluka*, Skr. *caluka* or *culuka*.

That is—

“Then the sage Vasishta carefully prepared a pit; performing meditation, he offered a *homa* in the midst of the altar in the presence of the Suras. Then there appeared the Pratihāra: him he placed on the road to the palace. Next there appeared the Chālukka: him Brahma brought forth from his hollowed palm. The Pāvāra (Parmar) (now) appeared, the excellent hero: (him) the sage called blessed as the ‘Slayer of the enemy’ (*para-māra*). The three men made a fight unequalled; (but) the Rakshasas did not draw back a whit . . . Vasishta thought to himself, ‘These Asuras are very impudent’ . . . So he made a fire in the fire-pit, preparing a thorough protection for the Suras . . . Then there arose from the fire the Chāhuvān, four-armed, holding a sword in each arm.”

Here the fire-birth is distinctly ascribed to the Chohans, but to them only. Of the others it is not said that they came out of the fire. With regard to the Parmars and Chaulukyas, indeed, Chand’s words seem to contain a distinct allusion to peculiar legends of theirs concerning the miraculous birth of their eponymous ancestors. It is certain from their inscriptions that these two clans possessed such legends at a date considerably anterior to Chand, while, for the present at least, there is no evidence to prove this either concerning the Parihars or the Chohans. It would seem that in Chand’s time the leading rival clans among the Rajputs were the Parihars, Chaulukyas, Parmars, and Chohans. It is not impossible that the legend in the form in which it is quoted above is an invention of Chand Bardāi himself, for the purpose of extolling his particular clan, the Chohan, at the expense of the three others. For this purpose he appears to have appropriated to the Chohans a peculiar claim of the Parmars. For, so far as we know, the Parmars are the only clan who, anteriorly to Chand, laid claim to the fire-birth. The existing evidence is meagre, but such as it is the inscriptions of the Chohans themselves give no countenance to the belief that they claimed to be a ‘fire-race.’

Their earliest (known) record is a *praśasti*, dated 842 A.D.

(*J.G.O.S.* xl, 39; *E.I.* v, App., No. 12), of a branch line of Chohans ruling in Dholpur in Eastern Rajputana. It simply states that the line belongs to "the goodly race of the eminent 'land-lord' Chāhavāna" (*Cāhavāna vara-bhūpati-cāru-varṇśa*) without the least suggestion of anything miraculous. The next is a *praśasti*, dated 973 A.D., of the main line of Chohans. It similarly speaks only of the *Cāhamānānvaya* (*E.I.* ii, 121, verse 13) or Chāhamāna line. So also the *praśasti*, dated 1170 A.D. (*J.A.S.B.* lv, 41, verse 10), of the main line; and the charter, dated 1161 A.D. (*J.B.B.R.A.S.* xix, 26; *E.I.* v, App., No. 141), of the Nadol branch of Chohans. The latter two records are practically contemporaneous with Chand Bardāi. It seems clear, therefore, that the whole of the Chohan clan, in the main as well as the side lines, laid no claim to being a 'fire-race.'

The only Rajput clan which, so far as I know, puts forth in its records a claim to be a 'fire-race' is that of the Parmars. Their claim can be traced back to about a century earlier than Chand Bardāi, that is, to the year 1060 A.D., the date of the Arthuna (*Ind. Ant.*, xxii, 80) and (approximately) of the Udepur *praśastis* (*E.I.* i, 224), which belong to the junior and senior branches respectively of the royal line of Parmars of Malwa. It is in these inscriptions that we first meet with the legend of the miraculous birth of the eponymous hero from the sacrificial fire-pit. As told here it runs as follows (*E.I.* i, 234, 236, verses 5, 6): At one time on Mount Abū, Viśvāmitra forcibly took away the cow of Vasishṭa; thereupon the latter caused a hero to arise from the fire-pit (*agni-kunḍa*); that hero slew the enemies, and recovered the cow; in reward thereof the sage gave him the name *Para-māra* or slayer of the enemies. This is substantially the same story as given by Chand Bardāi, though in his version the enemies are Rakshasas, and no mention is made of any abduction of the cow.¹ The

¹ Chand also knows the story of Vasishṭa's cow, but according to him the cow was not abducted, but fell into a bottomless cleft of the mount (*athāva bila*, stanza 81); also, the loss of the cow has no immediate connection with the creation of the fire-races.

term 'fire-race,' though implied in the legend of these two *praśastis*, does not actually occur in them. The first actual use of it we find in the slightly later Nagpur *praśasti* of the year 1104 A.D. It occurs there (*E.I.* ii, 182, verse 4) in the form *vahni-vamśa*, not *agni-kula*.

It may be worth noting that the legend is not found introduced in the nearly contemporaneous Bhinmal inscription, dated 1060 A.D. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, pt. 1, p. 472; *E.I.* v, App., No. 689), of the Rajputana line of Parmars. This inscription (like those of the Chohans) speaks simply of the "Paramāra race" without the least suggestion of any miraculous occurrence. It would seem, therefore, that the legend of the 'fire-birth' was limited to the royal Parmar line of Malwa. What is curious, however, is the fact that there exist several Parmar inscriptions of earlier date than 1080 A.D. which make no mention whatever of that legend. This circumstance might be thought to prove that the legend was not known before 1080 A.D., or the latter half of the eleventh century, if it were not that we have also inscriptions later than 1080 A.D. which do not mention the legend. Such are the charters (land-grants) of Lakshmi Varma Deva, dated 1143 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, xix, 353; *E.I.* v, App., No. 121), and of Arjuna Varma Deva, dated 1211 A.D. (*J.A.S.B.* v, 378; *E.I.* v, App., No. 195). The evidence of the charters, therefore, does not necessarily disprove an existence of the legend earlier than the latter half of the eleventh century, but it does prove that no credence, or at least no importance, was attached to it officially. It might be introduced into private, or semi-private, eulogies (*praśasti*), but not into official charters (*śāsana*).

The case is similar with the Chaulukyas (Solankis). At least it is so with the more important (imperial) line of Mūlarāja. In the official charters of this line the legend of the miraculous birth of their eponymous hero is never admitted. As a rule, indeed (just as in the Parmar charters), there is not even any mention of his name, nor of the descent from him. Mūlarāja's charter, of 987 A.D., appears to be the

solitary exception in describing that sovereign as belonging to the "Chaulukya line" (*Caulukikānvaya*, *Ind. Ant.*, vi, 191, line 5). The legend appears in Chaulukya *praśastis*, and it is found so for the first time, in the year 1151 A.D., in the Vadnagar *praśasti* (*E.I.* i, 301, verse 2). As here given, the legend says that at the request of the gods, to protect them from the Dānavas, Brahmā, when performing the *sandhyā* ceremony, produced the hero Chulukya from the Ganges water in his hollowed palm (*culuka*). It is this form of the legend, evidently, which is referred to in the verses of Chand Bardāi above quoted.

With the less important Chaulukya line of Bārapa, the legend is not only met with at a considerably earlier date, but is also admitted into their official charters. It is, for the first time, found in Kīrtirāja's grant of 1018 A.D. (*Vienna Or. Journ.*, vii, 88; *E.I.* v, App., No. 354), and is repeated in Trilochanapāla's grant of 1051 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, xii, 201, verses 4-7; *E.I.* v, App., No. 356). Here it is given in a somewhat different form. The passage runs as follows:—

Kadācid Daitya-khed-ottha-cintā-Mandara-manthanāt |
Virīñceś culuk-āmbodhe rāja-ratnam pumān ābhūt ||
"Deva kiṃ karavāṇ" = iti nattivā prāha tam eva saḥ |
Samādiṣṭārtha-saṃsiddhau tuṣṭaḥ sraṣṭ = ābravīc ca ||
"Kanyākubje, Mahārāja, Rāṣṭrakūṭasya kanyakām |
labdhvā sukhāya tasyām tvaṃ Cauluky = āpnuhi santatim ||
Ittham atra bhavet kṣatra-santatir vitatā kila |
Caulukyāt prathitā nadyāḥ srotāṃs = iva mahīdharāt " ||

That is—

"Once on a time, through the churning with the Mandara (mount) of anxiety roused by the oppression of the Daityas (called Dānavas in verse 1), out of the ocean in the hollowed palm (*culuka*) of Brahma there arose a man, a jewel of a king. 'O Deva, what shall I do,' so respectfully he addressed Brahma; and the pleased Creator, for the attainment of the indicated object, spoke to him: 'In Kanyākubja (Kanauj), O great King Chaulukya, after having taken (in marriage) the daughter of a Rāshtrakūṭa, do thou, for the sake of the

welfare (of the people), raise progeny on her. Thus there may here arise from a Chaulukya (i.e. from a palm-born being) a truly extensive race of Kshatriyas, far-spreading like river streams (coming) from a mountain.' ”

The point in this version of the legend which is particularly to be observed is that it has much less of a mythological complexion. There is here no suggestion of a quarrel between the Devas and Daityas. We have evidently before us no myth, but a semi-historical account of an early occurrence, expressed in poetical and figurative language. And perhaps it is this semi-historical character of the occurrence which accounts for its being mentioned in the official charters. “At some time,” not exactly known, but still remembered, the natives of the country and their brahmanical institutions were being harassed by non-brahmanical foreigners (poetically called Daityas or Dānavas). One of the foreign chiefs, a Chaulukya, married the daughter of one of the native Rāshtrakūṭa chiefs and pursued a pro-Hindu policy. The Brahmans, relieved of their mountain-load of anxiety, gladly regularised the transaction by declaring the Chaulukyas a Kshatriya caste. This appears to be the meaning of the semi-historical legend. Its earliest known date is 1018 A.D., but, as already remarked on p. 11, it probably existed as early as the middle of the tenth century, and there is no reason why it should not have existed among the Chaulukyas even earlier, at a time when they still lived in their original home in Rajputana. There is nothing strange in the occurrence itself: the assimilating power of Hinduism is well known in India. If the Moghul emperors, when they formed matrimonial alliances with daughters of Rajput princes, had at the same time adopted Brahmanic Hinduism, we should now have a Moghul caste of Hindu Kshatriyas. But even the loose Muhammadanism of the early Moghuls possessed more power of persistence than the Shamanism of the Huns or Gūrjaras.

A curious point about the semi-historical tradition of the Chaulukyas is that Bilhana, about 1085 A.D., in his *Vikramāṅkadeva Carita*, transfers it to the southern Chālukyas.

He also gives it a more strictly mythological character. According to him, "Brahmā was once engaged in his *sandhyā* devotions, when Indra came to him to complain of the growing godlessness on earth. On hearing this request the Creator directed his looks towards his *culuka*, and from it sprung a handsome warrior fit to protect the three worlds. From him descended the Chālukyas, among whom Hārīta is reckoned as first progenitor, as well as Mānavya who humbled the pride of the enemies" (*Ind. Ant.*, v, 317; xii, 198, 199). Bilhana here combines the legend of the *culuka*-birth, which is peculiar to the later northern Chaulukyas, with the tradition of a descent from Mānavya and Hārīta, which is the property of the earlier southern Chālukyas; and, so far as I know, the combination is limited to him. It cannot be traced elsewhere in the records of the southern Chālukyas. As to their own proper tradition of the Mānavya and Hārīta descent, it can be traced back to a very early age. We meet with it for the first time, as early as 601 A.D., in the Mahākūṭa inscription of Maṅgaleśa (*Ind. Ant.*, xix, 17; *E.I.* vii, App., No. 5); and it can be followed down to 1009 A.D. in the Kanṭhem grant (*Ind. Ant.*, xvi, 17), and even to 1077 A.D. in the Yeūr inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, viii, 11; *E.I.* vii, App., No. 185), among the records of the Later Western Chālukya dynasty. The last-mentioned date is the very time of Bilhana and his combination, just referred to. About the same time another combination of the original tradition was effected with a Puranic genealogy (quite different from the *culuka*-birth legend) in the records of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. This combination is first met with in the Raṇastipunḍī grant of 1011 A.D. (*E.I.* vi, 347).

With reference to the original and simple Chālukya tradition of their descent from Mānavya and Hārīta, it is worth noting what Maṅgaleśa's Mahākūṭa inscription, of 601 A.D., says regarding Pulikeśin I (*Ind. Ant.*, xix, 17, 18, line 4), that his "body was purified by the religious merit of oblations performed after celebrating *agniṣṭoma* (and other) sacrifices; that he was descended from the (god)

Hiranyagarbha (Brahman), accepted the admonitions of the elders, and was good to the Brāhmans.” We have here (so it seems to me) a fairly plain statement of the adoption of Brahmanism by Maṅgaleśa’s grandfather, the foreign invader or immigrant, Pulikeśin I, and of his admission, with solemn ceremonial, by the Brāhman “elders” into the Brahmanic social system, in confirmation whereof he was assigned membership of the Mānavya *gotra* and descent from an original ancestress of the Hārīta *gotra* (*Ind. Ant.*, xix, 13). The same characteristic incidents are described in even plainer language in the Raṇastipunḍī grant (*E.I.* vi, 352, lines 17–20; see also *South Indian Inscriptions*, i, No. 39, p. 58, and *Ind. Ant.*, vii, 243–245; xiv, 49, 51): “During this battle his (Vijayāditya’s) great queen, who was pregnant, reached, together with the family priest and the old ministers, an *agrahāra*, called Muḍirema, and being protected like a daughter by Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Somayājīn, a great ascetic, who dwelt there, she gave birth to a son, Viṣṇu Vardhana. She brought him up, having caused to be performed for this prince the rites which were suitable to his two-sided Kshatriya descent from the Mānavya *gotra* and the sons of Hārītī.” Though the date of this grant, 1011 A.D., is much too late to inspire any confidence in the historical truth of the minuter details of its tradition, the general drift of the latter is fully confirmed by the Mahākūṭa inscription, which, being dated in 601 A.D., is nearly contemporary with, that is, only about fifty years after, the date of the incidents in Pulikeśin I’s life which it records.¹ Moreover, both records agree in one important item of the tradition, namely, that the Brahmanic naturalization of the Chālukyas took

¹ There is another point of detail in the later record of 1011 A.D., which, even with the late authority for it, is perhaps not altogether without significance. It is said that Viṣṇu Vardhana, after his naturalization, went to the “Chālukya mountain,” and there paid worship to a number of Brahmanical deities (*E.I.* vi, 352, line 4; *Ind. Ant.*, xiv, 49). This story seems to reflect a variant of Chand Bardāi’s legend, which places the origin of the Chālukyas, and of their kindred clans, on Mount Abū, in connection with a solemn Brahmanical ceremony. “The Chālukya mountain” I take to mean the mount which was the ancestral stronghold of the Chālukyas, and the reference may well be to this very Mount Abū.

place, not in the lifetime of their reputed founder, Jayasimha (called Vijayāditya in the later record), but in that of one of his immediate successors. According to the later record (of 1011 A.D.) it was Jayasimha's son, Vishṇu Vardhana (the Raṇarāga of the earlier record?), while, according to the earlier and more trustworthy record (of 601 A.D.), the naturalized person was his grandson, Pulikeśin I, who was, no doubt, the actual invader of Southern India and the founder there of the Chālukya sovereignty.

The later record has preserved another significant incident. It records that the "great queen" (*mahādevī*) of the above-mentioned Vishṇu Vardhana, who received Brahmanic naturalization, was a Pallava princess (*E.I.* vi, 353, line 24). The Pallavas were an intensely Brahmanical dynasty; and the adoption of Brahmanism by the Chālukya chief would be the natural corollary of his matrimonial alliance with a Pallava princess. We have here a tradition parallel to that of the Chaulukyas mentioned above, p. 24. The authority for it, no doubt, is of a very late date; the early record, of 601 A.D., does not mention it; but the incident itself possesses the greatest intrinsic probability, with this modification only, that the Chālukya chief who concluded the Pallava matrimonial alliance was, not the problematic Vishṇu Vardhana, but the real founder of the southern Chālukya sovereignty, Pulikeśin I. In any case, the tradition recorded in the Raṇastipunḍī grant shows what at that date, 1011 A.D., was believed to be the natural concomitant of the Brahmanic naturalization of a foreign invader.

As regards the Parihars, we have, as yet, very few records. But there are two very early ones of nearly the same date, 861 A.D., the Ghaṭayāl and Jodhpur *praśastis* (*Journal R.A.S.*, 1894, p. 1, and 1895, p. 513; *E.I.* v, App., Nos. 13, 330), of the two half-brothers Kakkuka and Bāuka. They appear to have held a considerable tract of country in western and northern Rajputana, and their date would show that they must have done so under the sovereignty of the Gūrjara emperor Bhoja I (c. 840–845 A.D.). Their *praśastis* give

them no territorial titles whatsoever, not even *rāja*, though it is specially noted in the Jodhpur inscription that one of Kakka's (their father's) two wives, the mother of Bāuka, was a *mahārājñī*, that is, an imperial princess. This shows that the princes of this dynasty were only small chiefs, who in course of time grew sufficiently powerful to form, in the person of Kakka, a matrimonial alliance with the imperial Gūrjara house of Bhoja I. This is confirmed by the notice in the Jodhpur inscription (*l.c.*, l. 14) that Kakka, whose date must be about 830–850 A.D., “gained renown in a fight with the Gaudas at Mudgagiri (Mungir).” As the son-in-law of Bhoja I he would naturally have assisted him in his attempted “conquest of the three worlds” (see *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, pp. 646, 647). The two half-brothers Kakkuka and Bāuka formed the twelfth generation of their Parihar dynasty. This fact, at the usual rate of twenty years for a reign, will place Harichandra, the founder of the dynasty, at about 640 A.D.

The particular point of interest, however, of the two *prāśastis* is that apparently they profess to give an account of how the Parihar clan of Rajputs really arose. According to them, Harichandra was a Brahman who, as the Jodhpur *prāśasti* tells us, married two wives, one of Brahman, the other of Kshatriya caste. The Brahman wife is not named, and she was probably an ordinary woman of her own caste. The Kshatriya wife, on the other hand, is described as a lady of noble birth (*mahākulaguṇānvitā*, verse 7) and a princess (*rājñī*, verse 8), and her name is given as Bhadrā. The descendants of the Brahman wife are expressly stated to have taken rank as Brahmans, while those of the Kshatriya lady are not specifically classed, though of course the implication is that they enjoyed their mother's rank. But the implication is expressed in a very curious way. The text runs as follows:—

Viprah śrī-Haricandr-ākhyah patnī Bhadrā ca kṣattriyā |
Tābhyān tu ye sutā jātāḥ Pratihārām=ś=ca tān viduḥ || 5 ||
Pratihārā drījā bhūtā brāhmaṇyām ye 'bhavaṁ=t=sutāḥ |
Rājñī Bhadrā ca yām=t=sūte te bhūtā madhu-payinaḥ || 8 ||

That is—

“There was a Brahman named Harichandra, and his wife was Bhadrā, a Kshatriya lady. Now the sons that were born from this pair have become known as the Parihars. The sons that were born to the Brahmanī woman became Parihar Brahmans, and those whom the princess Bhadrā bore they became liquor-drinkers.”

Let us note, first, all the sons of the “Brahman” Harichandra were Parihars, his sons of the Brahman woman as well as those of the Kshatriya lady. Secondly, what differentiates them is not so much the fact that they were born of mothers of two different castes, but the fact that some of the sons were addicted to the habit of drinking liquor. The drinking of liquor is a well-known distinctive trait of the Rajputs. There is another curious remark in the Jodhpur *praśasti* (verse 6). Harichandra, who is described as a “Brahman” (*dvija* or *vipra*) and a “Vedic scholar” (*vedaśāstrārtha-pāraga*), is nevertheless said to have been a Rohilla (or Rohilladdhi).¹ Though the meaning of the latter designation is not exactly known, it is at least certain that it is not any Indian brahmanic term: it seems to point to Harichandra having been of foreign extraction.

The facts which the statements of the *praśastis* seem to me to suggest are these. Harichandra by race belonged to the Rohillas, a clan or sept of the foreign invaders. Among them he held the position of a priest or wizard, or what corresponded to that of the Brahman among the natives of India. As such he not only claimed to be a Brahman, but adopted Brahman practices and married a real Brahman woman. In addition, being an influential Rohilla, he also married a noble lady of the country, a real Kshatriya princess. The sons of the latter lady naturally adhered to the noble ‘passions’ of their class, especially in the matter

¹ The word in the original is either *Rohilla-dvy-aṅka* or *Rohilladdhy-aṅka*, pointing to a clan Rohilla or Rohilladdhi. *Dvy-aṅka*, ‘having two marks,’ might indicate that Harichandra belonged by birth to the Rohillas, but by profession, or class, to the ‘Brahmans.’ Compare the term *dvi-pakṣa* as applied to the southern Chālukyas, *Ind. Ant.*, xiv, 51, line 24.

of drinking liquor ; and, as an indication of their noble birth, as sons of a *rājñī* or princess, they were called *rāja-putra* or Rajputs, that is, princely sons. The sons of the Brahman woman also followed the practices of their mother's class, and abstained from drink, and consequently they took rank as a species of Brahmans. Thus there arose Parihar Brahmans and Parihar Rajputs. Here we have an actual example of the mergence of a foreign people into the Hindu population, to which Mr. Bhandarkar refers in the concluding paragraph of his paper on the *Gūrjaras* (pp. 20, 21). With his remarks I fully agree. But what is interesting is that we have in the two Parihar *prāśastis* such an early testimony to the actuality of the process of fusion. It goes back to the middle of the ninth century ; and though the beginning of the fusion, according to the *prāśastis* themselves, must be placed about 200 years earlier, in the middle of the seventh century, there is no good reason to doubt the soundness of the tradition. It is a further illustration of the general conclusion to which all the traditions we have been examining point. The Rajput clans are the result of intermarriages of foreign (Gūrjara and other) invaders with women of the native Indian ruling classes. The period of the non-brahmanical foreign invasion was one of great trouble and oppression for the Brahmanism of the country. Those foreigners who intermarried with natives were naturally disposed to favour and even adopt Brahmanism ; and in return the Brahmans naturalized them by providing them with a respectable place in their caste system. The earliest instances of such naturalization would appear to have been those of the southern Chālukyas of the Dekhan and the northern Parihars of Rajputana, occurring about the sixth and seventh centuries respectively. The imperial Gūrjaras appear to have come later in the middle of the eighth century (Devaśakti) ; and the Parmars and Chohans probably arose about the same time. The rise of the Chaulukyas (Solankīs) would seem to fall into the middle of the tenth century. No doubt there must have been great differences in the times and conditions of these several

growths. On all points of detail we are still very much in the dark : what we seem clearly to see is only the general trend of the events.

In conclusion, I will venture to sketch, as a working hypothesis, the outlines of the course of the history of this period as it presents itself to my mind. In the earlier part of the sixth century a great invasion took place into India of Central Asiatic peoples, Huns, Gūrjaras, and probably others, whose exact interrelation we do not know. Their first onset carried them as far east as Gwāliyor. For a time their advance was stemmed by the signal defeat inflicted on them about 533 A.D. by the Mālava emperor Yaśodharman-Vikramāditya, and later by the efforts of the Kanauj emperor, Harsha Vardhana. The foreign hordes, thus checked in their eastward advance, divided. One (probably the main) portion settled in Rajputana and the Panjab, stragglers also in Southern Malwa. Another portion, known as the Chālukyas, turned southward across the Narmadā, and about 550 A.D., under Pulikeśin I, won for themselves a kingdom with its capital at Badami, and, by the intermarriage of their chief with the old Brahmanic royal house of the Pallavas, became naturalized in the Brahmanically constituted Indian community. A period of about 200 years now followed, in the south, of the steady growth of the Chālukya empire. In the north, it was a period of quiescence of the northern settlers. During this period a gradual fusion took place with the natives of the country, as evidenced by the upgrowth of the Parihars in the middle of the seventh century, and of the Parmars, Chohans, and imperial Gūrjaras in the middle of the eighth century. This was the period of the nascence of the Rajput clans. It was at last terminated by a fresh outbreak of the ethnic volcano. About 780 A.D. the eastward movement was resumed by the imperial Gūrjaras of Rajputana, under Vatsarāja. Their new onset led them as far as the borders of Bengal. It was again temporarily checked by the Rāshtrakūṭa emperors, who, in the meanwhile, had subverted the empire of the southern Chālukyas, and who represented

a recrudescence of the native opposition to the foreign invaders, enacted 200 years earlier under the Mālava and Kanauj emperors. The check was not permanently effective; Vatsarāja's successors succeeded in making good their advance, and about 840 A.D., under Bhoja I, the Gūrjara empire, with its capital at Kanauj, embraced nearly the whole of northern India, up to the borders of Bihar and Bengal (Gauda). After Bhoja I, the Gūrjara empire began to decline, owing partly to the internal rivalry of the constituent clans (Parmars, Chohans, Chandels, Parihars, Kachhwahas, etc.), partly to external wars with the Chedis and Rāshtrakūṭas. About 950 A.D. the empire had shed a number of independent sovereignties, Malwa, Bandelkhand, and several smaller ones in Rajputana. At the same time, however—by way of compensation, as it were—a fresh activity manifested itself in a southerly direction. About 975 A.D. the Rāshtrakūṭa empire was subverted by a renaissance of the Chālukya power, and Lata was conquered by the Chaulukyas. The latter, who were kinsmen of the Chālukyas, but had remained behind in Rajputana, thus reverted to the original southward movement of their kindred. In the meantime the stump of the Gūrjara empire, consisting of the small kingdom of Kanauj, continued to exist for about a century longer, till, about 1050 A.D., it was finally extinguished by the Gaharwār Chandra Deva. This brings us near to the next great foreign invasion of India by the Turki hordes, which, about a century and a half later, from 1191 A.D. onwards, once more changed the face of northern India.

P.S. to p. 2.—In Mr. Sibberrad's paper on the *History of Western Bundelkhand*, the era of the dates is not mentioned. It would seem that they are intended to be taken in terms of the Christian era. In that case, 243 and 285 as dates A.D. are obviously much too early. But if referred to the Gupta era, they are much nearer the truth: $243 = 563$ G.E., and $285 = 605$ G.E.

II.

A STUDY OF PARAMARTHA'S LIFE OF VASU-BANDHU; AND THE DATE OF VASU-BANDHU.

By J. TAKAKUSU, M.R.A.S., M.A., DR. PHIL.

PARAMĀRTHA (A.D. 499–569), or Kula-nātha as he was sometimes called, was a Brahmin of the Bhāradvāja family of Ujjayinī, West India. In 539 A.D. the Emperor of China, Wu-ti (502–549), sent a mission to Magadha, North India, in search of a learned Buddhist and the original Mahā-yāna texts. The Indian Court despatched Paramārtha, who was then staying at Magadha, with 240 bundles of palm-leaf texts, besides 64 works which he afterwards translated.¹

His arrival in Nan-hai² falls in the year 546 A.D., while his visit to the then capital Chien-yeh³ did not take place until 548, when the Emperor Wu-ti gave him a hearty welcome with due honour.

The literary activity and religious enthusiasm of this Indian guest during the declining days of the Liang dynasty (548–557) and the early parts of the subsequent Chan dynasty (557–569) seem to have attracted the curious eyes of Chinese Buddhists, who thronged to listen to the new preacher in spite of all the disturbances which they were experiencing just then. His teaching embraced a variety of subjects, but throughout, as a Mahā-yānist, he laid earnest and persistent emphasis on the Buddhistic idealism (Vijñāna-mātra) of Vasu-bandhu and Asaṅga. He seems to have been

¹ Of these only 32 translations exist at present : see Nanjio's Catalogue, p. 423 (104, 105).

² A district in Canton : lat. 23° 7' ; long. 113° 15'.

³ Now Nan-king.

fairly successful in popularizing the doctrine, for on one occasion the Court is said to have considered the propagation of his idealism to be dangerous to the nation. He himself was not satisfied with his work as a preacher of peace. He once said to one of his pupils: "My original plan for which I am come here will never be realised. We can entertain at present no hope of seeing the prosperity of the Law." But his work as a translator was simply brilliant and in every way satisfactory. We have to thank him for the preservation of several important texts, such as the fundamental works of the Vijñāna-vādins, Vasu-bandhu, and Asaṅga, the books on Logic of Diṅ-nāga, the Sāṃkhya-kārikā of Īśvara-kṛṣṇa with its commentary,¹ besides some works of Nāgārjuna, Aśva-ghoṣa, Vasu-mitra, and Guṇa-mati. What we value most is his "Biography of Vasu-bandhu," which furnishes us with several otherwise unknown data, and sheds an unexpected light on a dark period in the history of Buddhism, of the Sāṃkhya school and of Indian literature in general. A study of this important biography is the chief object of the present paper.

An English translation of Paramārtha's "Life of Vasu-bandhu" was given by me in the *Tong-pao* (July, 1904), and the whole can be summed up as follows :—

A summary of the "Life of Vasu-bandhu," by Paramārtha (A.D. 499–569 ; 546–569 in China).

Born, at Puruṣa-pura (Peshawar), of the Brahmin family of Kauśika, Vasu-bandhu is the second of the three brothers.

A. Vasu-bandhu Asaṅga (Asaṅga, the eldest).

B. Vasu-bandhu Viriñci-vatsa (the youngest).

C. Vasu-bandhu (the second).

A.—Asaṅga, first an adherent of the Sarvāsti-vāda school and of the Hīna-yāna, afterwards a promoter of the Mahā-yāna and an author of the Upadeśas on the Mahā-yāna sūtras.

¹ See Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, July, 1904.

The works attributed to Asaṅga are :—

- (1) The Saptadaśa-bhūmi sūtra.¹
- (2) The Mahā-yāna-sūtra upadeśas.²
- (3) The Mahā-yāna-saṃparigraha-śāstra.³

He converts Vasu-bandhu to the Mahā-yāna faith, and dies before Vasu-bandhu's compilation of Mahā-yāna works.

B.—Viriñci-vatsa, an adherent of the Sarvāsti-vāda school, an Arhat.

C.—Vasu-bandhu, the second and the greatest of the three brothers, had no other distinguishing name. At first an adherent of the Sarvāsti-vāda school, he is described as a free thinker, and never confines himself to the teaching of his own school. His work, the Abhidharma-kośa,⁴ represents his opinion, which presupposes the philosophy of the Mahā-Vibhāṣās⁵ as compiled by Kātyāyanī-putra and put into literary form by Aśva-ghoṣa. These, in their turn, explain the principles set forth in the work, Jñāna-prasthāna, otherwise called the Aṣṭa-grantha,⁶ also composed by Kātyāyanī-putra, in the sixth century after the Buddha's death. As the tendency of his time requires, Vasu-bandhu writes the "Paramārtha-saptati" against the Sāṃkhya-śāstra (Sāṃkhya-saptati, i.e. Kārikā) of Vindhya-vāsa, a pupil of Vṛṣa-gaṇa (cf. Vārṣa-gaṇya), who lived in the tenth century after the Buddha's death.

King Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā, first the patron of the Sāṃkhya school but afterwards that of Buddhism, its influence being recovered by Vasu-bandhu.

Bālāditya, the Crown Prince, and the Queen-mother, both pupils of Vasu-bandhu, invite the latter to Ayodhyā, after the death of Vikramāditya. Vasu-bandhu disputes with

¹ This is attributed to Maitreya, but really a work of Asaṅga. Compare Nanjio's 1170.

² No work called "Upadeśa" is preserved, but several books called Śāstra, Kārikā or Ṭīka, are found in the Chinese collections. See Nanjio's Catalogue, p. 371, 5.

³ Nanjio's Nos. 1183, 1184, 1247; compare No. 1171 (2).

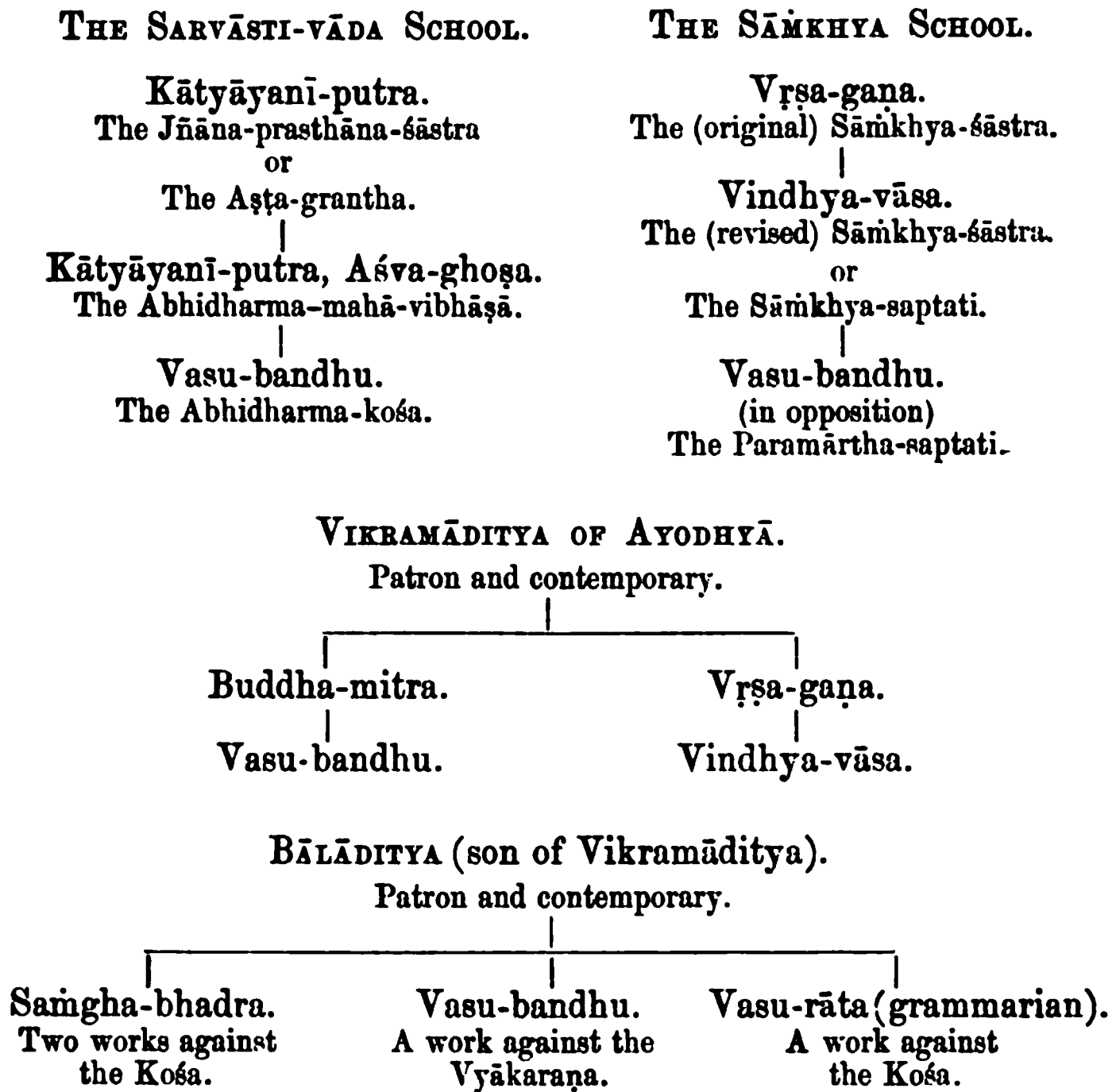
⁴ Nanjio's Nos. 1267, 1269, 1270.

⁵ Nanjio's Nos. 1263, 1264, 1279.

⁶ Nanjio's Nos. 1273 and 1275.

Vasu-rāta, a grammarian, and Saṃgha-bhadra, an orthodox Vaibhāṣika.

So far Vasu-bandhu is represented as a Hīna-yānist. The above gives us the following results :—



Asaṅga invites Vasu-bandhu to Puruṣa-pura, i.e. Peshawar, and converts him to the Mahā-yāna. After the death of Asaṅga the latter begins to write works relating to the Mahā-yāna and commentaries on several Mahā-yāna sūtras.

A.—The Mahā-yāna sūtras commented on by Vasu-bandhu:

1. The Avataṃsaka.
2. The Nirvāṇa.¹
3. The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka.²

¹ Nanjio's Nos. 1206, 1207, 1209.

² Nanjio's Nos. 1232, 1233.

4. The Prajñā-pāramitā.¹
5. The Vimala-kīrti.
6. The Śrī-mālā-simhanadā.

B.—The Mahā-yāna śāstras compiled by Vasu-bandhu :

1. The Vijñāna-mātra-siddhi.²
2. The Mahā-yāna-saṃparigraha-vyākhyā.³
3. The Nature of the Ratna-Traya.⁴
4. The Gate to the Nectar.⁵

Here he is represented as a Mahā-yānist, his conversion to the school being told at length. Buddhist students of all parts of India and of neighbouring countries use Vasu-bandhu's works as their text-books. All the heretics in fear of him. He dies at Ayodhyā, aged 80.

A study of the life of Vasu-bandhu is very important for the history of the Mahā-yāna school of Buddhism, as he is an able representative of the Mahā-yāna as well as the Hīna-yāna, himself being a convert to Asaṅga's idealism.

The study must be carried out in two directions, i.e. : (1) An examination of his philosophical views, in which his position as a free thinker and a "patron of all schools" has to be fully brought out. (2) A survey of all the historical data bearing upon his life, which should be collected from all the sources available. My original plan was to go into details on these two sides of our subject. Interesting and important as they are, this would involve the laborious work of investigating into the whole Vaibhāṣika literature, a single translation of it amounting to 200 Chinese volumes, 438,449 ideographical characters. Besides this, my study of the Abhidharma-kośa and Vijñāna-mātra, texts of his own, with all their commentaries, is as yet far from being complete,

¹ Nanjio's Nos. 1231, 1168.

² Nanjio's Nos. 1215, 1238, 1239, 1240.

³ Nanjio's Nos. 1171 (2, 3, 4).

⁴ Probably Nanjio's No. 1219.

⁵ Nanjio's No. 1205 (?).

and is by no means an easy task. I have therefore thought it best to postpone that work, and confine myself at present to a study of the "Life of Vasu-bandhu" written by Paramārtha.

Paramārtha (499–569) of Ujjayinī was, as stated above, an early importer into China of Vasu-bandhu's philosophy, and a successful interpreter of several important works of Vasu-bandhu and Asaṅga then extant in India.

He departed from Magadha together with the Chinese envoys sent out in 539 A.D. Consequently all the original texts he brought with him, and all the traditions he handed over to his pupils in China, must have been in existence before that particular date. His lifetime—or, to speak more precisely, the time of his departure from India—is not far removed from Vasu-bandhu's date, to which I shall come back directly. His "Life of Vasu-bandhu" is not a translation of another's work, as is generally considered, but seems to be a memorandum patched together from his own recollections of incidents and of traditions, or it may be a note taken down by his pupils from his oral transmissions. That it is not a translation can safely be asserted from the fact that it originally included in the text an account of his own travel in China, which was, however, struck out by a later hand,¹ perhaps with the purpose of giving the work an appearance of a more sacred character. If we subtract from the text all the explanations of names, the most curious of which is that of the name 'Puruṣa-pura,' the biography is a most sensible record of the incidents connected with Vasu-bandhu, who is not as yet styled 'Boddhi-sattva' or 'Arhat,' as is the case with Aśva-ghoṣa and Kātyāyanī-putra.

The reliability of the incidents recorded by Paramārtha becomes more manifest when we find, as we do, corroborations from other sources. Most of the books mentioned by him were translated either by himself or others, and are still extant in Chinese. Moreover, the traditions relating to

¹ See my note at the end of the translation, *Tong-pao*, July, 1904.

their authors do not conflict with those known from different sources. For instance, he mentions Asaṅga's *Saptadaśa-bhūmi*, the principal work of the Yogācārya school, and that book is preserved in China.¹

The *Jñāna-prasthāna*, otherwise called the *Aṣṭa-grantha* of Kātyāyānī-putra, and the great *Vibhāṣā* commentary on it compiled with the help of Aśva-ghoṣa at the Council of Kanīṣka, are found in several translations.² And it is so with the important *Abhidharma-kośa* and *Vijñāna-mātra*, works which were translated by himself. The *Sāṃkhya-śāstra* (i.e. *Sāṃkhya-kārikā*) in Chinese was also by his own hand. Most of the works he mentions in the "Life" are fortunately found in China and Japan, and are used by Buddhist scholars in their schools.

Now, if we are right in assuming that Paramārtha reproduces the traditions then current in India, and gives a fairly correct account of the incidents to which he bears witness, we shall be justified in forming an opinion, based on the materials available, about Vasu-bandhu's date, which will, if settled once for all, give a clue to solving many a question confronted in the history of Indian thought.

Since not a single work of Vasu-bandhu is as yet published in the original, the date of his literary activity can only be settled by evidence adduced from Chinese authorities.

All the dates hitherto assigned to him must be either reconstructed or modified, and I do not quote them here except to make an occasional reference in passing.

Now let us try to proceed to the main question and examine at the outset the travels of those Chinese pilgrims and other biographers.

Kumārajīva (383–412 in China). The biographer of Aśva-ghoṣa, Ārya-deva, and Nāgārjuna does not give the "Life of Vasu-bandhu," though some catalogues mention by mistake that such a work was then in existence.

¹ See above, p. 35, note 1.

² See above, p. 35, note 6.

Fa-hien (399-414 in India). The name Vasu-bandhu does not occur in his record.

Ki-chia-ye¹ (472 A.D.). A history of the Indian patriarchs (Nanjio, No. 1340) mentions for the first time 'Ba-su-ban-da,'² though I have some doubt as to the identity of this 'Ba-su-ban-da' with our Vasu-bandhu.

Song-yun and Hui-seng (518-522 in India). Their record does not show that they knew the name Vasu-bandhu.³

Paramārtha (499-569 ; 546-569 in China). According to his "Life" Vasu-bandhu died at Ayodhyā, aged 80. The death must have occurred before Paramārtha's departure from Magadha (c. 539), or, at any rate, before his arrival in China (546). He does not style Vasu-bandhu a Bodhi-sattva, while he does so call Aśva-ghoṣa.

Hiuen-tsang (629-645 in India). His "Record" praises Vasu-bandhu throughout, and always styles him as a Bodhi-sattva.

I-tsing (671-695 in India). His "Record" assigns the 'middle age' (c. 450-550) to Vasu-bandhu, his brother, Asaṅga, and his opponent, Saṃgha-bhadra ; while Aśva-ghoṣa, Ārya-deva, and Nāgārjuna are said to have lived in 'early years' (before A.D. 400), and Diṇ-nāga, Guṇa-mati, etc., in 'late years' (550-670).⁴

From the above list we see that Paramārtha is practically the earliest authority concerning Vasu-bandhu. Since he states that the latter's death occurred in Ayodhyā at the age of 80, we are perfectly justified in believing that it took place before his departure from India soon after 539 A.D., in which year the Chinese mission in search of an Indian scholar was sent out. But since the exact date of his

¹ The restoration to Kiṅkara seems to be far-fetched. I suggest 'Kekaya' for it (吉迦夜); the Chinese translation, 何事, 'what-matter,' may be taken to be not quite accurate.

² 婆修槃陀.

³ Chavannes, "Voyage de Song-yun" (Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, July-September, 1903).

⁴ See my I-tsing's "Record," pp. lvii-lviii.

departure from India is not specified anywhere, we will take the date of his arrival in China, i.e. 546 A.D., as the latest possible *terminus ad quem* for Vasu-bandhu's date.

Thus we have to assign Vasu-bandhu a date earlier than 546 A.D. But how much earlier?

The question, I think, can be settled without much difficulty and with considerable certainty.

Samgha-bhadra, who is made a contemporary of Vasu-bandhu by Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing, is said, in our "Life," to have attacked the Abhidharma-kośa, and challenged Vasu-bandhu to a personal controversy. This the latter refused, saying:—"I am already old; do what you are inclined to do."¹ This event was while Vasu-bandhu was still a Hīna-yānist, and believed that the Mahā-yāna was not the Buddha's own teaching.

Afterwards Vasu-bandhu went from Ayodhyā (Oude) to Puruṣa-pura (Peshawar) at the request of his elder brother, Asaṅga, and was, on his arrival, converted to Mahā-yānism. He studied under Asaṅga the texts of the Mahā-yāna school.

After the death of Asaṅga he began to write all the Mahā-yāna treatises which Paramārtha mentions by name and has translated for us. Both the Mahā-yāna and Hīna-yāna schools alike used those works as their text-books, and the very sound of his name caused the scholars of his time no little trepidation, whether they were Buddhists or Brahmins. He died, aged 80, at Ayodhyā, where he must have returned after his visit to Puruṣa-pura.

The period of ten years between his conversion and his death would be quite reasonable, and is the shortest possible limit, for it was during this period, i.e. when he was about 70-80 years of age, that he wrote his Mahā-yānistic treatises—all after the death of Asaṅga.²

¹ 我今已老。隨汝意所爲。 'Lao' (老) is generally 'about 70 years.' We shall not be much wrong if we take him to be about that age.

² Asaṅga is said to have died at the age of 75. His next younger brother, Vasu-bandhu, will be about 70 or more. Cf. Duff, "Indian Chronology," p. 36.

Let us now examine the date of the translations of Vasu-bandhu's Mahā-yānistic works ; they range as follows :—

Title.	No. in Nanjio's Catalogue.	Translator.	Date of Translation.
1. *Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka- upadeśa	1233	Ratna-mati ...	508
2. *Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka- upadeśa	1232	Bodhi-ruci ...	508–535
3. *Vajra-cchedikā-prajñā- pāramitā-śāstra ...	1168	„	509
4. Daśa-bhūmika-śāstra ...	1194	„	508–511
5. Aparimitāyus-sūtra-śāstra	1204	„	529
6. Vaiśeṣa-cintā - Brahma - paripṛcchā-śāstra ...	1193	„	531
7. Gaya-śīrṣa-śāstra ...	1191	„	535
8. *Vijñāna-mātra-siddhi	1238	„	508–535
9. Ratna-cūda-catur-dharma- upadeśa	1241	Vimokṣa-prajña	539 or 541
10. Tri-pūrṇa-sūtropadeśa ...	1196	„	541
11. Dharma-cakra-pravartana- sūtropadeśa	1205	„	541
12. *Mahā-parinirvāṇa-śāstra	1206	Dharma-bodhi	534–550
13. *Śāstra on the lost Gāthās of the Nirvāṇa-sūtra	1207	Paramārtha ...	550
14. Tarka-śāstra	1252	„	550
15. *Buddha's Last Instruction (Nirvāṇa-sūtra).	1209	„	557–569
16. Buddha-gotra-śāstra ...	1220	„	557–569
17. *Vijñāna-mātra-siddhi	1239	„	557–569
18. Madhyānta-vibhāga-śāstra	1248	„	557–569
19. *Mahāyāna-saṃparigraha- śāstra-ṭika	1171	„	563
(This is a commentary on Asaṅga's work.)			

On drawing up the above list I have carefully omitted all the elements likely to be open to question.¹ Those marked

¹ There are two works sometimes assigned to Vasu-bandhu, the Śata-śāstra-ṭika (No. 1188) and Bodhi-cittotpādana-śāstra, translated A.D. 404 and 405 respectively. The dates have been referred to in Professor Macdonell's History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 325. It is, however, doubtful whether these books are really his, as Nanjio already pointed out in his Catalogue, p. 371, and they have

with an asterisk are the texts which are mentioned by Paramārtha under general names, the remaining ten too being the works peculiar to the Mahā-yāna school, written after the death of Asaṅga.

If the works written at his advanced age or almost at the closing period of his life were thus translated into Chinese in A.D. 508, 509, 508-511, 508-538, 529, etc., the author of these works can in no way be supposed to have lived much after 500 A.D.

It is just possible, though not likely, that the works were brought to China as soon as they were written. Even if this was the case, the earliest importers of Vasu-bandhu's texts, i.e. Ratna-mati (from Central India) and Bodhi-ruci (from North India), must have spent a considerable time, probably some years, in their travels from India to Lo-yang in Honan, where they arrived in 508.

As he was 80 years of age at his death, our proposed date for Vasu-bandhu will be about 420-500 A.D., and this can be safely taken as most probable, since it is not based on any suspicious data.

Our hypothesis does not upset altogether the date hitherto accepted for Vasu-bandhu, though it places him considerably earlier. Max Müller generally placed him in the sixth century; this view has, however, no weight after his renaissance theory has given way.

My own date for I-tsing's 'middle ages' (about 450-550)¹ may hold good on the whole, but it wants a little modification in the case of Vasu-bandhu, Asaṅga, and perhaps even Saṃgha - bhadra, the three contemporaries in I-tsing's

not been utilized by me at all. No. 1219, the 'San-wu-sin-Lun,' is very likely identical with Paramārtha's 'San-pao-sin-Lun,' as I have pointed out in my translation, but I have not included it in the list. Further, No. 1205, the Dharma-Cakra-pravartana-śāstra, is probably the same as the 'Door of Nectar' (Amṛta-dvāra) mentioned by Paramārtha, but this too I have omitted as doubtful.

¹ I-tsing's "Record," pp. lvii-lviii.

“Record” and Hiuen-tsang’s “Mémoires”¹ as well as in Paramārtha’s “Life.” M. Sylvain Lévi, in his “Notes Chinoises sur l’Inde,” iii,² assigns Asaṅga and Vasu-bandhu to the first half of the sixth century (500–550). This too, I think, must be altered a little.

Now let us proceed to see if there are any points in the “Life of Vasu-bandhu” which make our theory untenable.

1. *Vasu-bandhu, Mano-ratha, and Buddha-mitra.*—Mano-ratha is said to have been Vasu-bandhu’s teacher by Hiuen-tsang and his disciples; while, according to Paramārtha, Buddha-mitra was Vasu-bandhu’s teacher. Buddha-mitra is said to have been too old for a debate. Mano-ratha and Buddha-mitra were thus elder contemporaries of Vasu-bandhu, but nothing more definite as to their date can be adduced from any source.

2. *Vasu-bandhu, King Vikramāditya, his Queen, and Bālāditya, his Crown Prince.*—King Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā, North India, was first a patron of the Sāṃkhya school, but afterwards a patron of Buddhism on account of Vasu-bandhu’s success in religious activity. He sent his Crown Prince (Bālāditya) to Vasu-bandhu to learn Buddhism, and the Queen too became one of his disciples. When he came to the throne King Bālāditya, in conjunction with his Queen-mother, invited Vasu-bandhu to Ayodhyā and favoured him with special patronage.³ Now Vikramāditya must be a king of the Gupta dynasty, the capital of which was removed from Pāṭaliputra to Ayodhyā, and this king must be Skanda-Gupta, who ruled about 452–480 A.D. and bore the epithets of Kramāditya and Vikramāditya.⁴ With his successor, King Bālāditya, whose reign must have begun 481 A.D., or, according to some accounts, 490 A.D., the old Gupta dynasty came to an end. There is nothing at all in these points to contradict our hypothesis.

¹ Hiuen-tsang’s “Mémoires,” iii, 183; iv, 223.

² Bulletin de l’Ecole Française d’Extrême-Orient, Jan.–Mars, 1903, p. 49.

³ The Queen-mother seems to have exercised her influence; see Duff, “Chronology of India,” p. 33 (515).

⁴ Cf. Duff, l.c., p. 33; Cakravarti’s letter to Professor Rhys Davids, also quoted in Liebich’s “Datum Candragomin’s,” p. 5.

3. *Vasu-bandhu* and *Vasu-rāta*.—*Vasu-rāta* was, according to Paramārtha, a Brahmin, husband of a sister, i.e. a brother-in-law, of King Bālāditya. He was well versed in the *Vyākaraṇa* treatise. When *Vasu-bandhu* composed the *Abhidharma-kośa*, this Brahmin attacked his composition on the authority of the *Vyākaraṇa*, thinking that the Buddhist disputer would certainly defend his own work when the grammatical faults were thus pointed out. *Vasu-bandhu* answered:—"If I do not understand the *Vyākaraṇa*, how can I ever understand the admirable truth of Buddhism?" Thereupon he composed a treatise utterly refuting the thirty-two chapters of the *Vyākaraṇa*. Thus the *Vyākaraṇa* was lost, while the *Abhidharma-kośa* survived. The King and the Queen-mother gave him some lacs of gold. *Vasu-rāta* further tried to defeat him through the intervention of another scholar. The *Vyākaraṇa* here mentioned will be in all probability the "*Candra-vyākaraṇa*," when we see that what Bhartr̥hari (died 650) obtained through *Vasu-rāta* (though not necessarily directly) was *Candra-gomin's* grammar.¹ Liebich here seems to be right in taking *Vasu-rāta* to be a direct pupil of *Candra-gomin*, whose date is fixed by him at 470 A.D. as the latest limit.² In spite of M. Sylvain Lévi's grave objections to Liebich's theory, it seems to be utterly impossible from our text to place *Vasu-rāta* later than *Yue-kuan* (moon-official) who lived till I-tsing's time (A.D. 673–687).³ The probable date of *Vasu-rāta*, as a younger contemporary of *Candra-gomin* and an opponent of *Vasu-bandhu*, does not conflict with our hypothesis, and will be about 480, his controversy having taken place under Bālāditya, who came to the throne in 481.⁴

¹ But the work, "*Vyākaraṇa*," mentioned by Paramārtha is said to have been in eight divisions and thirty-two chapters; this clearly points to Pāṇini's Grammar. *Candra's* work is in twenty-four chapters. *Vasu-rāta* seems thus to have been versed in Pāṇini as well as in *Candra*.

² Liebich, l.c., p. 11.

³ See my I-tsing's "Record," p. lviii, d. 7. *Yue-kuan* may be *Candra-gomin*, as M. Sylvain Lévi thinks, but, if so, he cannot be the grammarian who was the predecessor of *Vasu-rāta*.

⁴ *Vikramāditya* reigned 452–480 (cf. Mabel Duff, "Chronology of India," p. 33). Bālāditya was the successor to the throne, according to our "Life," and ruled from 481 onward.

4. *Vasu-bandhu* and *Samgha-bhadra*.—Samgha-bhadra was invited by Vasu-rāta from T'ien-chu¹ in order to dispute with and defeat Vasu-bandhu. When he came to Ayodhyā he composed a treatise called the "Samaya of Light"² to explain the principles of the Vibhāṣā, and another work called the "Conformity to the Truth"³ to refute the Abhidharma-kośa. After the compilation of these two treatises he challenged Vasu-bandhu to a personal discussion. The latter was quite aware that even a complete refutation by the former would have no effect on his Kośa, and was not inclined to have a personal debate. He declared that he was too old to renew the discussion, which would be useless, because both parties had already written books against each other. This Samgha-bhadra was, as above stated, a contemporary and opponent of Vasu-bandhu and Asaṅga, according to Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing.⁴ He composed a work called the "Nyāyānusāra," in which he refuted the Kośa. This book was fortunately preserved in the Tripiṭaka collection through Hiuen-tsang's pen, and is full of instructive discussions. It further helps the elucidation of the Abhidharma-kośa, for it quotes some 600 verses of Vasu-bandhu. From this particular work, again, I do not see anything contradicting our proposed date.

5. *Vasu-bandhu*, *Asaṅga*, and *Viriñci-vatsa*.—Paramārtha tells us that these three were brothers, born in a Brahmin family of Kauśika, and all three called Vasu-bandhu. Viriñci-vatsa Vasu-bandhu became an Arhat, and nothing about him is recorded anywhere except that he was a Bhikṣu of the Sarvāsti-vāda school. Asaṅga Vasu-bandhu was known always as Asaṅga, while our Vasu-bandhu had

¹ "T'ien-chu" is generally the name for India. Perhaps it means "Madhyadeśa," if not the Sindhu (Indus) itself from which the Chinese "T'ien-chu" was originated.

² This may be "Rāśmi-samaya," but nothing is known about it.

³ This will be something like "Satyānusāra." In fact, it seems to point to his "Nyāyānusāra," which is directed against the Kośa. For particulars see Nanjio's No. 1265 and his remarks there.

⁴ Hiuen-tsang's "Mémoires," iii, 183; iv, 223; I-tsing's "Record," p. lviii; see also Nanjio's remarks in his Catalogue, Nos. 1265 and 1266.

no other distinguishing name. We have thus no confusion at all. Asaṅga must have died, aged 75, some years before Vasu-bandhu, whose Mahā-yānistic works were all posterior to the death of the former.

6. *Vasu-bandhu*, *Vindhya-vāsa*, and *Vṛṣa-gaṇa*.—*Vṛṣa-gaṇa* (probably *Vārṣa-gaṇya*),¹ well versed in the Sāṃkhya-śāstra, was the teacher of *Vindhya-vāsa*, who revised the śāstra. *Vindhya-vāsa* was successful in a dispute with *Buddha-mitra*, teacher of *Vasu-bandhu*, the latter of whom was then away from Ayodhyā. King *Vikramāditya* gave the Sāṃkhya philosopher three lacs of gold as a reward. After this triumph he returned to the *Vindhya* mountains and died there, his revised Sāṃkhya-śāstra being generally current. *Vasu-bandhu*, on his return to Ayodhyā, heard of the shame of his teacher, and searched for the rival philosopher in the *Vindhya* mountains. Finding, however, that the heretic was dead, he wrote a book called "*Paramārtha-saptati*,"² in opposition to the new Sāṃkhya-śāstra of *Vindhya-vāsa*. The siddhāntas of the Sāṃkhya were all destroyed. This caused general satisfaction, and King *Vikramāditya* gave him three lacs of gold. These are the incidents given by *Paramārtha*. Among the translations made by this learned scholar there exists, as I have frequently pointed out elsewhere, a work called the *Sengchia-lun*, that is to say, Sāṃkhya Book. It is, in China, more generally known as the "Gold-seventy" (*Suvarṇa-saptati* or *Hiraṇya-saptati*³). *Īśvara-kṛṣṇa*'s Sāṃkhya-kārikā

¹ Two citations which bear the name of *Vārṣa-gaṇya* have been found by Garbe, s. ph., pp. 36-37. The Sāṃkhya-tattva-kaumudī calls him *Bhagavān Vārṣa-gaṇya*.

² This work unfortunately does not exist in the Chinese collection of Indian works.

³ Most of the Catalogues of the Chinese Tripiṭaka give both names:—

The Catalogue of A.D. 594, the "Gold-seventy."

„ „ 597, the "Gold-seventy" and "Sāṃkhya-śāstra."

„ „ 664, the "Gold-seventy."

„ „ 730, the "Gold-seventy" or "Sāṃkhya-śāstra."

„ „ 799 „ „

„ „ 1287 „ „

Thus we see that the text was known throughout as the "Sāṃkhya-śāstra" (*Sengchia-lun*).

is, as is well known, called otherwise "Sāṃkhya-saptati."¹ The verse 72, "Saptatyām kila ye'rthās te'rthās," indicates that it originally consisted of seventy verses. The Sanskrit Sāṃkhya-saptati, also called Sāṃkhya-kārikā, the Chinese "Gold-seventy," of both of which we have the actual texts, and Vindhya-vāsa's revised Sāṃkhya-śāstra referred to by Paramārtha are in all probability one and the same work. The probability is strengthened by the name given by Vasu-bandhu to his work, "Paramārtha-saptati," perhaps in opposition to Sāṃkhya-saptati. The name of the author is, however, different, one being Īśvara-kṛṣṇa, the other Vindhya-vāsa. If our theory is correct these must be two names for the same man. Now Īśvara-kṛṣṇa, of the Kauśika family,² must be the same philosopher as Vindhya-vāsa, Chief of the 'Rain-host,'³ since the work attributed to one proves to be identical with that of the other. Īśvara-kṛṣṇa is, no doubt, his personal name, while Vindhya-vāsa is an epithet given him because he lived and died in the Vindhya forest.⁴ This is, of course, the same as Vindhya-vāsin, who is, according to Professor Garbe, quoted twice in Bhoja-rāja's Yoga commentary.⁵ Here, again, the value of Paramārtha's labour cannot be overestimated, for he was the translator of Īśvara-kṛṣṇa's Sāṃkhya-kārikā and the transmitter of the tradition of the intellectual struggle of Vindhya-vāsa

¹ See Hall, "Contribution to the Bibliography of the philosophical systems of India," p. 5; Oppert, MSS. in the private Library of S. India, No. 5212. As to this latter, I doubt still whether it is Gaudapāda's work.

² The Chinese Sāṃkhya-kārikā gives 'Kauśika' as his family name.

³ The 'Rain-host' (雨衆) is an incorrect interpretation of Vārṣa-gaṇya, derived from Vṛṣa-gaṇa (lit., Bull-herd, but the Gaṇa of Vṛṣa).

⁴ I submitted my translation of Vasu-bandhu's "Life" to Professor Garbe, who kindly wrote to me in reply as follows:—"Ueberraschend ist Ihre mir sehr einleuchtende Vermuthung, dass Vindhyavāsa mit Īśvarakṛṣṇa, dem Verfasser der Sāṃkhya-kārikā, identisch sei. Wenn diese Identification richtig ist (was ich nicht bezweifle), so wäre das Alter der Sāṃkhya-kārikā erheblich höher anzusetzen, als bisher geschehen ist, und mit genügender Sicherheit festzustellen. Ich habe schon 'Sāṃkhya-philosophie,' 59 gesagt, dass ich die Sāṃkhya-kārikā für älter halte, als sonst immer angenommen wird."

⁵ Garbe, s. ph., pp. 36-37. The citations do not contain anything contrary to the Sāṃkhya doctrine. The Skt. -vāsa and -vāsin, like -vāda and -vādin, are used indiscriminately in Chinese.

versus Vasu-bandhu. Thus Paramārtha's date (499–569 ; 546–569 in China) can be taken as the safe *terminus ad quem* for Īśvara-kṛṣṇa. Professor Garbe expressed his opinion that his date would be one to two hundred years anterior to this *terminus ad quem*. Our date for Vindhya-vāsa, otherwise Īśvara-kṛṣṇa, as an elder contemporary of Vasu-bandhu would be *circa* 450, about one century earlier than Paramārtha's time in China. I will mention here two or three points which may serve to make clearer the identity of Vindhya-vāsa and Īśvara-kṛṣṇa. Kuei-chi, pupil of Hiuen-tsang, in his commentaries on the Vijñāna-mātra-siddhi and the Nyāyānusāra, says:—"The Sāṃkhya school was formerly split up into eighteen groups, the head of which was 'Ba-li-sha' (伐里沙), meaning the 'Rain' (Varṣa). His associates were all called the 'Rain-host' (Vārṣa-gaṇya). The 'Gold-seventy' (Hiraṇya-saptati) is the work of them." The Chinese Sāṃkhya-kārikā contains a comment on verse 71, where the paramparā of the Sāṃkhya teachers is given as follows:—(1) Kapila ; (2) Āsuri ; (3) Pañca-śikha (c. first century, according to Garbe) ; (4) Ho-ch'ieh (probably Gārgya) ; (5) Yu-lou-ch'ia (Ulūka, but it is just possible that it refers to Vadhuka of Gaudapāda ; cf. Garbe, S. ph., p. 35) ; (6) P'o-p'o-li (跋婆利) ; (7) Īśvara-kṛṣṇa (自在黑). This P'o-p'o-li seems to contain some mistakes. 婆 'ba' and 婆 'sa' are often mistaken in the Chinese Buddhist books. I can point out scores of instances of the kind. Copyists often correct, adding either one of these characters by the side of the other, and in time both may be found to have crept into the text. Sometimes the correct one is struck out, and the wrong one is preserved, and, further, the character irregularly put at the side, either a little above or below, is often inserted in a wrong place. Whenever 'ba' or 'sa' occurs one must be, therefore, very careful in detecting whether (1) it contains a mistake in form, or (2) it has a superfluous ideograph, or (3) it is in a wrong order. Unfortunately the Sanskrit vocabulary abounds in ba, bha, va, sa, śa, ṣa. In our P'o-p'o-li (Jap. Bat-Ba-li) the second p'o ('ba,' 婆)

is the character in question. The name, I think, contains two mistakes in form and in order from the causes above stated. P'o-p'o-li thus corrected will be first 'P'o-sa-li' (Jap. Bat-sha-li) and then 'P'o-li-sa' (Jap. Bat-li-sha), i.e. Varṣa or Vārṣa in Sanskrit. If I am correct in this hypothesis we shall have the following parallels :—

Kuei-chi's Commentaries on the Vijñāna-mātra- siddhi and the Nyāyā- nusāra.	Paramārtha's "Life of Vasu-bandhu."		Paramārtha's translation of the Sāṃkhya-kārikā- bhāṣya.
Varṣa (Rain)	Vṛṣa-gaṇa		Varṣa (P'o-p'o-li)
Vārṣa-gaṇya (Rain-host)	Vindhya-vāsa	Vasu-bandhu	Īśvara-kṛṣṇā (Kauśika)
Hiranya-saptati (Gold-seventy)	Sāṃkhya-sūtra	Paramārtha-saptati (in opposition)	Sāṃkhya-saptati (Sāṃkhya-kārikā)

These parallels, though they contain some uncertain elements, help us much in establishing the identity of Vindhya-vāsa—Īśvara-kṛṣṇa and the date of this important philosopher (c. 450). The Commentary portion of the Chinese Sāṃkhya-kārikā is, be it added in passing, an elaborate work, much more complete than that of Gauḍa-pāda. The Chinese authorities assign the Commentary, curiously enough, to Vasu-bandhu, which I take to be a confusion arising in the transmission of traditions. These questions have been discussed by me in my introduction to the translation of the Chinese Sāṃkhya-kārikā-bhāṣya. According to my opinion the Commentary on the original seventy Kārikās was drawn up by Īśvara-kṛṣṇa himself, just as was done by some of the Kārikā writers. Vṛṣa-gaṇa seems to have been an orthodox philosopher of the school, and his date will be somewhat earlier than Vindhya-vāsa (c. 450). There is here one point which must not be passed without comment. When Vindhya-vāsa was victorious in his controversy he was rewarded by King Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā with three lacs of gold as a prize, but soon afterwards he died. It was after his death that Vasu-bandhu wrote his Paramārtha-

saptati and got a prize from the same king (whose date is about 452–480). Vasu-bandhu was patronised by both Vikramāditya and Bālāditya, while Vindhya-vāsa was favoured only by the former. Accordingly, the death of Vindhya-vāsa — Īśvara-kṛṣṇa must have occurred before 480 A.D. in any case.

7. *The Sāṃkhya teachers, Vṛṣa-gaṇa and Vindhya-vāsa, in the “nine hundred” years after the death of the Buddha.*— According to Paramārtha, Vṛṣa-gaṇa and Vindhya-vāsa lived in the tenth century¹ after the Buddha’s Nirvāṇa. If we accept 480 B.C. or thereabouts as the date of the Nirvāṇa, the “nine hundreds,” i.e. tenth century, will be about 420–520 A.D. That a comparatively correct tradition concerning the date of the Buddha’s Nirvāṇa had been current among Indian Buddhists about Paramārtha’s time can be seen from another source quite independent of ours. The famous “Dotted Record” of Indian sages which was brought to China by Saṃgha-bhadra indicated 975 dots (years) from the Nirvāṇa to 489 A.D.² This exactly agrees with our date now in consideration. The evidence of Saṃgha-bhadra is worth noticing, especially because he was the translator of the “Samanta-pāsādikā,” which was written by Buddha-ghosa soon after 432 A.D. in Ceylon, brought by himself to Burma in 450, and was translated by Saṃgha-bhadra into Chinese in 488.³ He seems thus to have been a direct pupil of Buddha-ghosa, or, at any rate, a younger

¹ The text has 九百年中, ‘in the nine hundred years’ i.e. at a time in 900–999 years, therefore it means the tenth century after the Buddha’s Nirvāṇa. A Chinese date of the Nirvāṇa is generally discredited, and with it any calculation of date from the Nirvāṇa. But one must not confound Paramārtha’s calculation with any other Chinese ones, because he is not a Chinese, and he is giving us a tradition current in India in his time.

² The “Dotted Record” was attached to the Vinaya-piṭaka, and every year at the end of the Vassa ceremony the presiding priest used to add a dot to it. This process is said to have been kept up till 489 A.D., when Saṃgha-bhadra added the last dot after his Vassa residence at Canton, China. For the details see my “Pāli Elements in Chinese Buddhism,” J.R.A.S., July, 1896; Kasawara and Max Müller in the *Academy*, March 1, 1884; *Indian Antiquary* (1884), p. 156.

³ See my “Pāli Chrestomathy,” p. lxxiv, notes to p. 113.

contemporary of his.¹ In the light of Saṃgha-bhadra's "975 years after the Nirvāṇa" (489 A.D.), Paramārtha's "Nine Hundreds" (i.e. a time between 900 and 999 years) for Vṛṣa-gaṇa and Vindhya-vāsa (c. 450 ; died before 480) becomes more intelligible and important. We shall see further whether our argument holds good in the case of another statement of Paramārtha.

8. *Katyāyanī-putra* and *Aśva-ghoṣa* in the "five hundred" years after the Nirvāṇa.—In the "five hundreds" (a time between 500–599 years, i.e. sixth century) after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, Kātyāyanī-putra of the Sarvāsti-vāda school went to Kāśmīra, where he convened 500 Arhats and 500 Bodhisattvas in order to compile the Abhidharma of his own school. The result of this compilation was the "Aṣṭa-grantha" (eight books), otherwise called the "Jñāna-prasthāna."² The work, which consisted of 50,000 ślokas, was in perfect conformity with the Sūtra and Vinaya literature. Next their business was to compile a great commentary called the Mahā-vibhāṣā³ upon the above text. They invited Aśva-ghoṣa from Sāketa (in Srāvastī), who was much reputed for his literary ability, in order to give the Commentary a literary finish. The Mahā-vibhāṣā, though it was guarded by the Kāśmirian worthies, got abroad owing to the strenuous efforts of Vasu-bhadra. The above tradition refers, without doubt, to Kaṇiṣka's council. Here, again, we have to thank Paramārtha for a preservation of the tradition of Kaṇiṣka's council, which was hitherto believed to emanate solely from Hiuen-tsang. According to the recent investigation of Vincent Smith, who has established several important dates for Indian history, the date of Kaṇiṣka

¹ Saṃgha-bhadra may be the same person as one whom we have in our "Life," the opponent of Vasu-bandhu. Both flourished at the same time. But one is a Vaibhāṣika (Nos. 1265 and 1266 belong to him) and the other is a Theravādin (No. 1125 translated by him); therefore the identification seems to be improbable. The teacher of Saṃgha-bhadra the Theravādin came with him to Canton. It is just possible that he may be Buddha-ghoṣa himself (see l.c., p. lxxv). I hope this may be stated with more certainty after an edition of the Chinese and Pāli "Samanta-pāsādikā" which I am preparing is brought out.

² No. 1273, translated into Chinese A.D. 383.

³ Nos. 1273 and 1264, translated A.D. 383 and 437–439 respectively; cf. also Nos. 1279, 1263.

(Kanerki) of the Kuṣana dynasty is 125 A.D. Professor Sylvain Lévi, on the other hand, utilizing all the Chinese evidence available, assigns the Kuṣana king an earlier date of 50 A.D. Now Paramārtha's "five hundreds" is equivalent to 20-120 A.D., thus covering the possible dates of Kaniska proposed by the two scholars. Aśva-ghoṣa is a contemporary of Kaniska, according to Hiuen-tsang and several other authorities.¹ The glowing account of Aśva-ghoṣa's literary skill in Paramārtha is appropriate to the author of that famous Kāvya "Buddha - Carita" and the beautiful "Sūtrālamkāra" preserved in Chinese.² The works of Kātyāyanī-putra and Vasu-bhadra being translated into Chinese in A.D. 382, 383, 391, etc., an earlier date than that proposed by Bhandarkar seems to be preferable for Kaniska,³ though an argument against any proposed date for Kaniska is here quite out of court. As there seem to have been so many noted scholars besides those mentioned above during Kaniska's reign, such as Nāgārjuna, Ārya-Deva, Pārśva, Vasu-mitra, the Physician Caraka, and the Minister Māṭhara, the further publication of Mahā-yāna Buddhist texts will, we may hope, shed more light on a dark passage in the history of Buddhism. At present we must rest satisfied with the result at which we have arrived, however small it may be, in establishing the date of Vasu-bandhu in the light of Paramārtha's valuable work. We can thus take Vasu-bandhu's date, A.D. 420-500, as well-nigh settled, and with it those of Vindhya-vāsa (Īśvara-kṛṣṇa), c. 450 (died before 480), and Vasu-rāta, c. 480, being brother-in-law of Bālāditya, who ruled from A.D. 481 or thereabouts.

¹ Hiuen-tsang's "Mémoires," xii, 214. "The Chinese Saṃyukta-ratna-piṭaka-sūtra" (No. 1329, A.D. 472), vol. vi, makes Aśva-ghoṣa and Caraka the contemporaries of Kaniska. "The Record of the Indian Patriarchs" (No. 1340, A.D. 472), vol. v, Aśva-ghoṣa and Caraka live under the King. See also Wassilieff, "Buddhismus," p. 52, note.

² Nanjio, Nos. 1351 and 1182.

³ For Kātyāyanī-putra's work, see above, p. 52, notes 2, 3. Vasu-bhadra's two works (Nos. 1381 and 1271) were translated into Chinese in A.D. 382 and 391 respectively. Our text of Vasu-bandhu's life has Vaśa-subhadra for Vasu-bhadra, but for the reasons above stated (see above, p. 50, under P'o-p'o-li), I take it to be Vasu-bhadra, the 'śa' being superfluous.

III.

**THE PAHLAVI TEXTS OF THE YASNA HAPTANGHAITI
(Y. XXXV-XLI (XLII)),¹**

FOR THE FIRST TIME CRITICALLY TRANSLATED.

By PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS.

YASNA XXXV.

To Ahura, and His Immortals : the Diffusion of the Faith.

I SACRIFICE to Aūharmazd the holy lord of Aša (as the ritual Law) [whose² is the ritual chieftainship in accordance with exact regularity (frārūnīh)]; and I sacrifice to the Bountiful Immortals, the well-ruling, the well-giving.

(2) And to all the world of the Saints do I sacrifice, both to what is (the world) of the spirits and to what (is) the (bodily) world,³

(3) with the desire which is for the good Aša (as angel of the Holy Law) [i.e. on account of, or in accordance with, the desired object of duty and good works], and (in accordance with the) desire after the good Dēn (the Religion) of the Mazda - worshippers, [(i.e.) in accordance with (or 'on account of') the desired (object) of (i.e. held forth in)

¹ The texts upon which these translations are made are expected to appear in the Jan. Heft of the *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Society, 1905, as edited with all the MSS. collated. Translations into Sanskrit, Parsi-Persian, and Gujrati from texts not collated, and otherwise of an uncritical character, have alone preceded this. For a critical free rendering of the Avesta see S.B.E. xxxi, pp. 281-291 (1887). This piece is next after the Gāthas the oldest in the Avesta. It is inspired by the G., which it frequently cites. Let it be understood that except where noted the translations correspond to their originals as closely as could be reasonably expected. The glosses are enclosed within brackets [], my explanation within parenthetical curves ().

² Nēr. yasya.

³ Cf. Y. XXVIII, 4.

the Dēn (the Religion)]. (4) [(The Zaothar speaks)]: (I am thus in accordance with these holy desires a full appropriator^{1,2} of) the good thoughts, of the good words, of the good deeds, from which (also is) the dispensation here (that is to say, by the maintenance of lives passed in those good thoughts and words and deeds the dispensation of the faith is here established and preserved, and with desire also) for that other dispensation; [that is to say, both here and beyond also, happiness is even from it].

The Apprehension of the Faith.

(5 and 6) (I am therefore, in accordance with these aspirations) an apprehender^{1,2} (lit. seizer) of what (benefit) has been effected up to the present (for us and for the world) and of what is being effected [from now on; that is to say, I would make it my own (or 'I would take it as my own')²].

The Tradition.

I am as a hander-on, man to man³ (that is to say, I am a deliverer-on in sequence from man to man, even a hander-on am I) [of good works which are according to the way of the Law], as I am a good (man, keeping up the tradition of holy character); [that is to say, as I would make what is best my own; (or 'as I would take it to myself')]. [(A section to be repeated twice.)]

(7) To this, then, would we so give our attention (lit. 'our desire'), O Aūharmazd, and (thou) who (art) Aša, (to) the good [(even to) the Dēn (Nēr. dīnaye, to the Religion)].

(8) I would so think and so speak and also so do (9) that mine may be this which is the best (thing) to be derived from (?) existing [men (?)⁴] by action in both the worlds, [that is to say, they will grant me the reward (for those thoughts, words, and deeds)].

¹ Mistaking 'jar,' 'to sing,' for a 'gar' (?), 'to take'; see note 2.

² But see Nēr.'s karomi.

³ Cf. Y. XXX, 2, narēm, narem.

⁴ An unfortunate error; it should be 'of existing things.'

The Care of the Herds.

(10) (I would therefore offer for this reward) what is the Kine's gift (the gift for the Herd) [both water and fodder], which is also their best deed (the best deed of) [those men which] is to be commanded [as the best work within this sacrifice (meaning better than any work in the sacrifice)].

(11) So by them (by those men also as well as by myself) both comfortable housing (literally 'rejoicing') and fodder are to be given [as the Herds' comfort and (then) their freedom from terror (i.e. their peace of mind in view of dangers from without)].

(12) (This regards him) who has acquired hearing; [that is to say, (these good works have been inculcated upon the person) by whom priestly studies (as to the matter) have been pursued]. And so also (with him who has given) no attention [(which is the cause of deficiency in respect of these essential good works), that is to say, the priestly application (application to the Priest for detailed instruction) has not been made by him, (that is to say, by certain persons here falling under notice).

So he must do,¹ (in case he does pursue priestly studies) that (aēγ) through him, for them, the Herds (see above, or 'for him, the disciple') fear does not exist; (that is to say, a state of religious security prevails; compare the Christian 'peace'; and this is held out as the ideal condition both for the Keeper of the sacred Herd and for the Herd itself)]; (and so with the one) whose is the Sovereign Authority, and whose also is its absence. (That is to say, the above principles apply even to the ruling classes as well as to those beneath them; all must be, directly or indirectly, devoted to the cattle culture, upon which the early existence of the Nation depended.)

¹ Or 'his action is thus.'

*The Authority, Civic and Ecclesiastical, i.e. Xšaθra as
an Attribute.*

(13) To him¹ (Aūharmazd), therefore, as the one who is the most a good Ruler, (belongs) the Sovereign Authority from that (circumstance) [since to ('or from me') on (continuously, it proceeds); that is, to ('or from') me is his (the good temporal) ruler's benefit established; also from it² (that circumstance; viz., the maintenance of correct and beneficial authority is brought about)]. (This is written either in the name of Aūharmazd, or in that of the Priest as representing him.¹)

(14) That is to say, I give the (benefit; see above) [myself], and I inculcate it [upon others; that is, one will give on (the benefit in my place as I inculcate it)]. And this also I would (effectively) accomplish; [that is, I would fully make it (the benefit, or sovereignty) their (or his) possession²]. (15) To him whose (is, or who (is)) Aūharmazd and to Ašavahišt also (would I give it); (so better than 'to him to whom Aūharmazd and Ašavahišt assigns it'; see the original).³ [(This clause is to be delivered twice.)]

Knowledge of the Law and its Tradition.

(16) So [both the two] the man and the woman (i.e. both sexes in the congregation) become clearly aware of it (viz., of the Sovereign right of Ahura with the consequent predominance of the Priesthood in the Community as His representatives). (17) So that is the (signal) benefit

¹ So according to the original; but the translators may naturally have thought of their temporal Sovereign, in which case the priest speaks of Ahura, as represented by the Ruler in authority at the moment. It should not be forgotten that the question of 'authority' then, as now, was one of living interest. The discussion of the 'Sovereignty' even after the Parsis came to Bombay was no 'mouthing' of platitudes. Readings are excessively indefinite; great care is needed.

² Or 'I would effect maintenance for him.'

³ The passage seems to be an earnest effort to strengthen the theocratic element in the national patriotism, with the corresponding improvement in the position of the priestly caste. In view of the original we should regard 14 as expressing a veneration recognition of the theocratic principle (the principle that Aūharmazd was 'King'). This merged the civic authority in the Head of the State, who is supposed to be of the priestly caste.

(the interest *par eminence*) [even the Dēn (as regards the Authority and other vital matters)]. And that also they (the leaders in the Congregation) deliver intelligently [to others; that is to say, they will inculcate it], and also perform it, and, one on forth to another, they will make it understood. (This refers to a solemn tradition kept alive by an active official propaganda in a succession of pious persons, chiefly Priests.)

(18) (In the case of) those also who are the other Herbad (referring to future generations, or to some side branches of the present Church) so it is as they perform it; [that is to say, they would make a disciple, and on to him (others seeking knowledge) would go, (or possibly 'through him they would advance (in their priestly career)')]. But he who comes as a disciple from others (that is to say, from teachers not thoroughly known, and who had not prosecuted priestly studies in the requisite manner; see above), to him (one seeking admonition) would not go (that is, they would not recognise him as a source of correct information)].

(19) Of (all) that which is yours, (that is, 'among all the objects which you are pursuing in your daily duty') (20) I think Aūharmazd's sacrifice and praise (to be) the best, and that which is the Herds' business (also I think (to be) the best); [that is to say, of the business of the world I regard the care of the Herds as the best]. (As the first condition of honest livelihood the cattle culture of the earliest period was justly sacred.) (21) And so I would perform Your (commands) [Your dēn]; and I would make it known [to others], as much as [it may in possibility be], so much would I become a supplicator (of You in the prayer for Aša (see Y. XXVIII, 4)).

(22) He whose is the authority in this manner in accordance with Aša (as the Sanctity of the Law), his also is the (true) tribe-relationship in accordance with the Law; [that is to say, he is in possession of the Dēn and of the tribe-influence through (this sanctified) authority; (the initiative in the religious Community rests with him; and he must be obeyed)].

Distinctive Promise of a Future Reward.

(23) To each one of existing [men¹] whose is the possession² of life (i.e. meaning 'at present living') [so as said (if they are the best, thoroughly excellent)] (the gift of) the best is to be given for both the worlds. [(A sentence to be recited twice.)]

The Propagation of the Holy Lore.

(24) This, therefore, is the pronunciation of the Word of³ Aūharmazd, [of the Dēn of Aūharmazd]; and I proclaim it with⁴ Aša as with thought toward superiority⁵ [with a straightforward attention (or 'intention' proper to me)]. (25) And to Thee,⁶ therefore, more⁷ than (so) to those (the other Ameša) do I offer acceptation, and (the) firm establishment⁸ (of Your (or 'Thy') supreme interest); and likewise do I offer it an illustrious manifestation (literally, 'and forth I provide it with a manifestation.' So, more in accordance with the original, which, however, does not positively indicate the idea of the 'Amešas' here. The first treatment here must, of course, be in strict harmony with the Pahlavi text, though it be very erroneous. So, proceeding with the gloss, we have); [that is to say, more than that of the (other) Amešaspends I would accept Thine interest; and I would provide it with a sign; i.e. with an illustrious manifestation (meaning 'that he would place Ahura first in his full ministrations, prophetic or priestly')].

¹ Or 'of existing best men' (?), so preserving the gen. pl.

² The desid. not here; in Nēr.

³ See Nēr.'s rendering of 'min' as genitive.

⁴ The original, however, has the accusative.

⁵ So with the subsequent vēš in view; see also the original manayā vahyahyā (not -ēhyā); here literally, however, merely meaning 'with thought of the good.'

⁶ But the original has θvām.

⁷ This error of vēš = 'more' was due first to the comparative form of the original vahyahyā, and secondly to the terminations -tārem-; see the original. (Otherwise read: 'and Thee' (hardly 'from Thee') then do I present as the acceptation, firm establishment, and manifestation of those, the other (Amešas) . . . , etc.

⁸ Astešnih = -āstā- (!).

The Propagation of the Liturgy as Celebrated.

(26) (And so) with the accompanying help of Aša [with the countenance afforded by ¹ Ašavahišta], and of that which is the good thought also [which is Vah'man], and also (with the help) of the good Sovereign power [i.e. of Xšθtraver] (27) by me is Thy praise, O Aūharmazd, to be offered on continuously from praises (to praises), and words of Thine, O Aūharmazd, are to be spoken on continuously by me from words (already spoken, i.e. from word to word, traditionally), and sacrifice of Thine is to be offered (continuously) on by me from sacrifices (i.e. in unbroken priestly succession, from sacrifice to sacrifice).

[The Yen'hyā hātām (follows).]

[(This section is to be recited twice in the course of the celebration of the sacrifice ; nine Vačists (?) and three Gāhs (are here to be added).)]

YASNA XXXVI.

*Second Chapter of the Yašt.**To Ahura and His Fire, to the Stars and the Sun.*

Thus to this Thy ² fire, O Aūharmazd, will we come first (of all) with service (so) [(i.e.) with care and propitiation, and

(2) with these Thy Gāthas], and with this Thy bounteous³ Spirit [as it is indicated from the Dēn (referring to Y. XXXIV, 4 ; see the reproduction Gāθas, pp. 136, 500)].

Warnings and Rewards.

He who [brings] to it (Thy Fire) impurity, [that is to say, if they (such as he is) would affect it with injury (untidiness)], (3) that Fire also will bring pollution to him ;

¹ Kād'im' or 'kādmun' is once translated -muk'ān even by Nēr. ; see Y. XLI, 6. I cannot accept fully the meaning 'desire' unmodified.

² Recall the Fire Berezi-Savah ; so, later.

³ Recall the Fire Spēništa, later 'in the world.'

(i.e. to them), [that is, him (or 'them') also they would affect with injury].

(4) With joyfulness of mind¹ to that man, as far as possible, (or 'with its capacity') will the Fire of the Lord come. (So; see Nēr.'s 3rd sing.; but read as alternative 'do Ye come on (see the original), O Fire of Aūharmazd, (with Him).')

(5) With joyfulness of mind to that man whose is mental joy from it (come Ye on, or 'it, the Fire, comes on'; see above), and with praise to the man whose is the possession (or 'exercise') of praise.

(6) To the great business (see Y. XXX, 2) do Ye (O Aūharmazd and the Fire) come on² [for the completed (result), for the final body].

(7) The Fire is intelligent³ (i.e. conscious and giving indication; cf. the ordeals) as regards Aūharmazd [through the Dēn of Aūharmazd (that is, the sacred fire (the Dēn-Fire) of the altars) is thus 'intelligent': it can discriminate)]; and as regards the heavenly relation (lit. 'the spirituality') it is (conscious and) intelligent [(that is) its (property) when, over it (and around it), they sit as the Behrām⁴ (Fire)].

(8) Bountiful (or 'august') (recall the Spēništa Fire⁵) is it [itself (*sic*, not so Nēr.)] till when toward Thee its name is as the Vāzišt⁶; (i.e. most contributive).

The Fire Approached.

(9) To that Fire of Aūharmazd,⁷ even Thine, will I come on for both the (supreme) [interests; that is to say, from it

¹ Recall the Fire Urvāzišta; so, later.

² Or 'does it (the Fire) come on.'

³ An error as to vōi. The Avesta 𐬨 may represent Pahlavi *d*; hence v-d was seen, suggesting some form of 'vid' = 'to know.' Have we possibly here the origin of the idea of the ordeal by Fire arising from a mistake of a letter? As the Fire was 'intelligent' it could indicate guilt or innocence.

⁴ A Behrām Fire (lit. the Fire of Victory, i.e. in commemoration of it). It is that in places of worship.

⁵ The Spēništa was 'the Fire applied in the world.'

⁶ The Fire in the clouds.

⁷ Was the Fire Berezi-Savah here meant? That was the Fire before Ahura Mazda; so, later on.

I would hold back the impurity of Heaven¹ (*sic*, or of 'the spirit,' *sic*) and that of the world, even from it. (Or should it be 'through it'); (was this again 'the Fire before God in Heaven?'),

(10) to thee (will I come on) with good intention of mind (with Vah'man), even [to thee] with the good devotion (Aša²);

(11) and with the good enlightenment (čisti), even to thee with deeds and words (will I come on).

The Fire Praised.

(12) Thou causest (?) me to praise (or 'Thou praisest me' (*sic*, in either case mistaking the 1st personal -mahī for the 2nd sing. personal -ahī, Nēr. following)); that is to say: do Thou place me in debt (so again, seeing -ahī in -mahī), O Aūharmazd; that is to say, to³ me may there be a debt as regards Thee (so, again mistaking -mahī for -ahī, followed by Nēr.).

(13) With all good thoughts, with every good word, and with every good deed will I come on to Thee.

The Fire as The Body of the Lord.

(14) Good is this Thy body. And to that Thy (body) of (all) bodies will I, O A., deliver an inviting-announcement, [that is to say, within the world (see the original) I will declare it forth⁴ (alternative translation to 'inviting,' declaring), viz., that this Thy (body)⁵ is the better of them all].

¹ The curious item was probably occasioned by the fact that fire is an universal purifier.

² Notice what is important, viz., that the terms Vohu-manah and Aša are here taken in their original unapplied, or rational, sense. There is no trace of the secondary or later meanings 'good man' for the one, nor of 'the congregation,' not even of 'the Law' for Aša, least of all is any connection expressed just here between Aša and the Fire, except to express the animus of its worshipper.

³ It is difficult to decide whether the first trl. meant 'to (i.e. 'toward') me do thou acknowledge indebtedness,' or 'upon me do thou establish debt.'

⁴ I have always experienced the greatest reluctance in treating these forms of 'vid' in any sense other than that of 'invite.' This gl., however, was purposely constructed to avoid that interpretation.

⁵ It looked as if a special fire was recognised as the 'Lord's Body.'

(15) And this [(my)¹ soul (*sic* as gloss) [I will exalt] to that light which is the highest [of (all) that is visible to the eye];

(16) (I will exalt) it there where that which is the Sun is said (to be), [that is to say, 'let my soul attain to the track, or 'orbit,' of the Sun '² (so Nēr.)].

The Yen'hyā hātām is to be recited once here when the Yasna is celebrated. Six Vačists (? are to follow) and three Gāhs.

YASNA XXXVII.

The Third Chapter of the Yašt.

To Ahura and the Clean Creation; to the Fravašis and the Immortals.

To Ahura as Creator and as King.

(1) Here, therefore, do I sacrifice to Aūharmazd, who created the Herd, who also created Aša (as the people of the Law), and who created also the water and the beneficial (i.e. clean ?, lit. 'good') plants;

(2) also the stars (lit. 'light') were created by Him, and the earth also and all things which are a helpful benefit,—[root and fruit].

(3, 4) To Him thus do I sacrifice with preference (or 'in precedence') upon Whom (rests) the Sovereign Authority (i.e. the control of the political situation), and (in consequence of this) the (*de jure*) supreme position (lit. 'greatness' (of our rulers in the Community)), also from Him (emanates our) effective protection (in the midst of accumulated changes); (4) to Him therefore with pre-eminence do I sacrifice from

¹ Can rūvān, here in antithesis to kerp' = 'body,' be taken merely in the sense of 'self'?; see Nēr.'s ātmā. Hardly. Then should we take it as the 'soul of Ahura,' 'Thy Soul'? Not impossibility, as he has both a 'body' here and a Fravaši elsewhere. 'My soul' is the first suggestion; see the gl. of the Parsi-Pers. and Nēr. in 16.

Nēr. has ayam ātmā tasmin tejasi yat uččānām uččam.

² As the supreme manifestation of fire.

among the Yašt-offerers [who are within the settlements (or 'within the world'), and with prudent foresight (as regards the interests involved, i.e. with especial care, and as foremost also among those)] (5) who live with herd-possessions (who practise the cattle culture with carefully considered plans) [(among) these Yašt-offerers (here bowing down before Him)]. (6) To Him thus do I sacrifice whose is the name of King, and who through His knowledge¹ has become endeared (-varā). To His bountifulness (or augustness) do I sacrifice,

(7) to Him [do I sacrifice] from whom is our body and life [(that is) our living (is) also from Him].

The Fravašis, Aša, Vah'man and the Law.

(8) To Him do I sacrifice as the one whose are the Fravašis (i.e. the ancestral guardian spirits) of the Saints, male and female; (yea to Him do I sacrifice) [(for their) happiness is also from Him].

(9) And so I sacrifice to Aša Vahišta (the Archangel of the Law), [the (one supremely) excellent],

(10) to Aša Vahišta, the good and the august (or 'bountiful'), [the Immortal],

(11) who is the Shining One, [i.e. his body (is shining)] (here Aša is thought of as representing the Fire; so elsewhere), from whom is every benefit (i.e. all helpful influences) [and all good things (are derived from him)].

(12) And to Him also whose is the Good Thought (or 'the good-thinking One') [who is Vah'man] do I sacrifice; (notice that Vah'man is still second to Aša here, and also notice that Vah'man does not mean 'man' here); and to Him also who is the beneficial Sovereign Power [Xšaθra-vairya].

(13) And to that also which is the good Dēn (the Religion) and to that which is the good Chieftainship (as executive, *sic*. No rendering appears for fsē- as the 'cattle,' and so the 'cattle-chieftainship') and to Hāurvatat² and to Amer'dat²

¹ N.B. Ahura = 'king'; mazdā = pavan dānākih and mahājñānatayā.

² Not in Sp.

do I sacrifice, and to that one also who is the good-eyed one (*sic*) even, and to the perfect thinking (i.e. to the religious mental soundness) [Spendarmat¹]. (Notice the retention of the interior meaning of Aramaiti here especially; no expression of the meaning 'earth' is present. This is not without a certain significance.)

[(The Yen'hyā hātām is here to be recited once in the course of the Yasna; also six Vačists and three Gāhs.)]

YASNA XXXVIII.

The Fourth Chapter of the Yašt.

To the Earth, Ahura's yna; to the Sacred Waters, likewise His ynas.

To the Earth as Ahura's Wife.

(1) To this earth do I sacrifice together with the women (of Aūharmazd),

(2) to her who is our bearer, even (to her) who is also, O Aūharmazd, Thy wife, [that is to say, who is (especially) Thine own (so explaining the epithet of 'woman' as 'wife')²].

To the Waters as the Wives.

(3) From the assistance of Aša (by whom they are inspired) [from Ašavahišt's] countenancing presence (or 'desire?') I sacrifice in [my] desire of them (the waters, as Thy wives, together with the Earth; supplied from above),

(4) since with or 'as to' the august or 'bountiful' One on they move³ (or 'on they hasten'),

¹ Or may not our reading vēh-dōisar be erroneous for vēh-gōsar? This would express 'cattle-chieftainship' (head-herdsman) very well; Pahl. letters express gō or dō.

² Compare similar imagery everywhere in ancient theologies; compare even the Immaculate Conception.

³ Yaoštayō referred to a yuz, yaoz.

Aramaiti.

and (yet with) questionings and with perfect thoughtfulness (i.e. with complete views of doctrines and of duties; Aramatayō, pl. not here = 'the earth,' which is to be noted); [that is to say, they question about that thing which may be your bountiful characteristic (desiring to fathom the depths of Your designs); and 'my perfect-mindedness may she be' (citation from Yasna XXXII, 2)].

Ashi vaŋguhi.

(5) And I sacrifice to the good recompensing-consideration (Aši vaŋguhi here hardly = 'worship' or merely 'good luck'; see below) for those (benefits of the vagdān the wives, above indicated); [and do Ye give them me]; and that also which is the chief (lit. 'good' object of) desire [which is riches; (so, for Aši V. here; to that and to them also do I sacrifice)].

(6) And I sacrifice to that which is the good prosperity (or 'prosperous One'), and to what is the good festive celebration (of the āfrīns) and the good 'pārendi (so)' (which again points the sense of A. V. to 'riches' here).

To the Sacred Waters still further as Ahurānis, etc.

(7) And so I sacrifice to the waters the 'maēkaiñti's' [(the sacrifice(?) of sprinkling) and to that which is in plants,¹ the fruit¹ (juice supposed to come from the sprinkling(?) of the rain-clouds)] and to that which the 'haēbvaiñti's' [which is (the water of the mountain streamlets), the flowings of the mountains] and to the waters the 'fravāzas (so)' [the rain-water],

(8) and to the 'ahurānis' [the standing waters (those in pools, etc.; the Parsi-Persian has lang 'lame'),² and to the well-waters and to the other waters without definitely

¹ The word pašnai Avesta characters is not reported by B. (Pt. 4). It seems to be for a parsnai, and to be related to a parš; cf. Ind. prš. 'to sprinkle' (?). B. (Pt. 4) has mez'ihā (?) = 'clouds'; cf. the Pers. MS. trl. 'cloud.'

² Nēr. differs totally here; he has 'also those named through the coloured waters . . . in bodies' and those named 'good luck' and those named 'good birth,' i.e. 'through which the good and easy birth takes place.'

naming them (so three MSS., or 'name by name' with the other texts)].

And I sacrifice to that which is the 'ahurahyā'¹ [water, the —²], and to the hvapanhō (waters) [the —² (? sic)]; and I sacrifice to the well-forded (waters). [And do ye (in the answer to this our sacrifice) grant us this, as follows; 'let the moisture in our body be (freely) circulating (and flowing, rōvāk')]. (9) And I sacrifice to the water h-v-g-z'-akīh³ [tears]; and to those waters with good bathing⁴ quality (possibly having 'religious efficacy'); [that is to say, let our perspiration (sic) go off from the body], (and I sacrifice) to that (fluid) which is the desire (the one desirable fluid) within the two worlds [the butter⁵-oil (the food of Heaven)]. (10) So, O ye (waters) who [are] good (that is to say, 'clean' objects of creation), [to you (each)] did Aūharmazd give a name (as here described), (11) [as the producers of benefits (-dehāk)]; and since those (names) were given to you by Him, by those do I (now) sacrifice to you.

Prayer for the Sacrificer's personal higher interests.

(12) Also for me⁶ on account of (in the use) of those (names) let one bow in worship, (or 'proclaim forth those qualities'; this with another text); also on my account by means of those (names and gifts) let one⁷ offer praise; also

¹ This is of course superfluous; see the original; it is a misapplied citation.

² A corporeal secretion.

³ Hū-dehakīh, so B. (Pt. 4) may be read; so also E. (K⁵ (Sp.)), followed by Nēr. with sudānatānām-, but they would be erroneous and rather flat. We might think of a restoration from the elements of x̣vay-akīh (so), cf. x̣vay = 'sweat.' Or in view of the apparent rendering 'ars' = 'tears,' we might see a 'hū + ask' = 'much weeping.' The first form would then be meant as a mere citation of the Avesta text, with 'ars' as the translation. Was 'ars' suggested by -raosčā?

⁴ It would be hardly fair to the Pahl. trlr. to suppose that he meant hūsnāyešnih (so) in the sense of Nēr.'s susanmānatā-: i.e. hardly fair in view of the undoubted meaning of the original.

⁵ Writing hastily, one might render 'greatness' for 'butter,' masih for mišgā, Nēr. g'rtam. Such oversights should be avoided.

⁶ Not impossible: 'may one reverence (or 'proclaim') me, on account of those (gifts of offering when I offer in the use of those names)'; 'name' suggested by -ā(n)ma-.

⁷ A curious error again, which Nēr. avoids. The translator, as before, seems to fail to see the first pl. in the forms in -mahī here from some accidental cause.

for me (or 'toward (?) me') let one,¹ i.e. 'let them,' express a debt-confession.

(13) O waters, ye who are the 'Azi's,' [(that is to say, ye who are) salivas²] (? sic, to you we are offering), and (to) you who are 'mātrēs' (so; see 'mātarāšca'), [ye waters which are the — (set free) —] and (to) that water which (is meant by) 'agenyāo' [blood], and to that which is the daryōš-dāyak (= the sustainer of the feeble), [ye conquerors³ (of obstacles to life; ye who are) the fluids in the womb], (14) and to the waters 'vīspōpaiti,' that which is called [the water in the plants (again) and in the origin (or 'root') of them. By that they are grown⁴], and to that water which is the best⁴ and most beneficial, [i.e. the spermal (sap) which is from (or 'of') plants]; thus to you who are (so) beneficent I am liberal in offering,

(15) (and to You do I sacrifice; ye) who with length of arm would guide (us) on within the body [of the world] with apart-giving and apart-speech (meaning possibly 'on account of our especial offering and especial recitations'; hardly so certainly 'with especial giving (of the waters)'), those waters which are the mātarō jītayō [(viz.) 'milk' (sic)].⁵

YASNA XXXIX.

The Fifth Chapter of the Yašt.

To the Soul of the Herds, its Sacrifice.

(1) Here, therefore, do I sacrifice to the Herds' soul and to their body (?) which (were) created by Him [Aūharmazd]; (2) and I sacrifice to (that which is) our (own) soul, (and with this) even to the Herds' soul (as to those) who are desirous of our life (i.e. who contribute as domestic animals to our existence and who) [were created as a benefit (for this purpose) by Him (Aūharmazd)].

¹ See note 7, p. 68.

² A valuable error, putting us upon our guard. The Parsi-Pers. MS. is especially rich in these tentative suggestions. They are, of course, at times merely well-meant guesses, often, however, 'sagacious'; but where they are most erroneous there they are of value to warn us in other cases, not being mere dull imitations.

³ Āvānitar looks more like an allusion to ā + zi than anything else.

⁴ Vahišt- elsewhere = vaχš-.

⁵ A pertinent and racy guess, and possibly correct.

To the Warrior Caste and to the Agriculturalists.

(3) And to those also who are (especially) Thine¹ (Own do I sacrifice), [to the Warrior], and to those who are [the Agriculturalists (as being created by Him)]; (4) and to the Regulars (the infantry) and to the Cavalry,² to whose souls I sacrifice.

To the Souls of the Saints wherever born.

(5) And so I sacrifice to the Souls of the Saints wherever born, male and female, (6) who are the adherents to the good Dēn [with a single (special) office], and they are conqueror(s) [(these) warriors (or 'charioteers,' the Xšaθra caste)]; and they acquire (property) [these husbandmen (to whom I sacrifice); (and I sacrifice) to those who are *par eminence* the good³ men, even to the Priests].

To the Immortals, Male and Female, (sic).

(7) So here I sacrifice to the good [Male] Ones⁴ of the Amešas and to the good [females] (of them as well) (so, even to) the other⁵ [Amešas (do I sacrifice)], (8) who are august and immortal, ever-living and ever-helpful,

(9) who dwell with Vah'man [i.e. as regards, or 'in,' piety⁶], and to him also who is thus [Vah'man (himself) do I sacrifice].

Reciprocities between Ahura and His Sacrificer.

(10) As thou, O Aūharmazd, art (active in) thought as regards both [the concerns of Heaven (lit. 'of the spirit') and of the world], O Aūharmazd; [that is to say, as Thou art] for thinking and speaking and giving gifts [in relation

¹ I still hold tōi to be a pl., not as in the trl. to be equal to lak.

² I feel myself more inclined to follow these hints of the Pahl. trls. at present than I did in 1887. C, the Parsi-Pers. MS., adds the idea of 'foot-soldiers' for the first word. Nēr. has paṅktičāriṇām and aṣvačāriṇām.

³ Vaonare as vohu- + nar- (!), read Pahl. 'h.'

⁴ Whose names are not in the feminine.

⁵ Reading 'zagāi.'

⁶ The dwelling together in the bond of piety.

to this interest of Thine; that is to say, (as) Thou art for declaring and bestowing this (beneficial) thing (which is) bestowed (upon us)], and for accomplishing it as being (lit. 'which (is)') good, (11) so to thee do I myself¹ give (the equivalent of that) (hardly 'do I give myself, the portion of this offering to Thee'), and so do I inculcate it [upon others²; that is to say, (I offer this present gift as) given]; and so to thee in (my) coming³ do I sacrifice. [And so when within the world (as) I come and go (in my daily walk will I continue on; that is to say), 'I will sacrifice (to Thee, and will teach the same to others')]. (12) So also dost thou (so, for 'do thou') praise⁴ me. (This 2nd sing. is a recurring blunder), (in return for 'this,' or 'do thou cause (?) me to praise'); so also do Thou express⁵ obligation to me (*sic*, even) Thou, Aūharmazd (*sic*; or 'do Thou bring me into obligation to Thee'). [That is to say, to me be the debt as regards Thee (*sic*, or is it 'upon me be the debt . . . , — in either case mistaking -mahī, the 1st pl., for an -ahī, the 2nd singular?).] [(The foregoing section is to be repeated twice.)]

The Relationship and the Good Chieftainship.

(13) In the good relationship,⁶ [since Thine own I am], and (in) the progressive and continuous relationship (or 'in the spontaneous progress of affairs') [since I stand in a (sacred) relationship toward Thee],

(14) for that which is the good consideration (and reward) to Thee will I come, (15) also in the (office of the) good Chieftainship, [since I would exercise the Authority (i.e. its

¹ The only explanation I can offer for this *benafšā* is that it is an anticipation of the *xvēših* in 13.

² One might suspect this *yal aišān* to refer to *aiš*, but see *pavan yātūnešn'* and elsewhere.

³ Or 'in my going' (?).

⁴ One would like to render: 'So dost Thou make me praise; so do Thou bring me into debt; O Aūharmazd, that is to say, upon me may there be a debt as toward Thee'; but see the context.

⁵ So present for imperative.

⁶ Is it 'ownership'?; at all events it mistakes the exact meaning of the original, which I now hold to mean 'Autocrat' rather than 'Royal Kinsmen.'

duties) with correctness], and with the good fulness of attentive consideration (lit. 'with perfect-mindedness') (will I come on), [since I would carry out the matter (the duties of my office) with perfect attention (and application of thought; again lit. 'with perfect-mindedness')].

[(The Yen'hyā Hātām is to be recited twice here in the course of the Yasna. Five Vačists (?) are here to be said and three Gāhs.)]

YASNA XL.

The Sixth Chapter of the Yašt.

A Fellowship with God and with his Saints.

(1) Since, O Aūharmazd, to You I^{1,3} will thus attribute greatness² within the world¹ as well as completeness (2) with active energy (so for kerešvā (?)) [since I will do and say³ that thing through which Your greatness³ and perfection may become more evident (i.e. 'since I will perform the holy ceremonies and carry out complete obedience to the Law')],

(2a) (and since) I am liberally contributing toward this the protection⁴ (*sic* afforded) by Thy wisdom (so, with great error for xrapaitī)⁴ [toward Thy Dēn], from this (accumulation of merit) since it is [mine] (there is a benefit accruing to me) on (continuously) [that is, from this (source) to me (let there be) a benefit],

(3) which reward do Thou, O Aūharmazd, give on to my (people, viz.), that (reward) which [it is proper to give] to the devoted followers of the Dēn (as representing my closest interest).

¹ Mistaking āhū and adāhū.

² Notice mazdām so rendered. Otherwise elsewhere.

³ Or is it 'they would attribute greatness' or 'they would do and say'?; but see 2.

⁴ Mistaking xra for a form from 'kar' = 'be wise'; cf. xratu; and mistaking -paitī for a form from pā = 'to protect.'

(4) That (reward) which (is suitable) for this ((Nēr. amīšām) sacrifice of devotion) do Thou give us both for this world and for (that of) the Spirits (i.e. 'of Heaven,' Y. 28, 3),

(5) that is to say, so for that (reward) which (is) thus (conditioned) do we come on to Thee, (6) for this Thy fellowship [and also for the co-operation] of Aša (as the Angel of the Law) forever until all [till the future body].

(7) Give me therefore, O Aūharmazd, men, [even disciples of men who (are) aērpats (Herbads)] who (may be) holy and (animated by) a desire for (the establishment and propagation of) Aša (as Thy Church (*sic*)). [And give me Herbads],

(8) who, when for these (disciples, or 'in answer to these sacrificing prayers'), they may arise¹ (*sic*), (or who, when they 'may attain' (i.e. 'become a source of success')), may be bountiful to me for the long coming-on (for the future) [i.e. for the future body], and (who may) for what is mighty [in (my) occupation] (become) in these respects (my) companion(s).

(9) Grant us him who (is, or 'who may be') our gladdener.

(10) So, whether as the Self (?) (hardly here fully understanding the meaning to be 'whether as Autocrat' or 'Lord'), and so whether as the Vārūn, 'the commonalty.' (This appears to be an abortive attempt to reproduce at least the first syllable of 'vereženā,' and must be intended to mean svapañktayah with Nēr. 'men of our familiar line,' hardly 'bearers'; 'var' as a 'central collection' seems to have been thought of.) So, whether also (as) the 'Peer' (as the associate of the Autocrat) [let (that gladdener) be mine], (that is to say, 'Do Thou, O Aūharmazd'; see 9) give these (three classes of persons) to me as my rejoicers), (11) since through them I may arise; (see the original for the first personal). (Or 'since through them I may arouse

¹ The word may always be for āyābānī or 'āyābānd,' 'I (or 'they') may attain,' but see the original and Nēr. The latter saw the meaning 'arise,' but retains the 3rd personal, as xēzānd. Of course, this does not explain the original, but it recognises the likeness of the termination -yūš (?) (B., Pt. 4) to a 3rd plural. At the last moment it occurs to me to ask whether we have not really in the Pahlavi here an attempt to imitate the original. Is not our form after all 'aidyuzānd'? Or was yadā = amat seen in aidy(a) (ayada) and 'ud' in -ūš? What renders vāst-?

others to arise') toward You, O Aūharmazd. And therefore (because of these prospective results the bountiful One toward You), O Aūharmazd, the rejoicer), the saint and righteous man, is¹ liberal with (the gift of) his possessions [(the meaning) is 'with his wealth'].¹

The Yen'hyā Hātām is here to be recited once in the course of the Yasna. Seven Vačists (?) are to be said and three Gāhs.

YASNA XLI.

The Seventh Chapter of the Yašt.

To Aūharmazd as the King, the Life, and the Rewarder.

Song - praises, and acquisitions (*sic*, 'the results of earnings'),² and veneration (?) (2) do I myself present to Aūharmazd and Ašavahišta, and I inculcate [(this) upon others]; and that³ also do I here make known³ [in speech]. (Or is it 'Him also I invite (to this my sacrifice' (?) ?³)

(3) And to that which is Thy good Sovereign Authority (the complete establishment of the Theocracy) may I attain for ever until all.

(4) That good sovereign (namely) Thou,⁴ holds rule (may be hold rule) over us who are men or women (without regard to sex, and as having equal political rights; and this as representing) Thee,

(5) in both the worlds, O 'Thou' most beneficent (so B., Pt. 4)⁵ of beings.

Devoted Apostleship and its Expected Reward.

(6) Since [I would present] Thy good Injunction, O Aūharmazd, [that is to say, since I would be a bearer on

¹ The 1st pers. missed.

² Mistaking garō for a form from a 'gar' = 'to seize.'

³ This zag seems to show that the idea of 'announcing' was seen by the trlr., hardly that of 'invitation'; but see Nēr.

⁴ See the original and even Nēr., who, however, has the 2nd sg. imper. in the verb.

⁵ Or with the other texts, 'O Thou most completely (or 'beneficently') wise of beings.' Notice that Ahura is here included within the category of 'beings,' which casts light on Y. XXIX, 3, Hātām hvō aojīštō.

of Thy command (within the world as)] an increaser (of these sacred influences); [that is to say (as) I will augment Thine interest (the Cause of the Holy Dēn], and as) also I will offer Thy sacrifice with the accompaniment (and assistance) of Aša (the Angel of the Law), [that is to say, (as) from the countenancing help of¹ Ašavahišta I will sacrifice to Thee],

(7) so (as a consequence and as reward) from Thee may be the life of our body; [(so) may no life-departure (lifelessness; i.e. 'utter death'²) be our (lot)]; (8) In both the worlds [mayst thou grant this], O Thou most beneficent³ of beings.

[(A Vacist (sentence (?)) to be recited twice.)]

The Contest for Salvation.

(9) Acknowledge me as worthy (so safer than 'make me worthy') [as regards the giving of the reward]; also arm me (beweapon⁴ me), O Aūharmazd. (10) For Thee (a supPLICATOR may I be) in Thy gladdening (of Thy saints) and in the long coming⁵ on, (the future), [in the future body], a supPLICATOR on behalf of this which is Thine [on behalf of this Thy Dēn]; and (in all this my task and duty) may I be strong!

Gladdening Grace besought.

(11) And do Thou bestow upon us Thy gladdening-grace in the long coming-on⁶ of life,⁶ O Thou most beneficent among beings.

(12) When to this Thy praising and Māθra study and declaring (of it),

¹ I cannot accede to the meaning 'desire' nor to the transcription kādmun.

² This expression evidently originated from Y. XXX, 4. I should say that we ought to concede more meaning to it than simply 'death.' Tan' = -teñ- (!).

³ So with B. (Pt. 4), otherwise 'O Thou most completely wise . . . ' Hū- should equal 'completely' rather than 'beneficently.'

⁴ Nēr. sād'anaya, probably preserving the correct root.

⁵ Seeing a form of (ae) = 'to go' in -āyū.

⁶ B. (Pt. 4), 'life'; but here see uštā. A form from 'gam' was seen in the termination '-gem.'

O Aūharmazd, (13) I shall come¹ on ; and (when) I shall be content (with it), and shall accept (it), [that is to say, as much as I shall be open to accept it, and will completely fulfil it with a contented mind],

(14) do Thou then (to that degree) give forth this reward which to my adherents, O Aūharmazd, [it is proper to give] to the Dēn-men of the Dēn, (the strict adherents to the Religion).

[(This Vačist (?) is to be repeated twice.)]

(15) This even do Thou give us for both this world and also for (that of the) Heavenly Beings ; cf. Y. XXVIII, 2 ;

(16) that is to say, so, for the sake of such-like would we come on (to You).

The Supreme Authority as the Objective.

(17) To this which is Thine (established) Sovereign-authority and to Aša (as thine Established Religious Community (Thy Church (so))) ; (to these would we approach with acceptance, and with satisfaction (see v. 13)) for ever until all. [(This is to be said once in the course of the Yasna, the 'Hūmatananām' (Y. XXXV, 4) is here to be recited twice. The Yaθā Ahū Vairyō is to be said four times, and the Ašem Vohū three times.)] To the heroic Yašt of the Seven Chapters, the holy the Chief of Aša, do we sacrifice. [(The Yen'hyā Hātām is to be here recited once when the Yasna is celebrated.)]

YASNA XLII in S.B.E. xxxi ; (Y. XLI, 18 in Sp.).

Appendix to the Haptanghāiti ; a Summing up.

To the August Immortals ; to the Springs, Streams, Roads, etc.

I sacrifice to You who [are] the Amešaspendas, and with the collected contents (or 'summing up') of the Yašt of the Seven Chapters ; see above.

¹ Seeing ā gam in aog(e)madaēčā (?).

(19) And (with this summing up) I sacrifice to the springs of waters and to the fords of waters (see Y. XXXVIII), (20) and to the dividings (the apart-goings) of the roads and to the meetings of the roads (as vital elements toward the successful prosecution of pursuits),

(21) and to the mountains which flow with streamlets, and to the vales (or clefts) which hold the waters,¹ (22) and to the swelling² corn-grains, and to both the Protector (and) the Creator,³ (23) to Aūharmazd and to Zartust. (And in this summing up I sacrifice) to the Earth and to the Sky and to the Peak of Albūrz, (24–26) and to the terrific Wind (the hurricane) by Mazda made; and to the Land and to all (terrestrial) helpful benefit (of the sort). And I sacrifice to the good thought⁴ (that is to Vah'man) and to the Souls of the Saints; see Y. XLIX, 10.

To the Mythic Fish, and to the Beast of Vouru-Kaša.

(27) (And I sacrifice) to the Fish of fifty fins,⁵

(28) and to the Sacred Ass⁵ that stands midway in the Sea of Wide Shores;

The Caspian.

(29) and to the Sea Vouru-Kaša do I sacrifice (as well).

To Haoma.

(30) And (I sacrifice) to Hōm the gold-hued, the high (growing),

(31) even to Hōm, the stimulating, the Promoter of the world;⁶

(32) yea, to Hōm, the death-afar.

¹ A. and B. om., and 'to the Yazat Miθra.'

² Possibly 'fattening.'

³ Or ponds as reservoirs.

⁴ Notice that Vah'man is described literally as 'good thought.' So, and not as in Y. 49, 10, where we should understand the concrete 'good man.' It would be straining a point to render the Pahl.'s 'good thinking' as 'man' here.

⁵ Interesting later trash (?) or the same revived from earlier days. It has its value; see the later lore.

⁶ A tribute to distillation.

The Floods and the Migrations.

(33) And (in this summing up) I sacrifice to the forth-flowing of the waters (to the spring-floods), and the forth-flights (*sic*), that is, (migrations?) of the birds.

To the Priests as Representing all.

(34) And I sacrifice to the circuits¹ of the Fire Priests,
 (35) who return² from the road afar with beseeching prayers made in the desire for Aša to ('for') the Provinces,
 (36) and I sacrifice to the Amešaspends all.

[(The Yen'hyā Hātām is to be recited here once when the Yasna is celebrated.)]

¹ 'The coming back.'

² 'Sātūnānd' must mean 'coming' here and not 'going'; so perhaps also at Y. XLIII, 14, 'sātūnān'; yet see the Parsi-Pers. there 'raftan,' *Gāthas*, pp. 177, 520.

IV.

**THE DISCUSSION BETWEEN ABU BISHR MATTA AND
ABU SA'ID AL-SIRAFI ON THE MERITS OF
LOGIC AND GRAMMAR.**

By D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

IN his notice of the philosopher Abū Bishr, of Dair Kunnā, Ibn al-Kiftī¹ mentions that he had a public discussion with the grammarian Abū Sa'id al-Ḥasan al-Sirāfi, famous for his commentaries on Sībawaihi's grammar.² This discussion is reported at length by Yākūt in his invaluable Mu'jam al-udabā,³ on the authority of Abū Ḥayyān, from whose works Yākūt derives much that is interesting, though he accuses Abū Ḥayyān of habitually romancing. Abū Ḥayyān, whose full name was 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Tauḥidī, was an eminent writer of the fourth century of Islam, of whose works only three (to the best of my knowledge) have as yet been published: his treatises on Friendship and the Sciences, printed at the Jawā'ib press in 1301 A.H.—*without* the very important treatise on the lives of the two viziers Ibn al-'Amīd and Ibn 'Abbād, which had been promised in advertisements, but which is said to be a book that brings ill-luck; and a work lithographed in India called Mukābasāt.⁴ A brief account of him is given by Ibn Khillikān in his life of Ibn al-'Amīd (translated by De Slane, iii, 264); a lengthier one by Ṣafadī, which Mr. Amedroz has kindly copied for me, and which is given

¹ Ed. Lippert, p. 323.

² These were utilized by Jahn for his translation, and have been published in part in the Cairene edition of Sībawaihi.

³ MS. Bodl. Or. 753: Life of Abū Sa'id.

⁴ I owe my acquaintance with this work to Mr. A. G. Ellis.

in a note;¹ and a very lengthy one by Yākūt, in the fifth volume of his dictionary. An extract from one of his works, which occurs in al-Kiftī's dictionary, is translated into German by Dieterici ("Philosophie der Araber," i, 144).

¹ علي بن محمد بن العباس ابو حيان التوحيدى شيرازى وقيل نيسابورى وقيل واسطى صوفى السمى والهيئة قال ياقوت كان يتاله والناس على ثقة من دينه قال محب الدين ابن النجار كان صحيح العقيدة وكذا قال غيره والمتأخرون حكموا بزندقته قال الشيخ شمس الدين (i.e. Dhahabi, Or. 48, 269b)

كان سبى الاعتقاد نفاه الوزير المهلبى قال ابن بابى فى كتاب الخريدة والفريدة كان كذاباً قليل الدين والورع عن القذف والمجاهرة بالبهتان تعرض لامورٍ جسامٍ من القذح فى الشريعة والقول بالتعطيل ووقف صاحب كافى الكفاة على بعض ما كان يخفيه من ذلك فطلبه ليقتله فهرب والتجأ الى اعدائه ونفق عليهم بزخرفة كذبه ثم عثر وامنه على ذلك فطلبه الوزير المهلبى فهرب منه فمات فى الاستتار وقال ابن الجوزى فى تاريخه زنادقة الاسلام ثلثة ابن الراوندى وابو حيان التوحيدى وابو العلاء المعترى واشدهم على الاسلام ابو حيان لانهما صرحا وهو جمجم وهو من تلامذة الرمانى * قال الشيخ محبى الدين النووى فى تهذيب الاسماء ابو حيان التوحيدى من اصحابنا المصنفين من غرائب انه قال فى بعض رسائله لا ربا فى الزعفران ووافقه عليه القاضى ابو حامد المروزى والصحيح محريم الربا فيه (Cf. Nawāwī, ed. Wüstenfeld, 707)

قال ياقوت وصحب ابن عباد وابن العميد فلم يحمدهما وصنف فى مثالبتهما كتاباً وكان متفتناً فى جميع العلوم من النحو واللغة والشعر والادب والفقه والكلام على رأى المعتزلة وكان جاحظياً

The first question which will naturally occur in reference to this dialogue is whether it is historical or Abū Ḥayyān's

يسلك في تصانيفه مسلكه ويشتهى ان ينتظم في سلكه فهو شيخ
الصوفية وفيلسوف الادباء واديب الفلاسفة ومحقق الكلام ومتكلم
المحققين وامام البلغاء وعمدة لبنى ساسان سخيف اللسان قليل
الرضا عند الاساءة اليه والاحسان الذم شأنه والثلب دكانه وهو مع
ذلك فرد الدنيا الذى لا نظير له ذكاء وفطنة وفصاحة ومكنة كثير
التحصيل للعلوم في كل فن حافظة واسع الدراية والرواية وكان مع
ذلك محدودا محارفا يتشكى صرف زمانه ويبكى في تصانيفه على
حرمانه انتهى ومن تصانيفه : كتاب الصديق والصدقة

كتاب الرث على ابن جنى في شعر المتنبي

— الامتناع * والموانسة مجلدان

— الاشارات الالهية جزان

— الزلفة ك المقابسة ك رياض العارفين

— تقريظ الجاحظ ك ثلب الوزيرين

— الحجج العقلى اذا ضاق الفضا عن الحجج الشرعى

— الرسالة في صلاة الفقهاء في المناظرة

— الرسالة البغدادية ك الرسالة في اخبار الصوفية

— الرسالة الصوفية ايضا ك الرسالة في الحنين الى الاوطان

— البصائر والذخائر في عشر مجلدات وله فاتحة وخاتمة

— المحاضرات والمناظرات

وتوفى في حدود الثمانين والثلاثمائة او ما بعد الثمانين

والله اعلم وقد طول يا قوت ترجمته زايذا الى الغاية

* Read الامتناع.

romance. Abū Ḥayyān has taken great trouble to establish its historical character, by giving date and persons. The date is the year 320, when Abu'l-Faṭḥ Ibn al-Furāt was vizier; and to this there appears to be no objection, since this person (al-Faḍl Ibn Ja'far Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Furāt, also known as Ibn Ḥinzābah) was made vizier in Rabī' ii, 320 ('Arīb, ed. De Goeje, p. 173),¹ though, owing to the death of Muḥtadir and the appointment of a new Caliph, he was succeeded by another vizier in Dhu'l-Ka'dah of the same year. Further, many of the audience enumerated are historical personages, who might well have attended a debate at Baghdad in that year. *Al-Marzubānī*, the agent of the Samanids, is casually mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr (anno 286, ed. Tornberg, vii, 355) as "the nā'ib of Isma'il in the Capital, known as Al-Marzubānī"; there is no reason (it would seem) why he should not have continued to hold

¹ A short life of him is given by Ṣafadī thus:—

الفضل بن جعفر بن محمد بن موسى بن الحسن بن الفرات
ابو الفتح الكاتب المعروف بابن حنزابة تقدم ذكر اخيه جعفر
وضبط اسم امه هناك كان كاتباً مجوداً وديناراً متألهاً مؤثراً للخير
محبا لاهله ووزر للمقتدر بالله يوم الاثنين ليلتين بقيتا من شهر ربيع
الآخر سنة عشرين وثلثمائة الى ان قتل المقتدر وولى القاهر فولاه
الدواوين ولما خلع القاهر وولى الراضى ولاة الشام فتوجه اليها ثم
انه وزر للراضى سنة خمس وعشرين وثلثمائة وهو مقبم بحلب
وعقد له الامر وكوتب بالمصير الى الحضرة فوصل الى بغداد فرأى
اضطراب الامور واستيلاء الامير ابي بكر محمد بن رائق عليها فاطمع
ابن رائق في ان يحمل اليه الاموال من مصر والشام وشخص الى
هناك واستخلف ابا بكر عبد الله بن على النفرى بالحضرة فادركه
اجله بغزة وقيل بالرملة لثمان خلون من جمادى الاولى سنة سبع
وعشرين وثلثمائة وسنه سبع واربعون سنة

that appointment for thirty-four years; and the presence at Baghdad of the agents or ambassadors of those princes who, though virtually independent, recognized the Caliph's suzerainty, must be regarded as characteristic of the period. This Marzubānī is evidently to be distinguished from his contemporary, the famous archæologist. *Ibn al-Ikhshīd*,¹ whose name was Abū Bakr Aḥmad, famous as a Mu'tazil theologian, died in 326, six years after the debate (Fihrist, p. 173); since he lived in Baghdad, Sūḵ al-'Aṭash (Le Strange's Baghdad, p. 224), he could easily be present at it. He wrote a book in refutation of the views of *al-Khālidī*, i.e. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Naṣīr, who is probably to be identified with the Khālidī present at the debate. For this person died in 347 (Sibt Ibn al-Jauzī, MS. Poc. 370) or 348 (Sha'rānī's *Lawāḳiḥ al-anwār*, i, 157; Comm. on *Ḳushairiyyah*, ii, 2), aged 95. He was famous as a saint, as indeed appears from his figuring in *Ḳushairī*'s list; he is more often called *al-Khulḍī*, a name of which the origin was uncertain (Jauzī, l.c.),² though it was also given to the celebrated Mubarrad (Muzhir, i, p. 100). The two persons famous as "the Khālidī's," and named respectively Abū Bakr and Sa'id b. Hāshim, were probably too young to be present at a debate in 320 (*Fawāt al-Wafayāt*). A younger man than Khulḍī, yet not too young to be present, was *Ibn Rabāḥ*, Abū 'Imrān Mūsā, the metaphysician, a pupil of Ibn Ikhshīd, said to have been alive, but past 80, when the Fihrist (p. 173) was composed (377 A.H.). Another very distinguished hearer was the ex-vizier 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Dāwūd b. al-Jarrāḥ, who died in 335 (Jauzī, l.c.) or 334, having been born in 245 (Amedroz's *Hilāl*, p. 281); he was

¹ *Ikhshīd*, according to Sibt Ibn al-Jauzī, means 'king' in the language of Farghānah.

² Asked why he was called Khulḍī, he said: كنت جالساً يوماً عند الجنيّد فسئل عن مسائل فقال يا محمد اجبهم فاجبتهم فقال من اين لك هذه المسائل يا خلدی فجری علیّ هذا الاسم. Jauzī says *Yā Khulḍī* here is meaningless.

therefore 75 years old in 320. Amedroz's work contains a full account of him. Besides being an administrator, he was keenly interested in philosophy, as appears from the repeated mention of him in Ibn Abī Usaibi'ah's History of Physicians. He was besides sufficient of a saint to be credited with the working of miracles (*Ḥadā'ik al-afrāḥ*, p. 100).

Ibn Ka'b, who is less well known, is clearly to be identified with Ibn Ka'b al-Ansārī, who is repeatedly quoted in the Treatise on Friendship (pp. 7, 39, 52, 54, 72, 73) as a personal acquaintance of Abū Ḥayyān, yet as dead when that treatise was composed; and the last date in it is 370 (p. 67), though it was not published till after Ibn Sa'dān's death in 375 (p. 6). His sayings appear to be Sufic in character, and he is stated to have been a friend of Abu'l-Khattāb al-Ṣābī. Of this person a brief notice is to be found in Chwolsohn, *Ssabier*, i, 586, where it is stated that Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābī addressed him several letters.

Finally, the reporter of the debate, '*Alī Ibn 'Īsā al-Rummānī*, who was Abū Ḥayyān's teacher, and is regularly mentioned by him as "the saintly sheykh," was born in 296 (Ibn Khill., s.v.), and would therefore have been 24 at the time. *Abū 'Alī al-Fasawī*, who was *not* present, but might have been, was born in 288, and would have been 32.

On the other hand, slight historic doubts attach to one or two of the audience. Of Ibn Ṭughj an elaborate life is given by Ibn Sa'īd in his *Mughrib* (translated by Tallquist, Helsingfors, 1899, p. 23 ff.). It appears thence that he was made prefect of Damascus in Jumādā ii, 319, and did not hold office in *Egypt* till 321. The *Ambassador of Ibn Ṭughj from Egypt* could not have been present at a debate held in 320. Perhaps this is only a verbal error, i.e. either the word Egypt or the name Ṭughj is a mistake. A rather more interesting question is connected with the name of *Kudāmah*, Abū 'Amr b. Ja'far, famous as a critic. Since in his treatise on poetical criticism he declares himself to be the first to treat that subject, it would be of interest to find him confronted with the translator of Aristotle's *Poetics*.

He was personally acquainted with the other disputant, Abū Sa'īd (Treatise on Friendship, p. 152). His death-date was not precisely known, whence Ibn Khillikān omits him. Suyūṭī (Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah, i, 225) says he died in the days of Muḥtadir, who only survived the debate a few months. Brockelmann (i, 228) gives 310 as his death-date; De Slane (Journ. Asiatique, 1862, ii, p. 156), 337, after Abu'l-Maḥāsin (ii, 323).

A serious anachronism is to be found in the mention of *al-Kindī* as present, if by him be meant the famous philosopher, who had been dead over 50 years, and indeed is referred to in the debate as one of the ancients. Perhaps, however, some other Kindī is intended, e.g. the historian Abū Omar Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (thought by De Slane to have been a grandson of the other), a fragment of whose work has been published by Tallquist. He might without anachronism have been present at a debate in 320. Another anachronism is to be found in the presence of *Abū Firās*, who would naturally be the famous poet, born either in 320 or 321. A few names remain of persons whom I have hitherto been unable to identify with certainty—*Ibn Rashīd*, *Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Hāshimī*, *Ibn Yahyā al-'Alawī*, and *al-Zuhri*. Amedroz's *Hilāl* mentions (p. 211) a house in Baghdad which belonged to 'Uthmān, son of al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Hāshimī, who may be regarded as the son or nephew of the *second* of these persons. Jauzī mentions a Yahyā Ibn Yahyā al-'Alawī as a great scholar, originally of Baghdad, but afterwards attached to Saif al-daulah, who died in 390. He may be identical with the *third*, but it is unlikely. Abū Bakr al-Zuhri al-Ispahānī is quoted as a historical authority by *Hilāl* (p. 272) for the days of Muḥtadir; perhaps he is identical with the *fourth*: and since Abū Ḥayyān (on Friendship, p. 30, cf. 96) mentions an Abū Bakr al-Zuhairī as a personal friend, perhaps either Zuhri or Zuhairī should be corrected to the other form.

On the whole, the historical character of the debate stands the test to which we have exposed it exceedingly well; and it is clear that a very distinguished company had been got

together. Such public discussions were doubtless not infrequent in Baghdad, as well as other places of importance: the well-known letter of Badi' al-Zamān gives a vivid description of such a debate, certainly of a far less serious character than the present. It needed a man of considerable personal courage and oratorical skill to venture on a disputation before such an audience, and clearly Abū Bishr of Dair Kunnā was not thus qualified; he could scarcely open his lips, and was nonplussed by the simplest puzzles. Ibn al-Sikkīt, famous as a grammarian, was once in a similar plight: his antagonist, in the presence of the Caliph, being asked to propound a question in grammar, propounded the easiest he could think of; but even that Ibn al-Sikkīt was unable to answer (Ibn Khill., ii, 410). Abū Bishr, being exposed to jeers on the badness of his Arabic, and also on his Christian beliefs, was still less likely to come safely through such an ordeal. Perhaps, however, we ought not to forget that the debate, as we have it, is in the main reported by one of the antagonists. And there are passages in his speech which imply that Abū Bishr said, at any rate, rather more than he is reported to have said. If Ibn al-Kiftī be right in making him come to Baghdad in 320, the rumour of the large audiences attracted by his lectures was probably what caused the vizier to summon the assembly.

In general the description here given accords exceedingly well with Abū Bishr as we see him in his translation of Aristotle's Poetics. His acquaintance with the Arabic language there displayed is as slipshod as his antagonist (with his approval) asserts it to be; though he makes no statement about the Greek of the Poetics, he in one place interprets the Syriac (which he misreads)¹ as though it were the original; and he puts down absurdities in the most unthinking manner. Abū Sa'id's contention that the translations made by Abū Bishr and his colleagues are unintelligible is fully justified; only Abū Sa'id is mistaken in ascribing the badness of these translations to the

¹ ܐܠܝܢܐ, misread ܐܠܝܢܐ, Anal. Orient., pp. 66, 14.

translators' ignorance of Arabic; the real reason was their ignorance of the subjects on which they professed to write. One who with no philosophical training endeavoured to translate Kant's Critic of Pure Reason would produce absurdities as crass as those produced by Abū Bishr, however well he might know the English language.

The quarrel between the grammarians and the philosophers which this dialogue illustrates was long continued. In the late sixth century we find the rhetorician Ibn al-Athīr calling attention to the uselessness of the treatises of Avicenna (al-Mathal al-sā'ir, p. 187), and describing with pleasure his triumphs over philosophers. "One day," he tells us (*ibid.*, p. 95), "a professor of philosophy was with me, and the subject of the Koran cropped up. I began to describe it, and to remark on the eloquence and beauty of its words and ideas. He proceeded to quote the words of Surah liii, 22, 'That is, then, an unfair division,' and to deny that the phrase 'unfair' exhibited any eloquence or beauty. I said: 'You are to know that there are certain mysteries about the employment of words, into which you have not been initiated any more than your masters, Avicenna, al-Fārābī, and the rest, and Aristotle and Plato, who led you astray from the beginning.'" He then explains that the beauty of the word for 'unfair' (*dīzā*) lies in its rhyming with the other final words in the texts of the Surah.

Avicenna, however, comes a century later than the *dramatis personæ* of the present dialogue, which is nearer the introduction of Greek philosophy (or a travesty of it) into Baghdad, and gives us a rather vivid presentation of the attitude which the native learning adopted towards the exotic. Of the mode in which Greek learning came to be studied at the Abbasid capital we are never likely to have any accurate account.¹ The references to the subject in the works of Jāhīz (ob. 255 A.H., 868 A.D.) are interesting, owing to his nearness in time to al-Ma'mūn (198–218 A.H., 813–833 A.D.), to whom the tradition ascribes the introduction

¹ The most recent account of the matter is in the third part of Zaidān's "History of Islamic Civilization."

of the study of Greek works. He is supposed to have obtained a library of Greek books from Cyprus, and to have appointed as his librarian Sahl Ibn Hārūn, who won some fame as a miser¹ and writer in praise of avarice, and in general as a poet and litterateur. The story of the Cyprian MSS. rests on the authority of far later writers than Jāḥiẓ (Comm. on Ibn Zaidūn's Epistle, i, 262; Cairo, 1305),² but the latter has some remarkable passages about Aristotle. In the extracts from his treatise on rhetoric, published at Constantinople, 1301, he says: "The Greeks have philosophy and an art of Logic; but the author of the Logic was himself a poor speaker, not regarded as eloquent, in spite of his acquaintance with the distinction and analysis of speech, its meanings and its properties. They regard Galen as the most logical of mankind, but do not ascribe to him oratory or the sort of eloquence which goes with it." The chief philosophical technicalities were already invented by the time of Jāḥiẓ, as he enumerates them (Bayān, i, 60), but attributes their invention, not to the translators, but to the Mutakallimūna, or students of metaphysical theology. One of these technicalities³ meets us as early as the Diwan of Muslim Ibn al-Walīd, and others occur in the poems of Abū Tammām.⁴

The notion that the Greek race was extinct, which, as we see, is admitted here by both disputants, is found in Jāḥiẓ, who reckons Yaunān with Canaan, a tribe as extinct as Thamūd (Bayān, i, 78; Opuscula, 104, 3); since the tribe was extinct, it was natural to conclude that their language had perished also: and this error was due to the employment of the name Rūmī for Greek, which, however, ought not to have misled any man who occupied himself with philosophy.

Of the attack on the logicians by Abu'l-'Abbās Abdallah Ibn Muḥammad al-Nāshī (Brockelmann, i, 124), which

¹ Jāḥiẓ, "Misers," p. 1; Bayān, i, 98; Ḥadā'ik al-Afrāḥ, 214.

² Cf. *ibid.*, 46 (Comm. on Lāmiyyat al-'Ajam).

³ The verb تلاشى. See De Goeje's glossary.

⁴ عرض, جوهر, p. 168.

Širāfi declares had remained unanswered, we hear apparently only in this place. This person died in 293;¹ verses by him are sometimes cited (Ṭirāz al-majālis 242, Dīwān al-Šabābah 163, Hadiyyat al-umam 357), and he is also said to have been skilful as a logician. Ibn Khillikān makes him attack, not the philosophers, but the grammarians; but we learn from the Fihrist (p. 299) that he attacked the science of medicine. His point, from Širāfi, would appear to have been the very reasonable one that Logic for its value rested, not on the *ipse dixit* of the Greeks, but on its being a correct analysis of the mental process. Of similar interest is the notice of the mock metaphysical questions addressed to al-Kindī, who had been a mighty authority on philosophy some fifty years before; from Flügel's account of him (1857) we learn that he had *obtrectatores*.² The fact, moreover, that the Sabæans (i.e. the school of Thābit Ibn Qurrah) joined in the laugh at al-Kindī's expense is not without its interest.

Apparently the deriders of the new learning by no means had it all their own way. In the dialogue the mild and incompetent Abū Bishr is represented as the aggressor, the man who makes extravagant claims for his Logic. With the aid of the Aristotelian analysis of the meanings of the particle *in* (Nat. Auscult., iv, 3, p. 209), that of the grammarian Ibn al-Sikkīt was shown to be defective. In the list of the friends of the vizier Ibn Sa'dān, it is the philosopher who is always "frightening" others with the names of Plato and Aristotle, Socrates and Galen (Treatise on Friendship, p. 31).

As might be expected, the debate held in the presence of the vizier and so many men of eminence had no permanent result, except that the reputation of one of the disputants was enhanced, whereas the other was discredited for the time. The names of the Greek sages did not cease to be

¹ Ibn Sa'id calls him هذال, which (on the analogy of the Greek *olros*) might imply that he was living at the time. This would be a serious anachronism.

² This fact is omitted in the account of him by Dieterici, "Philosophie der Araber," i, 153.

highly revered. Sayings ascribed to them were quoted side by side with those of Prophets and Saints; and a whole collection of apocryphal apophthegms grew up round their names—a curious mixture of genuine and spurious specimens of Greek philosophy is given in the book called “Spiritual Words on Greek Aphorisms,” by Abu’l-Faraj Ibn Hindu (ob. 420), published in Cairo, 1900. But also the name of philosopher had some of the lofty meaning attached to it in Greece and Rome. A man who occupied himself with philosophy was thought untrue to his profession if he shed blood; and such cases were explained by the supposition that there were hypocrites in philosophy as there were in religion (on Friendship, 75).

The dialogue was reported in full by Abū Ḥayyān at the request of the *visier*, whom perhaps we are justified in identifying with *Ibn Sa’dān*, the vizier of Ṣamsām al-daulah, since not only was the Treatise on Friendship compiled at his request, but from Ibn al-Kiftī we learn that other questions of a literary character were addressed to Abū Ḥayyān by that vizier (p. 82), who died in 375 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 29); whereas the book called *Al-’imta’ wa-l-mu’ānasah* was filled with anecdotes of what took place at the salons of another vizier of Ṣamsām al-daulah, called Abu’l-Faḍl Abdallah b. al-’Ārid al-Shīrāzī (Kiftī, p. 283). Curious matter from that work is quoted by Ibn ‘Arabī (*Muḥāḍarāt al-abrār*, i, 188), and by Yāḳūt in many places. Possibly the dialogue was included in the work called *Muḥāḍarāt wa-musāmarāt*, which may also be the source of a document produced by Ibn ‘Arabī (*ibid.*, ii, 77).

That document is certainly apocryphal in character, consisting of letters which passed between the Caliph Abū Bakr and ‘Alī on the subject of the accession of the former. Abū Ḥayyān began his narrative thus: “We spent the night talking at the house of the Kādī Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad Ibn Bishr al-Marwazī al-’Āmirī in the house of Abū Ḥabashān in the Street of al-Māzubān”—when the Kādī produced these documents (from memory); he had previously recited them to no one save the vizier

Muhallabi. Another very curious extract is given by Yākūt in his life of the secretary of state Aḥmad Ibn Thuwābah. This person was told that in order to perfect himself he should learn Euclid; a Christian teacher was accordingly fetched, who made a dot on a board, and explained that it had no parts and no magnitude—was, as he further explained, simple. Asked to illustrate the word ‘simple,’ he said ‘like God or the soul.’ The pious Moslem is horrified at a man who makes Allah the object of a comparison, and dismisses the teacher with contumely. A Moslem teacher is next fetched, who draws a straight line, and explains that it is length without breadth. Again the secretary feels convinced that some slight is intended to God’s Straight Path, and bids the teacher begone to eternal contempt. This amusing scene is recorded in what purports to be a letter from Aḥmad himself, describing his noble resistance to infidel temptation in a letter to a sympathetic vizier. But Yākūt warns us that the letter is a forgery, which may be by Abū Ḥayyān himself, who used to invent tales of the sort.

It should be added that the Muḥāḍarāt contained a Dialogue between al-Farrā and Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan on the merits of Law and Grammar (Yākūt, f. 4b).

مناظرة جرت بين متى بن يونس القنّائي الفيلسوف وبين ابي سعيد السيرافي رحمة الله عليه

قال ابو حيان ذكرت للوزير مناظرة جرت في مجلس الوزير ابي الفتح الفضل بن جعفر بن الفرات بين ابي سعيد السيرافي وابي بشر متى واختصرتها فقال لي اكتب هذه المناظرة علي التمام فان شيئاً يجري في ذلك المجلس النبیه وبين هذين الشيخين بحضرة اولئك الاعلام ينبغي ان يغتنم سماعه وتوعى فوائده ولا يتهاون بشيء منه فكتبت حدثني ابو سعيد بلمع من هذه القصة فاما علي بن عيسى النحوي الشيخ الصالح فانه رواها مشروحة قال لما انعقد المجلس سنة عشرين وثلثمائة قال الوزير ابن الفرات للجماعة وفيهم النخالي وابن الاخشيد والكندي وابن ابي بشروا بن رباح وابن كعب وابو عمرو قدامة بن جعفر والزهرى وعلي بن عيسى بن الجراح وابو فراس وابن رشيد وابن عبد العزيز الهاشمي وابن يحيى العلوي ورسول ابن طغج من مصر والمرزباني صاحب بني سامان اريد ان ينتدب منكم انسان لمناظرة متى في حديث المنطق فانه يقول لا سبيل الي معرفة الحق من الباطل والصدق من الكذب والخير من الشر والحجة من الشبهة والشك من اليقين الا بما حويناه من المنطق وملكناه من القيام واستفدناه من واضعه على مراتبه وحدوده واطلعنا عليه من جهة اسمه علي حقائقه فاحجم القوم واطرقوا فقال ابن الفرات والله ان فيكم لمن يفي بكلامه ومناظرته وكسر ما يذهب اليه واني لاعدكم في العلم

بحاراً وللمدين واهله انصاراً وللحق وطلابه مناراً فما هذا التغامز والتلامز اللذان تجلون عنهما فرفع ابو سعيد السيرافي راسه وقال اعذرايها الوزير فان العلم المصون في الصدور غير العلم المعروف في هذا المجلس على الاسماع المصيخة والعيون المحدثة والعقول الجامدة والالباب الناقدة لان هذا يستصحب الهيبة (والهيبة) مكسرة ويجتلب الحيا والحميا مغلبة وليس البراز في معركة غاصة كالمصراع¹ في يفة² فقل ابن الفرات انت لها يا ابا سعيد فاعتذارك عن غيرك يوجب عليك الانتصار لنفسك والانتصار لنفسك راجع علي الجماعة بفضلك فقال ابو سعيد مخالفة الوزير فيما يامر هجنة والاحتجان³ عن رأيه اخلاص الي التقصير ونعوذ بالله من زلة القدم واياه نسئل حسن التوفيق والمعونة في الحرب والسلام ثم واجه متي فقال حدثني عن المنطق ما تعني به فانا اذا فهمنا مرادك فيه كان كلامنا معك في قبول صوابه ورد خطائه علي سنن مرضي وعلي طريقة معروفة قال متي اعني به انه آلة من الآلات يعرف به صحيح الكلام من سقيمه وفاسد المعني من صالحه كالميزان فاني اعرف به الرجحان من النقصان والشائسل من الجانح فقال له ابو سعيد اخطأت لان صحيح الكلام من سقيمه يعرف بالعقل ان كنا نبحث بالعقل هبك عرفت الراجح من الناقص من طريق الوزن من ذلك⁴ بمعرفة الموزون اهو حديد او ذهب او شبه او رصاص

¹ Read كالمصارعة.

² Read بقعة.

³ Perhaps الاحتجاز.

⁴ Read لك.

واراك بعد معرفة الوزن فقيرا الى معرفة جوهر الموزون والى معرفة قيمته وسائر صفاته التى يطول عدّها فعلي هذا لم ينفعك الوزن الذي كان عليه اعتمادك وفي تحقيقه كان اجتهادك الا نفعًا يسيرًا من وجه واحد وبقيت عليك وجوه فانت كما قال الاول

حَفِظْتَ شَيْئًا وَضَاعَتْ مِنْكَ أَشْيَاءُ

وبعد فقد ذهب عليك شيء هاهنا ليس كل ما في الدنيا يوزن بل فيها ما يوزن وفيها ما يكال وفيها ما يذرع وفيها ما يمسح وفيها ما يحزر وهذا وان كان هكذا في الاجسام المريية فانه ايضا على ذلك في المعقولات المقروءة والاحساس¹ ظلال العقول وهي يحكيها بالتبعيد والتقريب مع الشبه المحفوظ والمماثلة الظاهرة ودع هذا اذا كان المنطق وضعه رجل من يونان علي لغة اهلها واطلاهم عليها وما يتعارفونه بها من رسومها وصفاتها من اين يلزم الترك والهند والفرس والعرب ان ينظروا فيه ويتخذوه حكما لهم وعليهم وقاضيا بينهم ما شهد لهم قبلوه وما نكروه² رفضوه قال متى انما لزم ذلك لان المنطق بحث عن الاعراض المعقولة والمعانى المدركة وتصفح للنخوط السامحة والسوانح الهاجسة والناس في المعقولات سواء الا تري ان اربعة واربعة ثمانية عند جميع الامم وكذلك ما اشبهه قال ابو سعيد لو كانت المطلوبات بالعقل والمذكورات باللفظ ترجع مع شعبها المختلفة وطرائقها المتباينة الي هذه المرتبة البينة في اربعة واربعة انهما ثمانية زال الاختلاف وحضر الاتفاق ولكن ليس الامر

¹ . الاجسام Perhaps

² . نكروه Cod.

هكذا ولقد مؤهت بهذا المثال ولكم عادة في مثل هذا التمويه ولكن ندع هذا ايضا اذا كانت الاعراض المعقولة والمعاني المدركة لا يوصل اليها¹ باللغة الجامعة للاسماء والافعال والحروف افليس قد لزممت الحاجة الي معرفة اللغة قال نعم قال اخطات قل في هذا الموضع بلي قال متي بلي انا اقلدك في مثل هذا قال ابو سعيد فانت اذا لست تدعونا الي علم المنطق بل الي تعلم اللغة اليونانية وانت لا تعرف لغة يونان فكيف صرت تدعونا الي لغة لا تفي بها وقد عفت منذ زمان طويل وباد اهلها وانقرض القوم الذين كانوا يتفاوضون بها ويتفاهمون اغراضهم بتصرفها علي انك تنقل من السريانية فما تقول في معاني متهولة² بالنقل من لغة يونان الي لغة اخري سريانية ثم من هذه الي لغة اخري عربية قال متي يونان وان بادت مع لغتها فان الترجمة قد حفظت الاغراض وادت المعاني واخلصت الحقائق قال ابو سعيد اذا سلمنا لك ان الترجمة صدقت وما كذبت وقومت وما حرفت ووزنت وما جزفت وانها ما التاثت ولا حافت ولا نقصت ولا زادت ولا قدمت ولا اخرت³ ولا اخلت بمعني الخاص والعام. ولا باخص الخاص ولا باعم العام وان كان هذا لا يكون وليس في طبائع اللغات ولا في مقادير المعاني فكانك تقول بعد هذا لا حجة الا عقول يونان ولا برهان الا ما وصفوه⁴ ولا حقيقة الا ما ابرزوه قال متي لا ولكنهم من

¹ Add ؟

² متحولة ؟

³ Cod. اخرقت .

⁴ Read وضعوه .

بين الامم اصحاب عناية بالحكمة والبحث عن ظاهر هذا العالم¹ وباطنه وعن كل ما يتصل به وينفصل عنه وبفضل عنايتهم ظهر ما ظهر وانتشر ما انتشر وفشا ما فشا ونشأ ما نشأ من انواع العلم واصناف الصناعة ولم نجد هذا لغيرهم قال ابو سعيد اخطأت وتعصبت وملت مع الهوى فان العالم¹ مبثوث في العالم ولهذا قال القائل

العلم في العالم مبثوث * ومحوه العاقل محثوث

وكذلك الصناعات مفضوغة علي جميع من علي جديد الارض ولهذا غلب علم في مكان دون مكان وكثرت صناعة في بقعة دون صناعة² وهذا واضح والزيادة عليه مشغلة ومع هذا فانما كان يصح قولك ويسلم دعواك لو كانت يونان معروفة بين جميع الامم بالعصمة الغالبة والفطرة الظاهرة والبنية المخالفة وانهم لو ارادوا ان يخطئوا ما قدروا ولو قصدوا ان يكذبوا ما استطاعوا وان السكينة نزلت عليهم والحق تكفل بهم والخطأ تبرأ منهم والفضائل لصقت باصولهم وفروعهم والرزائل بعدت عن جواهرهم وعروقهم وهذا جهل ممن يظنه بهم وعناد ممن يدعيه عليهم بل كانوا كغيرهم من الامم يصيبون في اشياء ويخطئون في اشياء ويصدقون في امور ويكذبون في امور ويحسنون في احوال ويسئون في احوال وليس واضع المنطق يونان باسرها انما³ رجل منهم وقد اخذ عن قبله كما

¹ Read العلم .

² Read بقعة ؟

³ Add هو .

اخذ عنه من بعده وليس هو حجة علي هذا الخلق الكثير والجم الغفير وله مخالفون منهم ومن غيرهم ومع هذا فالاختلاف في الرأي والنظر والبحث والمسئلة والجواب سنخ وطبيعة فكيف يجوز ان يأتي رجل بشي يرفع به هذا الخلاف او يخلخله او يؤثر فيه هيات هذا محال ولقد بقي العالم بعد منطقته علي ما كان قبل منطقته وامسح وجهك بالسلة عن شي لا يستطيع لانه مفتقد بالفطرة والطباع وانت فلو فرغت بالك وصرفت عنايتك الي معرفة هذه اللغة التي تحاورنا بها وتجارينا فيها وتدرس اصحابك بمفهوم اهلها وتشرح كتب يونان بعادة اصحابها لعلمت انك غني عن معاني يونان كما انك غني عن لغة يونان وهاهنا مسئلة اتقول ان الناس عقولهم مختلفة وانصباؤهم منها متفاوتة قال متي نعم قال وهذا التفاوت والاختلاف بالطبيعة او الاكتساب قال بالطبيعة قال فكيف يجوز ان يكون هاهنا شي يرتفع به الاختلاف الطبيعي والتفاوت الاصلي قال متي هذا قد متر في جملة كلامك آنفا قال ابو سعيد فهل وصلت به بجواب قاطع وبيان ناصع ودع هذا اسئلك عن حرف واحد هو دائري في كلام العرب ومعانيه متميزة عند اهل العقل فاسخرج انت معانيه من ناحية منطق ارسطاليس الذي تدل به¹ وتباهي بتفخيمه وهو الواو وما احكامه وكيف مواقعه وهل هو علي وجه واحد او وجوه فبهت متي وقال هذا محو والنحو لم انظر فيه لان لا حاجة بالمنطقي الي النحو وبالنحوي حاجة الي المنطق لان المنطق يبحث عن المعني والنحو يبحث عن

¹ بها . Cod.

اللفظ فان متر المنطقي باللفظ فبالعرض وان عبر النحوى بالمعنى فبالعرض والمعنى اشرف من اللفظ واللفظ اوضح من المعنى قال ابو سعيد اخطأت لان المنطق والنحو واللفظ والافصح والاعراب والانباء والحديث والاخبار والاستخبار والعرض والتمنى والحض والدعاء والنداء والطلب كلها من واد واحد بالمشاكلة والمماثلة الا ترى ان رجلاً لو قال نطق زيد بالحق ولكن ما تكلم بالحق وتكلم بالفحش ولكن ما قال الفحش واعرب عن نفسه ولكن ما افصح وابان المراد ولكن ما اوضح او فاه بحاجته ولكن ما لفظ او اخبر ولكن ما انبأ لكان في جميع هذا مخرفاً ومناقضاً وواضحاً للكلام في غير حقه ومستعملاً للفظ علي غير شهادة من عقله وعقل غيره والنحو منطق ولكنه مسلوخ من العربية والمنطق نحو ولكنه مفهوم باللغة وانما الخلاف بين اللفظ والمعنى ان اللفظ طبيعي والمعنى عقلي ولهذا كان اللفظ بائداً علي الزمان يقفوا اثر الطبيعة باثر اخر من الطبيعة ولهذا كان المعنى ثابتاً على الزمان لان مستملى المعنى عقل والعقل الهى ومادة اللفظ طينية وكل طيني متهافت وقد بقيت انت بلا اسم لصانعتك تتحللها وآلتك آلتى تزهي بها الا ان تستعير من العربية لها اسماً فتعار ويسلم لك بمقدار وان لم يكن لك بد من قليل هذه اللغة من اجل الترجمة فلا بد لك ايضا من كثيرها من اجل تحقيق الترجمة واجتلاب الثقة والتوقي من الخلطة اللاحقة لك قال متي يكفيني من لغتكم هذا الاسم والفعل والحرف فاني اتبلغ بهذا القدر الي اغراض قد هذبتها لي يونان قال (ابو) سعيد

اخطات لانك في هذا الاسم والفعل والحرف فقير الي وصفها¹ وبنائها علي الترتيب الواقع في غرائز اهلها وكذلك انت محتاج بعد هذا الي حركات هذه الاسماء والافعال والحروف فان الخطأ والتحريف في الحركات كالخطأ والفساد في المتحركات وهذا باب انت واصحابك ورهطك عنه في غفلة على ان هاهنا سرًا ما علق بك ولا اسفر لعقلك وهو ان تعلم ان لغة من اللغات لا تطابق لغة اخري من جميع جهاتها بحدود صفاتها في اسمائها وافعالها وحروفها وتاليفها وتقديمها وتأخيرها واستعارتها وتحقيقها وتشديدتها وتخفيفها وسعتها وضيقها ونظمها ونثرها وسجعها ووزنها وميلها وغير ذلك مما يطول ذكره وما اظن احداً يدفع هذا الحكم او يسأل في صوابه ممن يرجع الي مسكة من عقل او نصيب من انصاف فمن اين يجب ان نشق بشيء ترجم لك علي هذا الوصف بل انت الي ان تعرف اللغة العربية احوج منك الي ان تعرف المعاني اليونانية علي ان المعاني لا تكون يونانية ولا هندية² كما ان اللغات لا تكون فارسية ولا عربية ولا تركية ومع هذا فانك تزعم ان المعاني حاصلها بالعقل والفحص والفكر فلم يبق الا احكام اللغة فلم تزر علي العربية وانت تشرح كتب ارسطاطاليس بها مع جهلك بحقيقتها وحدثني عن قائل قال لك حالي في معرفة الحقائق والتصفح لها والبحث عنها حال قوم كانوا قبل واضع المنطق انظر كما نظرت واتدبر كما تدبروا لان اللغة قد عرفت

¹ وضعها . Read

² هندية . Cod.

بالمنشأ والوراثة والمعاني نقرت عنها بالنظر والرأي والاعتقَاب
 والاجتهاد ما تقول له لا يصح له هذا الحكم ولا يستتب هذا الامر لانه
 لم يعرف هذه الموجودات من الطريقة التي عرفتھا انت ولعلك
 تفرح بتقليدك وان كان علي باطل اكثر مما يفرح باستبداده وان
 كان علي حق وهذا هو الجهل المبين والحكم الغير مستبين ومع
 هذا فحدثني عن الواو ما حكمه فاني اريد ان ابين ان تفخيمك
 للمنطق لا يغني عنك شيئاً وان تجهل حرفاً واحداً من اللغة التي
 تدعو بها الي الحكمة اليونانية ومن جهل حرفاً واحداً امكن ان
 يجهل اللغة بكمالها وان كان لا يجهلها كلها ولكن يجهل بعضها فلعله
 يجهل ما يحتاج اليه ولا ينفعه فيه علم بما لا يحتاج وهذه رتبة
 العامة او هي رتبة من هو فوق العامة بقدر يسير فلم يتأبني علي هذا
 وينكرويتوهم انه من الخاصة وخاصة الخاصة وانه يعرف سر الكلام
 وغامض الحكمة وخفي القياس وصحيح البرهان وانما سالتك عن
 معاني حرف واحد فكيف لو نشرت عليك الحروف كلها وطالبتك
 بمعانيها ومواضعها التي لها بالحق والتي لها بالتجوز وسمعتكم تقولون
 في لا يعلم النحويون مواقعها وانما يقولون هي للوعاء كما يقولون ان
 الباء للالصاق وان في تقال علي وجوه يقال الشيء في الوعاء والاناء في
 المكان والسائس في السياسة والسياسة في السائس الا تري هذا
 الشقيق هو من عقول يونان ومن ناحية لغتها ولا يجوز ان يعقل هذا
 بعقول الهند والترك والعرب فهذا جهل من كل من يدعيه وخطل
 من القول الذي افاض النحوي اذا قال في للوعاء فقد افصح في

الجملة عن المعني الصحيح وكني مع ذلك عن الوجوه التي تظهر بالتفصيل ومثل هذا كثير وهو كاف في موضع السكيت فقال ابن الفرات أيها الشيخ الموفق اجبه بالبيان عن مواقع الواو حتى تكون اشد في افحامه وحقق عند الجماعة ما هو عاجز عنه ومع ذلك فهو متشيع به فقال ابو سعيد للواو وجوه ومواقع منها معني العطف في قولك اكرمت زيدًا وعمراً ومنها القسم في قولك والله لقد كان كذا وكذا ومنها الاثتناف كقولك خرجت وزيد قائم لان الكلام بعده ابتداء وخبر ومنها معني رب التي هي للتقليل نحو قوله وقاتم الاعماق خاوي المخترقن¹

ومنها ان تكون اصلية في الاسم كقولك واقد واصل وافد وفي الفعل كقولك وجل يوجل ومنها ان تكون مقحمة نحو قول الله تعالى فلما² اسلما وتله للجبين وناديناه اي ناديناه ومثله قول الشاعر فلما اجزنا ساحة الحي وانتحي * بنا بطن خبت ذي قفاف عقتل³ المعني انتحي بنا ومنها معني الحال في قوله عز وجل ويكلم⁴ الناس في المهد وكهلا اي يكلم الناس حال صغره بكلام الكهل في حال كهولته ومنها ان تكون بمعني حرف الجر كقولك استوي الماء والخشبة اي مع الخشبة فقال ابن الفرات لمتى يابا بشر اكان هذا في محوك ثم قال ابو سعيد دع هذا هاهنا مسالة علاقتها بالمعني العقلي اكثر من علاقتها بالشكل اللفظي ما تقول في قول

¹ Verse of Ru'bah: see Mughni of Ibn Hishām (1302), ii, 35; and Mufaṣṣal, § 608.

² Surah xxxvii, 103.

³ Verse of Imru'ul-Kais: Ahlw. 147, 27.

⁴ Surah iii, 41.

القائل زيد افضل الاخوة قال صحيح قال فما تقول ان قال زيد
افضل اخوته قال صحيح قال فما الفرق بينهما مع الصحة فبلغ
وجنح وعصب ريقه¹ فقال ابو سعيد افتيت علي غير بصيرة ولا
استبانة المسئلة الاولى جوابك عنها صحيح وان كنت غافلا عن
وجه صحتها والمسئلة الثانية جوابك عنها غير صحيح وان كنت ايضا
ذاهبا عن وجه بطلانها قال متي بين ما هذا التهجين قال ابو سعيد
اذا حضرت المختلفة² استفدت ليس هذا مكان التدريس هو
مجلس ازالة التلبيس مع من عادته التمويه والتشبيه والجماعة تعلم
انك اخطات فلم تدع³ ان التحوي انما ينظر في اللفظ لا في المعني
والمنطقي ينظر في المعني لا في اللفظ هذا كان يصح لو ان المنطقي
يسكت ويجيل فكره في المعاني ويرتب ما يريد في الوهم السياح
والخاطر العارض والمحدث الطارى واما وهو يرتع⁴ ان يبرز ما صح له
بالاعتبار والتصفح الي المتعلم والمناظر فلا بد له من اللفظ الذي يشتمل
علي مراده ويكون طباقا لغرضه وموافقا لقصده قال ابن الفرات ياءبا
سعيد تم لنا كلامك في شرح المسئلة حتي تكون الفائدة ظاهرة
لاهل المجلس والتبكييت عاملا في نفس ابي بشر فقال ما اكره من
ايضاح الجواب عن هذه المسئلة الا ملل الوزير فان الكلام اذا طال
مل فقال ابن الفرات ما رغبت في سماع كلامك وبينني وبين
الملل علاقة فاما الجماعة فحرصها علي ذلك ظاهر فقال ابو سعيد

¹ . وغص بريقه Read

² . Perhaps المختلف (Hamadhani, Mak. 38).

³ . تدعى Read

⁴ . يريغ Read

إذا قلت زيد افضل اخوته لم يجوز اذا قلت زيد افضل الاخوة جاز
والفصل بينهما ان اخوة زيد هم غير زيد وزيد خارج من جملتهم
وذلك دليل¹ انه لو سأل سائل فقال من اخوة زيد لم يجز ان تقول
زيد وعمرو وبكر وخالد وانما تقول بكر وعمرو وخالد ولا يدخل زيد في
جملتهم فاذا كان زيد خارجا عن اخوته صار غيرهم فلم يجز ان
يكون افضل اخوته كما لم يجز ان يكون حمارك افره البغال لان
الحمار غير البغال كما ان زيدا غير اخوته فاذا قلت زيد افضل الاخوة
جاز لانه احد الاخوة والاسم يقع عليه وعلي غيره فهو بعض الاخوة الا
تري انه لو قيل من الاخوة عدده فيهم فقلت زيد وعمرو وبكر وخالد
فيكون بمنزلة قولك حمارك افره الحمير فلما كان علي ما وصفنا
جاز ان يضاف الى واحد منكور يدل علي الجنس فتقول زيد افضل
رجل وحمارك افره حمار فيدل رجل علي الجنس كما دل
الرجال وكما في عشرين درهما ومائة درهم فقال ابن الفرات ما بعد
هذا البيان مزيد ولقد جل علم النحو عندي بهذا الاعتبار وهذا
الانقياد فقال ابو سعيد معاني النحو منقسمة بين حركات اللفظ
وسكناته وبين وضع الحروف في مواضعها المقتضية لها وبين تاليف
الكلام بالتقديم والتأخير وتوخي الصواب في ذلك وتجنب الخطأ
من ذلك وان زاغ شيء من النعت فانه لا يخلو من ان يكون
سابقا بالاستعمال النادر والتاويل البعيد او مردودا لخروجه عن عادة
القوم الجارية علي فطرتهم فاما ما يتعلق باختلاف لغات القبائل
فذلك شيء مسلم لهم وماخوذ عليهم وكل ذلك محصور بالتبع

. ودليل ذلك Perhaps¹

والرواية والسمع والقياس المطرد علي الاصل المعروف من غير
محريف وانما دخل العجب علي المنطقيين لظنهم ان المعاني
لا تعرف ولا تستوضح الا بطريقهم ونظرهم وتكلفهم فترجموا لغة هم فيها
ضعفاء ناقصون بترجمة اخري هم فيها ضعفاء ناقصون وجعلوا تلك
الترجمة صناعة وادعوا علي النحويين انهم مع اللفظ لا مع المعني
ثم اقبل ابو سعيد علي متى فقال الا تعلم يا ابا بشر ان الكلام اسم
واقع علي اشياء قد ايتلفت بمراتب مثل ذلك انك تقول هذا
ثوب والثوب يقع علي اشياء بها صار ثوبًا ثم به نسج بعد ان غزل
فسداته لا تكفي دون لحمته ولحمته لا تكفي دون سداته ثم تاليفه
كنسجه وبلاغته كقصارته ودقة سلكه كرقعة لفظه وغلظ غزله ككثافة
حروفه ومجموع هذا كله ثوب ولكن بعد مقدمة كل ما يحتاج اليه
فيه قال ابن الفرات سله يا ابا سعيد عن مسئلة اخري فان هذا
كلما توالي عليه بان انقطاعه وانخفاض ارتفاعه في المنطق الذي
ينصره والحق الذي لا ينصره قال ابو سعيد ما تقول في رجل قال
لهذا عليّ درهم غير قيراط قال متى ما لسي علم بهذا النمط قال
لست نازعًا عنك حتي يصح عند الحاضرين انك صاحب مخرقة
وزرق ههنا ما هو اخف من هذا قال رجل لصاحبه بكم الثوبان
المصبوغان وقال اخر بكم ثوبان مصبوغان وقال اخر بكم ثوبان
مصبوغين بيتن هذه المعاني التي تضمنها لفظ لفظ قال متى لو
نشرت انا ايضا عليك من مسائل المنطق شيئًا لكان حالك
كحالي قال ابو سعيد اخطأت لانك اذا سالتني عن شيء انظر فيه

فان كان له علاقة بالمعني وصح لفظه على العادة الجارية اجبت ثم لا ابالي ان يكون موافقا او مخالفا وان كان غير متعلق بالمعني رددته عليك وان كان متصلا باللفظ ولكن على موضع لكم في الفساد على ما حشوتكم به كتبكم رددته ايضا لانه لا سبيل الى احداث لغة مقررة بين اهلها ما وجدنا لكم الا ما استعرتكم من لغة العرب كالسبب والا والموضوع والمحمول والكون والفساد والمهمل المنصوص وامثلة لا تنفع ولا تجدي وهي الى العي اقرب وفي الفهاهة اذهب ثم انتم هولاء في منطقكم على نقض ظاهر لانكم لا تفون بالكتب ولا هي مشروحة وتدعون الشعر ولا تعرفونه وتدعون الخطابة وانتم عنها في منقطع التراب وقد سمعت قائلكم يقول الحاجة ماسة الي كتاب البرهان فان كان كما قال فلم قطع الزمان بما قبله من الكتب وان كانت الحاجة قد مست الي ما قبل البرهان فهي ايضا ماسة الي ما بعد البرهان والا فلم صنف ما (لا) يحتاج اليه ويستغني عنه هذا كله تخليط وزرق وتهويل ورعد وبرق وانما بودكم ان تشغلوا جاهلا وتستندلوا عزيزا وغاينكم ان تهولوا بالجنس والنوع والخاصة والفصل والعرض والشخص وتقولوا الهلية والايئية والماهية والكيفية والكمية والذاتية والعرضية والجوهرية والهيولية والصورية والانسية والكسبية والنفسية ثم تنمطون وتقولون جينا بالسعر في قولنا لا ا في شي من يا وواو وجيم في بعض يا وفاء في بعض جيم والاء في كل ب وج في كل ب فاء اذن لا في كل ج وهذا بطريق الحلف¹ وهذا بطريق الاختصاص وهذه كلها جزافات وترهات ومغالق

¹ الخلف Perhaps

وشبكات ومن جاد عقله وحسن تمييزه ولطف نظره وثقوب رأيه
وانارت نفسه استغني عن هذا كله بعون الله وفصله وجودة العقل
وحسن التمييز ولطف النظر وثقوب الرأي واناة النفس من مناشئ
الله الهبية¹ ومواهبه السنية يختص بها من يشاء من عباده وما اعرف
لاستطالتكم بالمنطق وجهها وهذا الناشى ابو العباس قد نقض عليكم
وتتبع طريقكم وبين خطاكم وابرز ضعفكم ولم تقدرؤا الي اليوم ان
تردوا عليه كلمة واحدة مما قال وما زدتم على قولكم لم يعرف
اغراضنا ولا وقف على مرادنا وانما تكلم علي وهم وهذا منكم لاجابة
ونكول ورضى بالعجز والكلول وكل ما ذكرتم في الموجودات فعليكم
فيه اعتراض هذا قولكم في فعل وينفعل ولم تستوضحوا فيهما مراتبهما
ومواقعهما ولم تفقوا علي مقاسمهما لانكم قنعتن فيهما بوقوع الفعل
من يفعل وقبول الفعل من ينفعل ومن وراء ذلك غايات خفيت
عليكم ومعارف ذهبت عنكم وهذا حالكم في الاضافة فاما البدل
ووجوهه والمعرفة واقسامها والنكرة ومراتبها وغير ذلك مما يطول
ذكره فليس لكم فيه مقال ولا مجال وانت اذا قلت لانسان كن
منطقيا فانما تريد كن عقليا او عاقلا او اعقل ما تقول لان اصحابك
يزعمون ان المنطق هو العقل وهذا قول مدخول لان المنطق علي
وجوه انتم منها في سهو واذا قال لك اخر كن محويا لغويا فصيحا
فانما يريد افهم عن نفسك ما تقول ثم رم ان يفهم عنك غيرك
وقدر اللفظ علي المعني فلا ينقص منه هذا اذا كنت في تحقيق
شيء علي ما هو به فاما اذا حاولت فرش المعني وبسط المراد

¹ البهية Perhaps.

فاجل اللفظ بالروادف الموضحة والاشباه المقربة والاستعارات الممتنعة وسد¹ المعانى بالبلاغة اعني لوح منها شيئاً حتى لا تصاب فلا بالبحث عنها والشوق اليها لان المطلوب اذا ظفر به على هذا الوجه عز وجل وكرم وعلا وشرح منها شيئاً حتى لا يمكن ان يمتري فيه او يتعب في فهمه او يسترح² عنه لاغتماضه فبهذا المعنى يكون جامعاً لحقائق الاشياء ولاشباه الحقائق وهذا باب ان استقصيته خرج عن نمط ما نحن عليه في هذا المجلس على اني لا ادري ايؤثر ما اقول ام لا ثم قال حدثنا هل فصلتم قط بالمنطق بين مختلفين اورفعتم بالخلاف بين اثنين اتراك بقوة المنطق وبرهانه اعتقدت ان الله ثالث ثلاثة وان الواحد اكثر من واحد وان الذي هو اكثر من واحد هو واحد وان الشرع ما تذهب اليه والحق ما تقوله هيئات هاهنا امور ترفع عن دعوى اصحابك وهذيانهم وتصدق عن عقولهم واذهانهم ودع هذا هاهنا مسئلة قد اوقفت خلافا فارفع ذلك الخلاف بمنطقتك قال قائل لفلان من الحائط الي الحائط ما الحكم فيه وما قدر المشهود به لفلان فقد قال ناس له الحائطان معاً وما بينهما وقال آخرون له النصف من كل منهما وقال آخرون له احدهما هات الان آيتك الباهرة ومعجزتك القاهرة وانني لك بهما وهذا قد بان بغير نظرك ونظر اصحابك ودع ايضا قال قائل من الكلام ما هو مستقيم حسن ومنه ما هو مستقيم كذب ومنه ما هو خطأ فسر هذه الجملة واعترض عليه عالم آخر فاحكم انت بين

¹ Cod. وسد.

² Read ينترح.

هذا القائل والمعترض وارنا قوة صناعتك التي تميز بها بين الخطا والصواب وبين الحق والباطل فان قلت كيف احكم بين اثنين احدهما قد سمعت مقالته والاخر لم احصل اعتراضه قيل لك استخرج بنظرک الاعتراض ان كان ما قاله محتملا له ثم اوضح الحق منهما لان الاصل مسموع لك حاصل عندك وما يصح به او يطرد عليه يجب ان يظهر منك فلا يتعاسر علينا فان هذا لا يخفي على احد من الجماعة فقد بان الان ان مركب اللفظ لا يجوز مبسوط العقل والمعاني معقولة ولها اتصال شديد وبساطة تامة وليس في قوة اللفظ من اي لغة كان ان يملك ذلك المبسوط ويحيط به وينصب عليه سوراً ولا تدع¹ شيئا من داخله ان يخرج ولا شيئا من خارجه ان يدخل خوفاً من الاختلاط الجالب للفساد اعني ان ذلك يخلط الحق بالباطل ويشبه الباطل بالحق وهذا الذي وقع الصحيح منه في الاول قبل وضع المنطق وقد عاد ذلك الصحيح في الثاني بهذا المنطق وانت لو عرفت تصرف العلماء والفقهاء في مسائلهم ووقفت على غورهم في قطرهم وغوضهم في استنباطهم وحسن تاويلهم لما يرد عليهم وسعة تشقيقهم للوجوه المحتملة والكنائيات المفيدة والجهات القريبة والبعيدة لحققت نفسك وازدريت اصحابك ولكان ما ذهبوا اليه وتابعوا عليه اقل في عينك من السها من القمر ومن الحما عند الجبل اليس الكندي وهو علم في اصحابك يقول في جواب مسألة هذا من باب عدة قعد² الوجوه بحسب

¹ يدع . Read

² فعد . Read

الاستطاعة على طريق الامكان من ناحية الوهم بلا ترتيب حتى
وضعوا له مسائل من هذا وغالطوه بها واروه من الفلسفة الداخلة
فذهب عليه ذلك الوضع فاعتقد انه مريض العقل فاسد المزاج
حائل الغريزة مشوش اللب قالوا له اخبرنا عن الاسطقسات الاجرام
واصطكاك تضاعط الاركان هل يدخل في باب وجوب الامكان او
يخرج من باب فقدان الى ما يخفي عن الازهان وقالوا له ايضا
ما تشبيه¹ الحركات الطبيعية الى الصور الهيولانية وهل هي ملابسة
للكيان في حدود النظر والبيان او مزايلة له على غاية الاحكام ما تأثير
فقدان الوجدان في عدم الامكان عند امتناع الواجب من وجوبه
في ظاهر ما لا وجوب له لاستحالته في امكان اصله وعلى هذا فقد
حفظ جوابه عن جميع هذا على غاية الركاكة والضعف والفساد
والفشالة والسخف ولولا التوقي من التطويل لسردت ذلك كله ولقد
مر بي في خطه التفاوت في تلاشي الاشياء غير محاط به لانه يلاقي
الاختلاف في الاصول والاتفاق في الفروع وكل ما يكون على هذا
النهج فالنكرة² تراحم عليه المعرفة والمعرفة تناقض النكرة على ان
النكرة والمعرفة من باب الالسنه³ العارية من ملابس الاسرار الالهية
لا من باب الالهية العارضة في احوال السرية ولقد حدثني اصحابنا
الصائبون عنه بما يضحك الشكلى ويشمت العدو ويغم الصديق وما
ورث هذا كله الا من بركات يونان وفوائد الفلسفة والمنطق ونسئل

¹ . نسبة Read .

² . والنكرة Cod.

³ . البسة Cod.

الله عصمة وتوفيقا نهتدي بهما الي القول الراجع الى التحصيل والفعل
الجاري على التعديل انه سميع مجيب قال ابو حيان هذا اخر
ما كتبت عن علي بن عيسى الشيخ الصالح باملائه وكان ابو سعيد
روي لهما من هذه القصة وكان يقول لم احفظ علي نفسي كل ما
قلت ولكن كتب ذلك القوم الذين حضروا في الواح كانت معهم
ومحابر ايضاً وقد اختل كثير منه قال علي بن عيسى وتقوض
المجلس واهله يتعجبون من جاش ابي سعيد ولسانه المتصرف
ووجهه المهلل وفوائده المتتابعة وقال له الوزير ابن الفرات عين
الله عليك ايها الشيخ فقد نديت اكباداً واقرت عيوناً وبيضت
وجوها وحكت طرازاً لا يبليه الايام ولا يتطرقة المحدثان قال قلت
لعلي بن عيسى وكم كان سن ابي سعيد يومئذ قال مولده سنة
ثمانين ومائتين وكان له يوم المناظرة اربعون سنة وقد عبث الشيب
بلهازمه هذا مع السميت والوقار والدين والمجد وهذا شعار اهل الفضل
والتقدم وقل من تظاهر وتحلى بحليته الا جل في العيون وعظم في
الصدور والنفوس واحبته القلوب وجرت بمدحه اللسان وقلت
لعلي بن عيسى اكان ابو علي الفسوى حاضرا في المجلس قال لا كان
غائبا وحدث بما كان وكان الحسد لابي سعيد على ما فاز به من
هذا الخبر المشهور والثناء المذكور قال ابو حيان وقال لي الوزير عند
منقطع هذا الحديث ذكرتن شيئا كان في نفسي واحببت ان
اسئلك عنه واقف عليه اين ابو سعيد من ابي علي واين علي
ابن عيسى منهما واين المراغي ايضا من الجماعة وكذلك المرزباني
وابن شاذان وابن الوراق وابن حيويه فكان من الجواب ما
تقدم ذكره

DISCUSSION BETWEEN MATTĀ IBN YUNUS OF DAIR KUNNĀ,
THE PHILOSOPHER, AND ABŪ SA'ĪD AL-SĪRĀFĪ.

Said Abu Ḥayyān: I mentioned to the vizier a discussion that took place in the salon of the vizier Abu'l Fath al-Faḍl Ibn Ja'far Ibn al-Furāt between Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī and Abū Bishr Mattā. My account of it was only an abridgment, but the vizier told me to write it out in its entirety. For, he said, not a word ought to be lost of a discussion which took place in so notable an assembly, between two such savants and in the presence of so many eminent men. Every sally should be preserved: no sentence neglected. I therefore wrote it out at length. Abū Sa'īd was my authority for portions of the narrative; and 'Alī Ibn 'Īsā, grammarian and devotee, narrated it at length, as follows:—

In the year 320, when the salon assembled, a salon containing al-Khālidi, Ibn al-Ikhshīd, al-Kindī, Abū Bishr's son, Ibn Rabāḥ, Abū 'Amr Kudāmah Ibn Ja'far, al-Zuhri, 'Alī Ibn 'Īsā Ibn al-Jarrāḥ, Abū Firās, Ibn Rashīd, Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Hāshimī, Ibn Yaḥyā al-'Alawī, the ambassador of Ibn Ṭughj from Egypt, al-Marzubānī, companion of the Samanids, the vizier Ibn al-Furāt addressed them as follows:—

I desire someone to come forward and debate with Mattā (Matthew) on the subject of Logic. He declares that it is impossible to know what is correct from what is incorrect, truth from falsehood, right from wrong, proof from sophism, doubt from certainty, except by our command of logic, our control of the system established and defined by its author, and our acquaintance through him with its doctrines.

A general silence ensued. Presently Ibn Furāt said: Surely there must be someone here who can meet him, and arguing with him refute his view. I regard you as seas of knowledge, champions of our religion and its followers, lamps to guide the seeker after truth. Why, then, this hesitation and alarm?

Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī raised his head and said: Vizier, excuse us. The knowledge that is stored in the breast is

different from that which is to be displayed before such an assembly, where there are listening ears, and gazing eyes, and stubborn minds, and critical spirits. Their presence occasions anxiety, and anxiety numbs the energy : it produces shame, and shame presages defeat. To come forward as champion in a crowded assembly is not like having a wrestling bout on a private field.

Ibn al-Furāt said: You are the man for it, Abū Sa‘īd. Making excuse for others, you are bound to defend yourself. And the credit of your defence of yourself will redound to the whole audience.

Abū Sa‘īd: To disobey the orders of the vizier is a disgrace, and to decline to follow his advice shows inclination towards failing in duty towards him. God grant that our foot slip not, and we pray of Him good guidance, and help in peace and war. Then turning towards Matthew he said: Tell me what you mean by Logic: for when we understand your meaning, our discussion as to its rights and wrongs, which are to be severally accepted and rejected, will follow proper lines and paths on which there is mutual agreement.

Matthew: I understand by Logic an instrument whereby sound speech is known from unsound, and wrong sense from right: like a balance, for thereby I know overweight from underweight, and what rises from what sinks.

Abū Sa‘īd: You are mistaken; for sound speech is known from unsound by reason, if we investigate with reason. Say you know the overweight from the underweight by the balance, whence are you to know whether what is weighed is iron, gold, copper, or lead? And I find you, after knowing the weight, needing to know the substance of what is weighed, its value, and a number of other qualities which it would take long to enumerate. And this being so, the weight on which you insist, and which you are so anxious to know precisely, will benefit you only a little, and on one point, whereas many points remain; as the poet says,

“You have kept one thing, but let many things slip.”

Moreover, a point here has escaped you. Not everything in the world admits of being weighed. For some things dry measure is employed, for others lineal measure, for others surface measure, for others rough estimate. And if this be so with visible bodies, it is also the case with noumena that are the product of reasoning; for the senses are the shadow of intelligences, which they imitate, sometimes at a distance, sometimes nearer, retaining all the time their resemblance and similarity.

But leaving this. If Logic be the invention of a Greek made in the Greek language and according to Greek conventions, and according to the descriptions and symbols which Greeks understood, whence does it follow that the Turks, Indians, Persians, and Arabs should attend to it, and make it umpire to decide for them or against them, and judge between them, so that they must accept what it attests and repudiate what it disapproves?

Matthew: This follows because Logic is the discussion of accidents apprehended by the reason, and ideas comprehended thereby, and the investigation of thoughts that occur, and notions that enter the mind; now in matters apprehended by the intellect all men are alike, as for example four and four are eight with all nations, and so on.

Abū Sa'īd: If what is sought by the reason and expressed by words with all their various divisions and divers paths could be reduced to the obviousness of the proposition "Four and four make eight," there would be no difference of opinion, but immediate agreement. But this is not so. Your example is misleading, and it is usual with you to mislead in that way. But let us drop this also. If the accidents that are apprehended by the intellect and the notions that are comprehended can only be attained by language, which embraces nouns, verbs, and particles, is not knowledge of language indispensable?

Matthew: Yes.

Abū Sa'īd: You are wrong; in answer to such a question you should say "Aye."

Matthew: "Aye"; I am prepared to accept your authority on such a point.

Abū Sa'īd : Consequently you are inviting us, not to study Logic, but to learn the Greek language. Now you do not know Greek yourself; how, then, can you ask us to study a language of which you are not master? A language too that has perished long since, whose speakers are dead, and those extinct who used to converse in it, and understand each other's intentions by its inflexions. True, you translate from the Syriac: but what do you say of ideas that are travestied by transference from Greek to another language, Syriac; and then from that language to another, Arabic?

Matthew: Although the Greeks have perished with their language, still the translation has preserved the intentions of the writers, giving their sense, and conveying the genuine truth.

Abū Sa'īd : If we grant that the translation is veracious and not fallacious, straight and not crooked, literal and not free, that it is neither confused nor inaccurate, has omitted nothing and added nothing, has not altered the order, has not marred the sense of the general and the special, or indeed of the most special and the most general—a thing which is impossible, which the nature of language and the character of ideas do not permit,—your next point would appear to be that there is no evidence save the intellects of the Greeks, no demonstration save what they invented, and no verity save what they brought to light.

Matthew: No. But they among all nations were the nation that applied themselves to philosophy, and to the investigation of the exterior and interior of this science, and to all that appertains to it or branches off from it. And to their great pains we owe all that has come to light, been propagated, been circulated, or made progress of all species of science and all forms of art. We can find this to hold good of no other nation.

Abū Sa'īd : You are in error; you hold a brief, and your judgment is partial. Knowledge is sown broadcast in the world, whence a poet says

“ Knowledge in the world is spread,
To it is the wise man sped ”;

and so, too, are the arts scattered over all who are on the face of the earth. Hence some science predominates in one place rather than another, and some art prevails in one region rather than another. This is clear, and to add a word about it would be superfluous. Nevertheless, your statement would only be correct and your claim conceded, if Greece had been known to possess out of all nations absolute infallibility, an unfallen nature, and a structure unlike that of other men, so that if they wished to err they would have been unable to do so, had they desired to make a false statement they could not, and if the *Shechinah* had descended upon them and God taken them specially under His charge, and error washed its hands of them, the virtues clung to their roots and their branches, and the vices fled from their substance and their veins. But it would be ignorance for anyone to suppose this about them, and fanaticism for anyone to claim it for them. No, they resembled other nations, sometimes going right, sometimes wrong, sometimes speaking the truth, sometimes speaking false, sometimes doing well, sometimes badly. Nor was the whole of Greece the author of the Logic, but one particular man, who took from his predecessors, just as his successors took from him; his authority is not over all mankind, nor over the great multitude, for indeed he has opponents both among his own people and others. Moreover, difference in opinion and sentiment, discussion, questioning, and answering are inborn and natural, so how can a man produce anything whereby an end can be put to this dissension, or whereby it could be rooted out of nature, or seriously affected? It cannot be: the thing is impossible. The world remains after his Logic as it was before his Logic. Resign yourself, therefore, to dispense with the unattainable, since such a thing is wanting in the creation and nature of things. If, therefore, you were to empty your mind of other things and devote your attention to the study of the language in which you are conversing and disputing with us, and instruct your friends in words which the speakers of that language can understand, and interpret the books of the Greeks in the style of those who

know that language, you would learn that you can dispense with the ideas of the Greeks as well as you can dispense with the language of the Greeks. And here is a question: Do you hold that people's intelligences are different, and that their shares therein are unequal?

Matthew: Yes.

Abū Sa'id: Is that difference and inequality natural or acquired?

Matthew: Natural.

Abū Sa'id: How, then, can there be anything herein whereby a natural difference and an original inequality can be removed?

Matthew: This point has already been mentioned in your previous discourse.

Abū Sa'id: Then did you furnish it with a satisfactory answer and a perspicuous explanation?—However, leave this. I will ask you about a single particle which is much used in the language of the Arabs, and whose senses are distinguished by intelligent persons. Do you, then, extract its senses from the Logic of Aristotle, of which you boast so much, and on which you lay so much stress. The particle is *wāw* ('and'): what are its rules? How should it be used? Has it one sense or many?

Matthew was bewildered, and said: This is Grammar, and of Grammar I have made no study: for the Logician has no need of Grammar, whereas the Grammarian does need Logic; since Logic enquires into the sense, whereas Grammar enquires into the sound. If, therefore, the Logician comes across the sound, it is accidental, and it is likewise accidental if the Grammarian comes across the sense. Now the sense is more exalted than the sound, and the sound humbler than the sense.

Abū Sa'id: You are wrong. Logic, grammar, sound, correct expression, correct inflexion, statement, narration, predication, interrogation, request, desire, exhortation, invocation, appellation, and petition, all belong to the same region by virtue of similarity and resemblance. For example, if a man were to say "Zaid uttered the truth, but

did not speak the truth," or "spoke what was indecent, but did not say what was indecent," or "expressed himself correctly, but did not speak correctly," or "made his meaning clear, but did not make it perspicuous," or "enounced his business, but did not utter it," or "stated, but did not predicate," he would in each case be talking nonsense, contradicting himself, misusing language, employing his power of utterance in a manner not certified by his reason or the reason of others. Grammar, then, is Logic, only abstracted from the Arabic language, and Logic is Grammar, only rendered intelligible by language. The difference between sound and sense is only that sound is natural and sense intelligible, and for this reason sound is for ever perishing, obliterating nature's footsteps with other footsteps of nature, whereas sense is permanent through time, the recipient of the sense being reason, which is divine, whereas the matter of sound is earthy, and all that is of the earth dissolves. And thus it comes that you are left without a name for your art which you profess, and the Organon of which you are so proud, unless you can borrow one from the Arabic language, which indeed you are to some extent allowed to do.

If, then, you cannot do without a little of the language for the sake of your translation, no more can you dispense with a great deal of it in order to make your translation precise, in order to inspire confidence, and in order to escape error, which will otherwise molest you.

Matthew: It is sufficient for me to know out of your language the noun, the verb, and the particle: with that much I can make shift in expressing ideas which the Greeks have polished for me.

Abū Sa'id: You are wrong. About these nouns, verbs, and particles you have to know how to employ them and arrange them in the order which the speakers of the language instinctively approve, and also you need to know the vocalization of these nouns, verbs, and particles, for error and corruption of the vowels are as bad as the same in the case of the consonants. And this is a subject neglected

by you, your friends, and your associates, although there is a mystery involved of which you have no inkling, and which has never dawned on your intellect. That is, that you ought to know that no one language exactly corresponds with another language in all respects, or has conterminous properties in its nouns, verbs, and particles, in its mode of composition, arrangement, employment of metaphor and of exact expression, duplication and simplification, copiousness, poverty, verse, prose, rhyme, metre, tendency, and other things too numerous to mention. Now no one, I fancy, will object to this judgment, or question its correctness, at least no one who relies on any fragment of intelligence or morsel of justice. How, then, can you rely on any work which you know only by translation, after this account? On the contrary, you require to know the Arabic language much more than the Greek ideas, albeit the ideas are not Greek or Indian, just as the languages¹ are not Persian, Arabic, or Turkish. Notwithstanding, you assert that the essence of the ideas is in intelligence, study, and reflection, and then nothing remains but using correct language. Why, then, do you despise the Arabic language, when you interpret the books of Aristotle in it, albeit you are unacquainted with its real character?

And tell me: supposing anyone were to say to you: "In respect to knowledge of verities, their study and their investigation, my condition is similar to that of those who lived before the inventor of Logic. I regard them as they regarded, and contrive as they contrived. For I know the language by birth and inheritance, and I make out the ideas by observation, reflection, scrutiny, and industry"—what can you say to him? "This will not hold good or be practical, because he does not know these objects by the road whereby you arrived at them"? And perhaps you are prouder of your imitation, though it be of a false method, than is such a person of his originality, though it be correct. And this is indeed clear ignorance and wrong judgment. And besides this: tell me what are the rules of the *ḥāṭ*, for I wish to

¹ This seems corrupt.

show that your insistence on Logic does not avail you at all, while you are unacquainted with a single particle of the language in which you invite us to study Greek philosophy. And he who is ignorant of one particle is potentially ignorant of the whole language, and even though he be not entirely ignorant of it, yet, being ignorant of some of it, he may chance to be ignorant of what he wants, and knowledge of what he does not want will not help him. And this is the stage reached by the vulgar, or those who are slightly above the vulgar. And why should he object to this description and reject it, and fancy that he is one of the superior class, nay, the most superior class, and that he knows the mystery of dialectic, and the hidden things of wisdom, and the secret of the syllogism, and the correct form of demonstration? Now I have only asked you about the senses of one single particle: what would happen if I were to shower down upon you the whole series of particles, and demand of you their senses and their proper and permissible employments?

Now I have heard your people assert that the grammarians are ignorant of the proper usage of *fî* ('in'), saying that it expresses the vessel, just as *bi* expresses adhesion, whereas *fî* really serves for the expression of a number of relations: you say the thing is *in* the vessel, and the vessel is *in* the place, and the administrator is *in* administration, and the administration is *in* the administrator: now this sort of thing belongs to the minds of the Greeks and is drawn from their language, and cannot be understood by the minds of the Indians, Turks, or Arabs. This, surely, is ignorance on the part of the person who asserts it, and idle quibbling at the grammarian who asserts that *in* is for the vessel, who by this definition has literally expressed the correct sense of the particle, while indirectly expressing those other senses which become apparent by analysis. There are numerous cases of the sort, but the one I have quoted is sufficient to justify the definition of Ibn al-Sikkî.

Ibn al-Furât here observed: Sheykh, favoured as you are with the divine assistance, answer him by explaining the uses of the particle *wa* ('and'), in order to confute him the more

evidently, and realize in the presence of this assembly that which he is unable to perform, although he makes it especially his subject.

Abū Sa'īd: 'And' has a variety of meanings and usages: Conjunction, as "I honoured Zaid *and* 'Amr." The oath, as "*And* Allah, such and such a thing took place." Circumstance, as "I went out *and* Zaid was standing," for what follows is made up of an inchoative and a predicate. "Many a," where, however, only a few are meant, as "*And* [a valley] black in its depths, barren where it is crossed." Further, the letter can be radical in the noun, as in *wākid*, *wāṣil*, *wāfid*, or in the verb, as in *wajila*, *yaujalu*, or otiose, as in the text of the Koran, "Then when they had reconciled themselves, and he had laid him forehead upwards, *and* we called him," i.e. we called him, or in the verse "And when we had passed the court of the tribe, *and* we were secluded by the innermost part of a plain with many kopjes and windings," where the 'and' should be omitted in translation. Further, it implies condition, as in the text of the Koran, "And he shall speak to the people in the cradle *and* as a grown man," i.e. he shall address the people while still an infant with the language of a grown man who is in his maturity. Further, it has the sense of a preposition when you say, for example, "The water is level *and* the beam," i.e. with the beam.

Ibn al-Furāt here said, addressing Matthew: Abū Bishr, was this in your grammar?

Abū Sa'īd: Enough of this. Here is a question more closely connected with the intelligible sense than with the verbal form. What would you say of the phrase "Zaid is the best of the brothers"?

Matthew: It is correct.

Abū Sa'īd: Then what would you say of the phrase "Zaid is the best of his brothers"?

Matthew: It is correct.

Abū Sa'īd: If, then, both are correct, what is the difference between them?

Matthew was troubled and hung his head, and was choked by his saliva.

Abū Sa'īd: You have given your answer without perspicacity and without understanding. Your answer to the first question is correct, albeit you do not know why it is correct; but your answer to the second question is wrong, though, there too, you do not see why it is wrong.

Matthew: Explain what fault you find with it.

Abū Sa'īd: If you come to my class-room you will learn; this is not the place for instruction, but for the removal of illusions with one who is accustomed to produce them. The assembly will know that you are in the wrong. And why do you maintain that the grammarian only studies the sound and not the sense, and that the logician studies the sense and not the sound?—which might be true if the logician kept silent and let his thoughts wander among ideas, and erected any fabric that he chose in floating fancy and occurring thoughts and suddenly arising conjectures; but seeing that he desires to produce his conclusions, obtained by study and investigation, to the learner and the student, he must perforce employ such words as cover his meaning, suit his purpose, and correspond with his intention.

Ibn al-Furāt here asked Abū Sa'īd to complete what he had said in explanation of the question, that the hearers might enjoy the benefit of the information, and that Abū Bishr might feel himself the more completely confuted.

Abū Sa'īd: I have no objection to giving a clear answer to this question, except that I am unwilling to weary the vizier, for a long discussion is tedious.

Ibn al-Furāt: When I wish to hear you speak, tedium and I have no acquaintance with each other. And the audience are evidently anxious to hear you.

Abū Sa'īd: If you say Zaid is the best of his brothers this is not a permissible sentence, whereas it is permissible to say Zaid is the best of the brothers, the difference between the two lying in the fact that Zaid's brothers are not Zaid, Zaid being outside the number. And the proof of this is that if anyone were to ask "Who are Zaid's brothers?" you could not say Zaid, 'Amr, Bakr, and Khālid, you could only say 'Amr, Bakr, and Khālid, Zaid not counting among them.

But Zaid being outside the number, he is not one of them, and he cannot be the best of his brothers, just as your ass cannot be the most spirited of the mules, since an ass is not a mule, just as Zaid is not one of his brothers. But the expression "Zaid is the best of the brothers" is permissible, for he is one of the brothers, and the name applies to him as well as to the others, he being a brother. So if you were asked who are the brothers, you would enumerate him with them, saying Zaid, 'Amr, Bakr, Khālid, and the phrase is like "Your ass is the most spirited of the asses." This being so, it is permissible for the word 'best' to be annexed to a single indefinite word signifying the genus, thus: "Zaid is the best man," "your ass is the most spirited ass," the singular 'man' serving in such a case for the genus, and indicating the same as the plural 'men,' just as the singular serves in the expressions "twenty dirhem," "a hundred dirhem."

Ibn al-Furāt: Nothing could be added to this explanation, and I have now a high idea of the science of grammar, as shown by this investigation and the subservience of the rules to the case.

Abū Sa'id: The subjects of grammar are divided into the assignation or omission of vowels, the employment of letters in their right places, the arrangement of words before or after each other, striving after what is right therein and avoiding what is wrong. And if anything deviates from the rule, it must either be an archaism, rarely employed and interpreted in a roundabout way, or to be rejected as deserting the usage of the natives which they instinctively employ. As for what is connected with the tribal dialects, they may use what forms they like, and he who would speak their language must imitate them. All these rules are drawn from the four sources—imitation, tradition, limited lists, and free analogy; following a known rule, but not cases of corruption. The logicians' conceit is due to their supposing that the ideas could only be learned or rendered clear by their method, their studies and their labours. They therefore interpreted a language in which

they are weak and of which their knowledge is imperfect into another, in which they are also weak and their knowledge is imperfect. This sort of translation they made into an art, and then declared that the grammarians have to do only with words, not with ideas.

Abū Sa'īd here turned to Matthew and said: Do you not know, Abu Bishr, that *discourse* is a name applied to things which have got together by degrees; for example, you say "This is a garment": now the word 'garment' is applied to a number of things by which the object became a garment: it was woven after being spun, and its warp will not suffice without its woof, nor the woof without the warp; the composition of the discourse is like the weaving, its elegance resembles the exercise of the fuller's art on the garment; the fineness of the thread resembles the beauty of the sound; and the coarseness of the spinning resembles the harshness of the letters. The sum of the whole is a garment, but only after the performance of all the necessary operations.

Ibn Furāt here intervened: Ask him, Abū Sa'īd, another question, for by the succession of puzzles his incompetence will become the more apparent, and the lower will he fall from his eminence in that Logic which he would champion, and that truth which will not champion him.

Abū Sa'īd: What do you say of the phrase "Someone is my creditor to the amount of a dirhem save one *kirat*"?

Matthew: I have no knowledge of matters of this style.

Abū Sa'īd: I will not release you till the spectators are convinced that you are an impostor and a cheat. Here is something yet easier. One man says to another, "How much are the two dyed garments?" Another says, "How much are two dyed garments?" Another says, "How much are two garments, dyed?" Explain the senses which these several questions contain.

Matthew: If I were to shower a number of logical questions on you, your case would be similar to mine.

Abū Sa'īd: You are mistaken. If you were to ask me about any matter, I should consider it, and if it were

connected with the sense, but were correctly expressed, I should answer, without troubling whether it agreed or disagreed: but if it had no connection with the sense, I should refuse to answer; even though it had connection with the sound, but involved a form of fallacy with which you have filled your books, I should still refuse to answer: because there is no means of inventing a language which shall be established among its speakers. We cannot find that you have any words save what you have borrowed from the Arabic language, such as cause, except, subject, predicate, essence, corruption, the disused, the special, with certain formulæ that are unprofitable and useless, are little better than incompetence, and end in feebleness. Then you people in your Logic are involved in obvious contradiction; you do not produce the books, nor are they furnished with commentaries, and you profess poetic without knowing it, and you profess rhetoric, while being at the furthest distance from it; and I have heard one of you say the Book of Demonstration is indispensable: if this be so, why does he waste time with the treatises that come before that book? But if the books before the Book of Demonstration are indispensable, then the books that come after it must be indispensable also: otherwise, why did he compose books that are not wanted and can be dispensed with? All this is mystification, charlatanry, intimidation, ‘thunder and lightning’ (*brutum fulmen*). All you want to do is to impress the ignorant and vulgarize the noble. Your aim is to alarm people with your genus and species, and property, and differentia, and accident, and individual, and to talk about num-mity, and ubi-ety, and quiddity, quality, quantity, essentiality, accidentality, substantiality, materiality, formality, humanity, acquisiteness, animality: then you point out, and say, “Here is a magical operation: There is no A in B; C is in some B; therefore some A is in C. Or, A is in all B; C is in all B; therefore A is not in all C.”¹ And “One process is by contrary, and another by specialization.” All this is trash, vanity, quibbling, trap-setting: one whose reason is

¹ The symbols in the text are corrupt.

sound, discrimination adequate, wit keen, judgment acute, and mind luminous can dispense with all this by the help of God and His favour; and soundness of reason, adequacy of discrimination, keenness of wit, acuteness of judgment, and illumination of mind are among God's gracious gifts and precious favours, which He bestows on those of His servants whom He will. I know of no ground why you should pride yourselves so much on your Logic. And Abu'l-'Abbās al-Nāshī has refuted your pretensions, following on your trail, and has demonstrated your errors and shown up your weakness; and to this day you have been unable to refute one word of what he said, all you can utter being "he did not understand our aims nor perceive our intention, and he spoke according to a wrong idea." But this is only obstinacy and an attempt to extricate yourselves from a difficulty, and practically a confession of weakness and defeat. And all that you say concerning entia is liable to objection. This is the case with what you say about "he did" and "he suffered," for you do not clear up the degrees of both and their usages, nor do you understand their divisions: you are satisfied in these forms of speech with the action being done by the agent and being received by the patient, but there are stages beyond which have escaped you, and cognizances which are concealed from you. The same is the case with the doctrine of Annexion, and as for Permutation and its different varieties, and Definition with its divisions, and Indefiniteness with its different degrees, and other matters too numerous to mention, you are entirely out of the running in respect of them. And when you bid a man be a Logician, what you mean is "Be intellectual," or "Be intelligent," or "Understand what you say": for your authorities assert that Logic is Reason. But this statement is fallacious, since Logic has several senses of which you are unaware. So if another man says to you "Be a Grammarian, Linguist, Eloquent," he means "Understand what you are saying yourself, and endeavour to make other people understand you, and suit the sound to the sense, so that the former does not fall short of the latter": that is, if you

want to express a thing precisely ; but if you wish to enlarge on the sense and to expand your meaning, then give the sound free-play with elucidatory synonyms, similes which are appropriate, and metaphors which defy competition : thus fortifying the sense by eloquence. I mean wave some of the matter in the air (as it were), in order that it may not be attained save by investigation and earnest effort : for when that which is sought for is secured in this way, such a prize is exalted and is thought honourable, great and mighty. Still, explain a little of it in order that there may be no dispute concerning it and no trouble required to understand it, and that it may not be avoided owing to its difficulty ; and in this way the idea will embrace the realities of things and the semblance of the realities.

Now were I to give a detailed account of this subject I should go beyond the scope of the present discussion, though I do not know whether my words are leaving an impression or not.

Then he said : Tell me, have you ever settled by your Logic between two opponents, or removed the difference between two ? Do you fancy that it is by the power of Logic and its demonstration that you believe that God is one of three, and that one is more than one, and that what is more than one is one, and that the Code is what you follow, and that the truth is what you say ? Far be it ! Here are matters that are too high for the pretensions of your friends and their chatter, and too subtle for their minds and intelligences.

But leave this. Here is a question which has produced a dispute, so put an end to that dispute by your Logic. Someone says, "To A belongs from the wall to the wall." What are the rights of the case ? What is the amount which is attested to belong to A ? Some suppose he has a right to both walls, with the intervening space ; others, that he has half each wall ; others, that he has one of the walls. Produce now your manifest sign and your triumphant miracle—though how are you to get them ?—for indeed the difficulty has been solved without the investigations of your

friends or you. But let this pass. Says A, "Some statements are correct and sound, some correct and fallacious, some erroneous"; explain this sentence. Another savant objects: do you decide between the speaker and the objector, showing us thereby the power of your art, whereby you can discriminate between error and truth, right and wrong. If you say, "How am I to judge between two persons, having heard the statement of one, but not having learned the objection of the other?" we reply, "Evolve the objection out of your own mind, if the statement is liable to objection, and then show forth the truth out of the two, for the original statement has been heard by you and set before you, and that which corroborates it or can be urged against it ought to be produced by you, and indeed would give us no difficulty to produce, for there is no one in the assembly who does not see it." And it is clear now that the sound which is compound does not transcend the intelligence which is simple. Now the ideas are intelligible, and are closely connected, and are of extreme simplicity. It is not in the power of the sound, to whichever language it may belong, to conquer this simple essence, and comprehend it, and enclose it with a wall, allowing nothing within to go out, and nothing without to go in, for fear of admixture, which will entail corruption, I mean, for fear lest that process will mix truth with error, and cause what is wrong to seem right. And it is this which produced correct reasoning at the first before the invention of Logic, and again by virtue of this Logic; and if you knew how the savants and jurisconsults handle their questions, had seen how they plunge into unknown regions, how deep they dive in order to extract what they want, how skilfully they interpret what is brought before them, how widely they separate the tenable views, the useful fictions, and the near and distant applications, you would despise yourself and feel contempt for your authorities, their inventions and traditional lore would be smaller in your eyes (as compared with that) than "Suha in comparison to the Moon," or a grain of sand to a mountain. Does not al-Kindi (who is one of the lights of your school) say in answer to a question, "This is of the class of

a number," and he enumerated the views "according to possibility," "after the manner of what is possible," from the region of fancy without any order, so that some persons made up questions of this style, and deluded him with them, making him suppose they belonged to the foreign philosophy; he did not perceive that they were inventions, and thought he must be deranged or diseased or indisposed or confused. They said to him: "Tell us of the elementary bodies—does collision of the pressure of the corners enter into the category of what is necessarily possible, or does it leave the category of non-existence to be included in that which is concealed from the mind?" And again: "What is the relation of natural motions to material forms? Are they endued with existence within the range of vision and demonstration, or disconnected therewith with the extremest precision? What is the influence of the non-existence of existence upon impossibility when the necessary is excluded from being necessary in the exterior of the unnecessary owing to a *reductio ad absurdum* of its original possibility?" Notwithstanding, his answer to all this is on record, and a very silly, weak, absurd, nerveless, and contemptible answer it is. And were I not afraid of taking up too much time, I should go through his answers. I once came across in his handwriting the passage: "Variety in the annihilation of things is incomprehensible, for it implies difference in the roots and unity in the branches, and in all such cases the indefinite clashes with the definite, and the definite contradicts the indefinite, albeit both definite and indefinite belong to the category of garments that are destitute of the clothing of the divine mysteries, not to the category of divine things that crop up in the states of the mysterious." Our Sabæan friends have also told me things about him that would make a bereaved mother laugh, that would make the enemy triumph, and vex his friends. And all this he inherited from the blessings of Greece, and the benefits bestowed by Philosophy and Logic. And we ask God for His protection and help whereby we may be guided to words that are profitable, and acts that are according to the right measure. Verily He hears and answers.

Said Abū Ḥayyān: Here is the end of the notes I took from the pious sheykh ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā; and Abū Sa‘īd had himself narrated parts of this story, but he used to say that he had not committed to memory everything that he said, only the people who were present had taken down his speech on tablets or desks which they had brought with them; but the report was very imperfect.

‘Alī b. ‘Īsā continued: So the meeting broke up, all the people admiring the spirit of Abū Sa‘īd, and his mighty tongue, and his beaming face, and his stream of arguments. And the vizier Ibn al-Furāt said to him: “God’s favour be on you, O sheykh; you have moistened many a liver, and cooled many an eye, and whitened many a face, and woven a web which the days shall not efface and fortune shall not assault.”

Said Abū Ḥayyān: I asked ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā how old was Abū Sa‘īd at the time? He answered that he was born in the year 280, and so was 40 years of age at the time of the debate, and there was a touch of white about his jaws, which went together with rectitude, dignity, piety, and earnestness: and this is the mark of men of worth and progress, and few are they who openly exhibit that adornment but are ennobled in men’s eyes, and magnified in their breasts and souls, and are beloved in their hearts, and have their praises recited by their tongues. Then I said to ‘Alī Ibn ‘Īsā: “And was Abū ‘Alī al-Fasawī present?” He said: “No, he was absent from Baghdad, but was informed of the scene: and Abū Sa‘īd was greatly envied for the fame and notoriety which he acquired through this famous episode.”

Abū Ḥayyān continued: At the end of this narrative the vizier said to me: “You have reminded me of something I had in my mind, and wanted to ask you about, in order that I might ascertain it. What was the position of Abū Sa‘īd as compared with Abū ‘Alī, and that of ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā as compared with them? How does al-Marāghī compare with all three? How do al-Marzubānī, Ibn Shādhān, Ibn al-Warrāk, Ibn Ḥayūyah?” My answer was what has been given above.

V.

JAUNPUR AND ZAFARABAD INSCRIPTIONS.

By MAJOR W. VOST, I.M.S.

JAUNPUR.

AT Jaunpur, in the United Provinces of Agrah and Oudh, there are two unpublished inscriptions. One is of Shāham Beg, at first a page of Humāyūn, and afterwards the notorious favourite of 'Alī Qulī Khān, Khān Zamān, a governor of Jaunpur during the reign of Akbar, who was killed in 974 H., when in rebellion against his sovereign. The other inscription is of Shāham Beg's father, named Haidar.

The two inscriptions are to be seen at the graves of Shāham Beg and Haidar. These are situated on two separate earthen mounds in the middle of the Khāṣ Hauz, a very large tank in a suburb of Jaunpur on the road to taḥṣīl Khutāhan. On the western mound is the grave of Shāham Beg, and on the eastern mound is the grave of Haidar.

1. Shāham Beg's grave stands on a brick platform, which measures roughly 40 feet long from north to south, 35 feet broad from east to west, and about 3 feet high. Covering the grave there is a horizontal stone slab which bears the Persian inscription given below. On the sloping edge of the slab, outside the body of the inscription, there is a marginal record in one line of Persian characters, which extend along the bottom and the two long sides. The letters have become faint, and can only be read with great doubt, consequently no attempt has been made by me to give a rendering of them.

Shāham Beg was killed in a brawl respecting one of his former mistresses, who had become the wife of a friend, at a place named Sarharpur, the position of which has not been identified. It lay about 18 kos from Jaunpur.

The inscription is to the following effect:—

بروز مرگ جز چشم تر من سیه پوشی نباشد بر سر من

شاهم گل حدیقه خوبی ز دهر رفت
 سوی جنان به طالع بخت سعید شد
 با آنکه بو و چشم جهان بینم آن پری
 و حسرتا که از نظرم نا پدید شد
 ظلمی که رفته است بران نوجوان نگر
 بر حضرت حسین ز قوم یزید شد
 سلطان که بست لب ز سخن هست بلبل
 کز هجر گل خموش ز گفت و شنید شد
 تاریخ فوت او چو طلب کردم از جنان
 برکنند روی خویش که شاهم شهید شد

Translation.

On the day of my death there will be no mourner [*lit.* in black] at my side, except my own tearful eyes.

1. Shāham, the flower of the garden of excellence, has departed from this world, towards paradise by the help of his ascendant good luck.

2. That fairy was my world-seeing eye. Alas! he has vanished from my sight.

3. See what tyranny was perpetrated on that young person, [tyranny] similar to that done to Saint Ḥusain by the people of Yazīd.

4. The king, who has sealed his lips against speech, is like the nightingale [which] in the absence of the rose has given up her song [*lit.* talking and listening].

5. When the date of his death was asked from paradise, tearing its face, [it said] “Shāham is martyred.”

If full value be given to the words شاه شهید شد in the last line, the *tārīkh* of Shāham Beg's death is found to come to 969 H. It has been suggested to me that the و, equal to 6, of روه should, according to the *takhreja* rule, be deducted, making the year 963 H. But 963 H. cannot, for historical reasons, be correct, as 'Alī Qulī Khān never got farther than Sambhal in this year, and was soon recalled from Sambhal to fight against Hīmūn at Pānīpat in 963 H.

When discussing the year of Shāham Beg's murder, Budāyūnī is in doubt whether it occurred in 964 or 965 H. Abu-l-Fazl gives 966 H.,¹ and he is probably right, as it is barely possible that Shāham Beg was slain before this year, if we bear in mind the whereabouts of 'Alī Qulī Khān at that time, and the date of his making Jaunpur his headquarters.

After remarking that on 25th Jumādā ii, 965 H., Akbar alighted at Dihlī, Budāyūnī observes, “Now, among the incidents which happened at that time, was the story of the affection of the Khān Zamān for Shāhim Bég,”² the details of which he gives fully. The Khān Zamān, at the time he sent for Shāham Beg to come to him from Dihlī, was in the district of Lucknow.³ Budāyūnī adds, “The following hemistich they composed as giving the date [of Shāham Beg's death]: ‘He cried *ah!* and said: *Shāhim is become a martyr.*’ Be it observed that, when the numerical

¹ Akbarnūma (Newal Keshore Press, 1883), vol. ii, p. 64.

² *Muntakhab-ut-Tawdrikh* (Lowe), p. 13.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

value of 'ah' [= 6] is subtracted from that of '*Shāhim Shahīd shud*,' we get 963, the date. But it is a disputed point whether that fatal accident befell Shāhim Bég in this year¹ or the year before; probably the latter: but God knows."²

None of the Mussulman historians mentions that Shāham Beg was buried at Jaunpur, but there can be little doubt, I think, that the epitaph, the subject of the foregoing remarks, really belongs to the historical person of this name. From the wording it would appear that the inscription was engraved by order of 'Alī Qulī Khān.

Budāyūnī passed through Kanauj, Lucknow, Jaunpur, and Benares, when on his way to Chunār, which was reached in Dī-l-q'da, the eleventh month of 966 H. It is strange that the historian did not then ascertain the exact year in which Shāham Beg died, for he also visited the town of Sarharpur, and after noticing a garden there, and a beautiful building in the middle of an artificial lake, remarks, "a most delightful and tranquil place it is!"³ At that time it probably did not occur to Budāyūnī that he should afterwards give an account of Shāham Beg's career, for if he had already decided to do so he would certainly have been more careful in making inquiry when on the spot of the date of his decease. Shāham Beg's death must have happened only a few months before Budāyūnī's visit to Sarharpur and Jaunpur, and for this reason it is all the more remarkable that the recentness of Shāham Beg's murder did not impress itself on Budāyūnī's memory.

When Sultān Sikandar Sūrī surrendered the fort of Mānkoṭ on 27th Ramazān, 964 H., Akbar appointed him temporarily to the fief of Kharīd, on the Ghāgharā river in the north of the Baliyā (Ballia) District, to Bihār and the country on that side, and Sikandar joined his charge in a short time, skirting the hills on the way. During the siege of Mānkoṭ the Afghāns to the east of the Ganges were

¹ Meaning 965 H., of which he is writing (W. V.).

² Op. cit., p. 17.

³ Op. cit., p. 16.

in rebellion, and the Khān Zamān chased Rukn Khān Lohānī from the direction of Sambhal to Lucknow. Though history is silent, it would also appear that the Khān Zamān must have followed up his success at Lucknow by the subjugation of the whole country lying between the Ghāgharā and Ganges as far as their confluence, to allow of Sikandar Sūrī's appointment to Kharīd towards the end of 964 H., or it may be at the beginning of the following year, and for Budāyūnī to favour 964 H. for the year in which Shāham Beg was killed. It is, however, likely that a great part, if not the whole of this newly conquered tract, must again have slipped from the hands of the Mughals, as we find it mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*¹ and *Akbarnāma*² that Akbar in 966 H. sent 'Alī Qulī Khān to conquer Jaunpur finally.

It was from Jaunpur that the Khān Zamān, according to Budāyūnī, pursued Shāham Beg's murderer to Jhūsī, next Allahabad, and it was to Jaunpur that the Khān Zamān returned to mourn the loss of his favourite.

Shāham Beg probably joined 'Alī Qulī Khān at Lucknow towards the end of 964 H., and he was probably killed at Sarharpur some time in 966 H., as stated by Abu-l-Fazl, who gives the history of Shāham Beg under the year 965 H., just as Budāyūnī and the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* do.³

If the chronogram given in the epitaph should be read 969 H., and Abu-l-Fazl is correct in giving 966 H. as the year of Shāham Beg's death, no other instance is known to me of so great a discrepancy between a chronogram and the actual date which is intended to be chronicled by it. Abu-l-Fazl states that a difference of one or two years may be allowed in the chronograms of buildings, as they are

¹ Elliot: *History*, vol. v, p. 259.

² Lucknow ed., vol. ii, p. 64.

³ Another name of Sarharpur was Sarāwar (Elliot: *History*, vol. v, p. 296, note 1). On the road from Jaunpur to Allahabad there is a place marked Sarawan on the map, 29½ miles from Jaunpur and 3½ miles to the east side of Mungarā Bādshāhpur. Sarawan is possibly Sarāwar or Sarharpur, but if so there are now no traces there of the artificial lake mentioned by Budāyūnī. There is a Sarharpur in long. 82° 26' and lat. 26° 16', which may be the place.

often begun in one year and finished in another, but a difference is not allowable in obituary chronograms.¹ In the latter, however, a discrepancy of one year is fairly common.

It seems clear that Abu-l-Fazl is correct in giving 966 H. as the year, and that Budāyūnī for once is astray. The fact that 965 H. is the year in which the history of Shāham Beg is always recorded points to this year, or a later one, for the time of his death. As a matter of fact, *جنان بر کند* *روی خویش* is used in a double sense—(1) “Paradise tearing its face” is meant to express grief, and (2) a *takhreja* is implied in the words, namely, that the “face” or first letter of paradise, that is ج = 3 of *جنان*, has to be deducted from 969 H., making the year of the chronogram 966 H.

A few feet from the south-west corner of the platform of Shāham Beg's tomb there is another brick platform, which is about one-third the size of the other, with a grave on it. There is no inscription, and from the shape of the grave, which has a ridge down the middle from head to foot, it seems that no slab ever covered it. The spot is supposed locally to be the burial-place of ‘Alī Qulī Khān, Khān Zamān. This tradition, however, seems to be very doubtful. Budāyūnī² tells us that the heads of the Khān Zamān, and of his brother Bahādur Khān, were brought to Akbar on the battlefield of Mankarwāl in 974 H., and afterwards were carried to Āgra, Dihlī, Lāhor, and Kābul. No mention is made by Budāyūnī of the disposal of their bodies. Although the Khān Zamān had given Akbar so much trouble, it would have been quite in keeping with the emperor's character to have allowed the body of the Khān Zamān to be taken to Jaunpur for burial. In such a case we should have expected that the body of Bahādur Khān would have been transported at the same time, and that there ought consequently to be three graves on the mound. Possibly the two

¹ *Akbarnāma* (Beveridge), p. 664 and note.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 103.

bodies were buried side by side at the foot of Shāham Beg's resting-place.

2. On the west bank of the Khās Hauz, about one-third of the length of this side of the tank south of its north-west corner, I am told that there was recently to be seen a tombstone having engraved on it in Persian one word, *Haidar*, with the year of this person's death in figures; the exact year is not remembered, but it fell in the reign of Akbar. My informant took me to the grave, which lies under a tall nīm-tree, to show me the stone, but it had disappeared. Probably some of the washermen who use the tank have appropriated it. I cannot say who Haidar was.

3. The following inscription relating to Haidar, the father of Shāham Beg, occurs on an upright tombstone at the head of his grave on the eastern mound in the Khās Hauz. The chronogram comes to 969 H.

سروران حیدر نامجو	زنام آوران جهان بردگو
به همت بلندو بدل هوشمند	باخلاق خوش نافه مشکبو
پریشان دل از هجر فرزند بود	پی اوجنت سرا کرد رو
زیادش من خود فراموش کرد	زخون گریه رود اشت در شست وشو
ز تیغ ستم در شهادت رسید	بخوبی شام بیادش بگو
چو شد جای حیدر بهشت برین	بهشت برین گفت تاریخ او
حسینے دگر جای گفتار نیست	ترا خاموشی به ازین گفتگو

کتبه السید فخرالدین کبیر

Translation.

1. The chief of chiefs, Haidar of illustrious name. Of all celebrities of the world he was the foremost [*lit.* from all celebrities he carried away the ball].

2. Of high courage, of mind sagacious, in affability [like] a pod of musk.

3. Perplexed was his heart at the loss [*lit.* separation] of his son, he followed him to paradise.

4. In remembering his lost son he forgot self, and was washing his face with tears of blood.

5. He was killed by the sword of tyranny, that is [*lit. say*], from the recollection of the excellence of Shāham.

6. As paradise on high [= *bihisht-i-barīn*] became Haidar's place,—*bihisht-i-barīn* told the date of [Haidar's] death.

7. [The poet to himself.] Oh! Husain, there is no occasion [*lit. place*] to say more. For you silence is better than speech.

8. Written [on the stone] by S'yad Fakhr-ud-dīn Kabīr.

4. On a loose stone preserved in the Atāla masjid there is an inscription, published as No. x, in *Sharqi Architecture*, p. 38. The underlined corrections are required in lines 2, 3, and 6. I give a new translation.

شکرمرحق را که عهد مملکت فیروز شاه
خسروی گامد به رافت اهل ایمانرا مدار
از بنگری در زمان شست و پنچ و هفت صد
غره شوال یکشنبه بوقت سازوار
صاحب خیرات خواجه کامل خان جهان
کرد این مسجد بنا بهر رضای کردگار

Translation.

1. Praise exclusively to God that in the reign of Firūz Shāh,

2. A king who has become from kindness a centre to believers,

By Bingarī. 3. In the year seven hundred and sixty-five,

4. At an auspicious time on Sunday the first of Shawwāl,

5. The bountiful Khwāja Kāmil, Khān Jahān,

6. Founded this masjid for the gratification of God.

The reading لشکری *Lashkarī* in *Sharqi Architecture*, here corrected to از بنگری *by Bingarī*, who I suppose wrote the inscription, lies outside it in the left margin. This is not shown in *Sharqi Architecture*, where *Lashkarī* forms part of line 3. The text makes out that *Lashkarī* refers to the year 765, and that 765 *Lashkarī* era corresponds to 778 Hijrī. No such era as *Lashkarī* is known to learned Muhammadans I have consulted, and it is extremely doubtful if an era of this name was ever used.

Although founded in 765 H., as I believe, the *Atāla masjid*, a rearrangement of the materials of an earlier Hindu temple built, it is said, by Rāja Vijayacandra Deva of Kanauj and Benares on the same site, was not completed until the close of 810 H.,¹ in the reign of Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī of Jaunpur. The year 765 H. falls in the reign of Fīrūz Shāh III, Tughlaq, under whose order the masjid was begun. The city of Jaunpur was founded in 760 or 761 H. by Fīrūz, either when proceeding to or returning from Bengal. The *Atāla masjid* was probably started as soon as sufficient workmen were set free from the building of the city, which we may suppose was towards the end of 765 H.

ZAFARABAD.

Zafarābād lies on the old road to Benares, nearly 4½ miles to the south-east of Jaunpur. It was a place of much consequence in the reigns of Vijayacandra Deva and Jayacandra Deva, the Rāhtor Rājas of Kanauj and Benares, when it was known as *Manaich*, which is possibly the same as the town named *Manaj* or *Munj*,² belonging to Candrapāla, Rāja of Benares, that was besieged by Mahmūd of Ghazna in 409 H. At a later date, *Manaich*, according to local tradition, was the site of Fort Āsnī, to which the troops of Jayacandra Deva of Kanauj fled with immense treasure,

¹ See Inscription No. xvi, *Sharqi Architecture*, p. 40.

² Elliot: *History*, vol. ii, p. 46, and note 1.

when their Rāja fell pierced through the eye by an arrow in the battle fought with Muḥammad bin Sām (Shahāb-ud-dīn Ghori) near Candwār,¹ in the Ganges-Jamunā Duāb in 590 H. (1194 A.D.).

At Zafarābād there is an important inscription in 10 lines, an imperfect rendering of 9 lines of which, with many lacunæ, is published in *Sharqi Architecture*, p. 65, where the inscription is attributed to Sultān Fīrūz III, Tughlaq, and the date is given as 781 H., whereas the inscription is one of the very few known of Ghīyās-ud-dīn Tughlaq Shāh I, and the date is 721 H., the first year of his reign.

The characters are very difficult to read. The eighth line is so worn that, except for two words at the beginning, it is illegible. The more important corrections in the subjoined transcription are underlined, and the lacunæ are filled in as far as possible.

بعهد شاه زوالقرنین ثانی
 بنای شرع را از عدل بانی
 غیاث الدین و دنیا ابوالمظفر
 سلیمان خاتم و جمشید افسر
 شه افاق تغلق شاه اعظم
 که بروی شد جهانگیری مسلم
نباشد این حصار چرخ ایوان
 که در رفعت گزشت از فرق کیوان
دوشنبه بست هشتم روز بوده
 ربیع الاول ماه ستوده
 همایون سال و ساعت وقت مسعود
 ز هجرت هفتصد و بست و یک بود

¹ Three miles to the south-west of Fīrūzābād, on the left bank of the Jamunā, and about 29 miles E.S.E. of Āgrā.

شد این ایوان گردون استانه
 بنا از سعی مشهور زمانه
 * * * * *
 * * * * *
 مظفر شد چو شد معمور این شهر
 طفر آباد نامش ماند در دهر
 ز چشم بد نگه دارش خدا پاک
 که تا نامش منور شد بر افلاک

Translation.

1. In the time of the King, a second Zu-l-qarnain [*lit.* having two periods or horns = Alexander the Great], layer of the foundation of the Muḥammadan law on justice,
2. Ghīyās-ud-dīn wa dunyā Abu-l Muzaffar, [possessor of the virtues of the] seal of Solomon, and the crown of Jamshed,
3. King of the horizons, Tughlaq Shāh, the Greatest, in whom the conquering of the world is perfected,
4. This enclosure (*ḥiṣār*), as [high as] the palace of sky, was built. In height it passed the head of Kaiwān (Saturn).
5. It was Monday the twenty-eighth day of the blessed month Rabī'-l-awwal;
6. The blessed year, and hour, and time auspicious of the Hijrat was seven hundred and twenty-one,
7. [In which] this mausoleum, having for its threshold the sky, was built, by the endeavours of the celebrated of the age,
8. Malik
9. Was victorious; when this city became inhabited Zafarābād remained its name in the world.
10. May Holy God keep it safe from the evil eye, that its name be illumined over the sky.

There is some doubt whether the second word in the first line is *shāh* or *malik* ; the former is preferable.

It is likely that the 8th line contained the name of Malik Zafar, the third son of Tughlaq *Shāh* I. The *Manāqib Darveshia*, an unpublished manuscript, relates that it was Zafar who conquered the town. The change of name from Manaich to Zafarābād was no doubt given to commemorate the *name* and *victory* of the king's son.

VI.

THE ELEMENT *ILU* IN BABYLONIAN DIVINE NAMES.

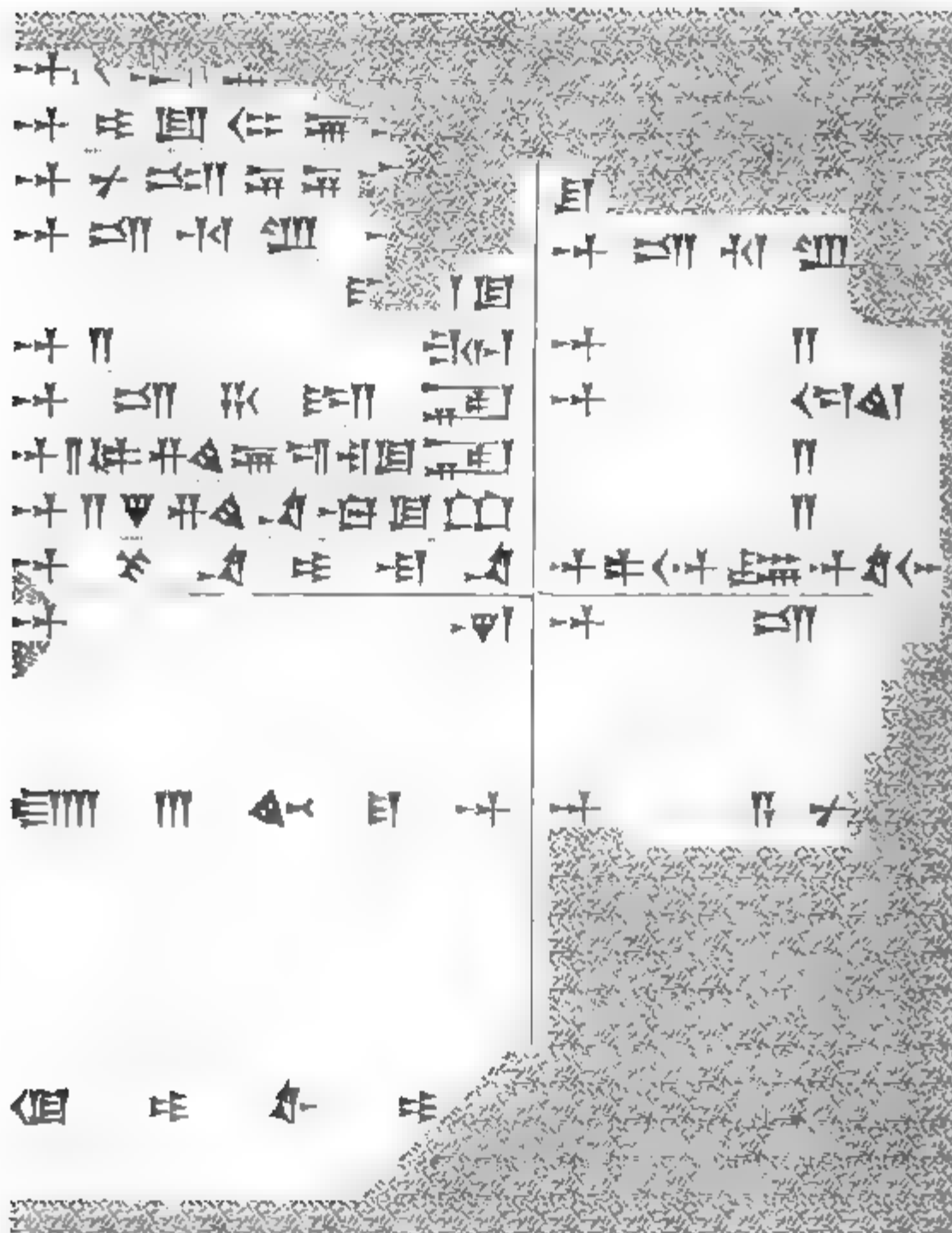
BY THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, M.R.A.S.

ON reading Professor Hilprecht's remarks upon the names in Professor Clay's "Business Documents of Murašû Sons of Nippur," those upon the element *ilu* seemed to be especially interesting, and certain lists of gods in the British Museum occurred to me as possibly illustrating the point whether, in Assyro-Babylonian, the word *ilu*, 'god,' was ever used before the name of a deity, and pronounced with it. The inscription printed on the next page is from one of the tablets bearing upon the question.

The fragment, when I copied it in 1881, was unfortunately defective in the lines numbered 1-4, where the characters explained by the glosses in small type ought to be. This naturally robs the text of much of its importance, but another valuable piece, also in the British Museum, supplies certain signs which are probably those which stood in lines 2 and 3. This second fragment is one of those sent by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam from Babylonia when excavating for the Trustees of the British Museum in 1881, and, if perfect, would be one of the most important of the lists of Babylonian deities in existence. Unfortunately, I did not make a careful copy of it, but only one in which most of the glosses were reproduced in transcription. Not having time to revise my transcript, I give the text much as I copied it, hoping to have an opportunity of improving my copy later on. The fragment is numbered 81-8-30, 25, and the most perfect part of it reads as follows :—

Obverse.—Col. II: (1) *Mina* (= ditto), 𒌦 𒌦 𒌦; (2) *Zu-ul-la*, 𒌦 𒌦 𒌦; (3) *Ka-az*, 𒌦 𒌦 𒌦; (4) 𒌦 𒌦 𒌦 𒌦 𒌦

K. 2097. *Reverse.*



𒌦 𒌦 (*Gu: En-di-su-dim*), 𒌦 𒌦; (5) 𒌦 𒌦 𒌦 𒌦
 𒌦 𒌦 (*Ga: ga-di-su-dim*), 𒌦 𒌦; (6) *Sag-gar* (or *Sag-*

¹ All the characters with ... beneath are written small (i.e. as glosses) in the original.

ša), 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 ; (7) *Mina* (= ditto), 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 : šu (i.e. *Saggar* or *Sagša* in the Semitic column also); (8) *Mina* (= ditto), 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (the character 𐎶𐎵, šu, apparently means in this line also that the word *Saggar* or *Sagša* is to be inserted

TRANSCRIPTION.

(1) D.P. ¹ 𐎶𐎵-𐎶𐎵-𐎶𐎵	. . . . .	. . . . .
(2) D.P. 𐎶𐎵-𐎶𐎵-𐎶𐎵	. . . . .	. . . . .
(3) D.P. 𐎶𐎵-𐎶𐎵-𐎶𐎵	. . . . .	š ² u
(4) D.P. 𐎶𐎵-𐎶𐎵-𐎶𐎵	. . . . .	D.P. 𐎶𐎵-𐎶𐎵-𐎶𐎵
	. . . . .³	
(5) D.P. <i>mina</i> (= ditto)	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	D.P. <i>mina</i> (= ditto).
(6) D.P. 𐎶𐎵-𐎶𐎵-𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	D.P. <i>Ištar</i> .
(7) D.P. <i>mina; di-gi-ir-si-la-ku</i>	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	<i>mina</i> (= ditto).
(8) D.P. <i>mina; nig-gi-na-ku</i>	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	<i>mina</i> (= ditto).
(9) D.P. 𐎶𐎵-𐎶𐎵-𐎶𐎵-𐎶𐎵-𐎶𐎵		D.P. <i>Nabû</i> u D.P. <i>Šarra</i> , D.P. <i>Samaš</i> u D.P. . . .
(10) D.P. <i>Innanna</i>		D.P. 𐎶𐎵 - [tar].
(11) <i>Duba eš-kam-ma Ana</i>		D.P. <i>A - nu</i> [- um].
(12) <i>Ki-i pi-i</i>	. . . . .	. . . . .

in the Semitic column, which, however, is here completely broken away); (9) *Du-un-ga*, 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵; (10) *Mina* (= ditto),

¹ D.P. = determinative prefix (the character 𐎶𐎵).

² I.e. read the name *Nur-tli* in this (the explanatory) column.

³ This is part of the name of the character which occupied the gap above.


→✱ →|▲| (with gloss →|▼|, *ma-ša-ku*, between, giving the name of the second character); (13) *Āš* (six), →✱ |X|; (14) *Ga-a-a-u*, →✱ |X|; (15) *Mina* (ditto), →✱ |E|¹; (16) →|E| →|A| →|I| (*Āš-šu-ir-du*²), →✱ |E|¹; (17) *Ša-ra*, →✱ →|A| →|H|; (18) *Mina* (ditto), →✱ |E| →|E|; (19) *Mina* (ditto), →✱ |E| →|A| →|H|; (20) →|X| →|X| (*Nam-mu*), →✱ |E|; (21) →✱ →|H| →|V| (D.P. *E-a*), →✱ |E|; (22) *I-id*, →✱ |E|; (23) *Mina* (ditto), →✱ |E| →|E|; (24) →|A| →|H| →|X| (*Na-maš(?) -še*), →✱ →|E| →|X|; (25) *Na-an-na*, →✱ →|E| →|A| →|H|; (26) *En-zu*, →✱ →|X| →|X|; (27) *Si-in*, →✱ →|X| →|X|; (28) . . -*giš-šu*, →|X| →|X| →|X| →|X|.





It has been thought well to reproduce the whole text, as far as I have the copy of it, not only on account of its bearing upon the question of the usage with regard to the word *ilu*, but also for its intrinsic value, due to the important glosses attached to the divine names which it contains.





It will be seen that, besides the name *Īlu-mer* (one of the names of Hadad or Rimmon in l. 23 of the obverse), a goddess is mentioned in l. 13 whose name, *Ili-šarrat*, is similarly formed. To all appearance this introduces a fresh element of difficulty into the case, for the feminine of *ilu* ought to be *iltu*, or, without the case-ending *u*, *ilat*. Is this due to the fact that, there being already one feminine ending (that contained in *šarrat*), the attaching of a feminine termination to the first element was unnecessary? or may not *ili*, written with the group →|H| →|H|, NI-NI, be a Sumerian word, and therefore invariable? *Ili* is well known to be one of the Sumerian values of →|H| →|H|, and there is just the possibility that this group may have been used by the Sumerians to express the Semitic Babylonian

¹ Slightly doubtful—there is an erasure here.


² Or two words, *Āššu irdu*.

word for 'god,' borrowed by them and afterwards borrowed back again by the Semites of Babylonia, just as *sag*, 'head,' seems to have been borrowed by the Semites, who transformed it into *šangū*, which, in its turn, was re-borrowed by the Sumerians from Semitic Babylonian as *sangu*. Both *sangu* and *šangū* are expressed by the character , and have the meaning of 'priest.'¹





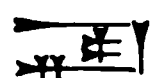
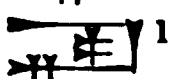
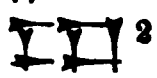
But it is noteworthy that this is not the first text giving divine names containing the element *ilu* which has been published. The important fragment K. 2100, published by Bezold in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archaeology in March, 1889, has, in l. 30, this very word *Îlu-mir* (written, however, with the character , *pi* or *mi*,² instead of , *me*, or , *mi*), a fact which would imply that *ilu* is not merely a Semitic translation of the determinative prefix .³ The same text has also the words *Ilhallabu* and *Illahab*, which evidently give the same word, *ilu*, in its construct form. The first probably means 'god of Hallab,' perhaps Aleppo, the Assyrian Halvan, Arabic حلب, and the other 'god of Lahab.' These, however, hardly bear upon Professor Hilprecht's contention, *il* being in *construction*, not in *apposition*.

From the obverse of 81-8-30, 25, lines 23 and 24, it is very probable that, in K. 2097, we have to restore   in l. 2, and   after *Nûr-îli* in l. 3. The translation of the whole would then be as follows:—

¹ 'Filibuster,' from the English *flyboat*, is an example of a word which has been borrowed and re-borrowed in a similar way.

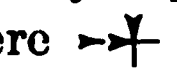
² As  stands also for *wi*, *Îlu-wir*, as well as *Îlu-mir* (or *-mer*), is possible.

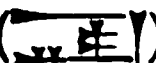
³ Sumerian *digir* or *dingir* (see line 7 of the translation below). The usage in the lists and in the spoken language, it is to be noted, may have differed.

(1) <i>Uzû(?)</i>		
(2) <i>Îlu-mir</i>	→✱ 	the same (i.e. <i>Îlu-mir</i> in Semitic Babylonian).
(3) <i>Nûr-îli</i>	→✱ 	the same (<i>Nûr-îli</i> in Semitic Babylonian).
(4) <i>Išhuru</i>	→✱ 	<i>Išhuru</i> .
(5) Ditto	→✱ 	ditto.
(6) <i>Išhara</i>	→✱ 	<i>Ištar</i> .
(7) Ditto	→✱  ¹	ditto.
(8) Ditto	→✱  ²	ditto.
(9) <i>Šenailana</i> ³		<i>Nabû</i> and <i>Nûr-îli</i> , <i>Šamas</i> and . . .
(10) <i>Innanna</i>		<i>Ištar</i> . ⁴

(11) Third tablet (of the series beginning) *Ana: Anu*^m.

(12) (Written) according to

A great deal might be said about certain of the deities in this interesting fragment and that used to complete it, but considerations of space make this impossible. One other point, however, may be touched upon. It is not certain that the names quoted by the fragment 81-8-30, 25, are in every case the values of the groups to which they refer—in two at least they may be merely explanatory, namely, line 6 of the reverse (p. 146), where →✱ , D.P. *Siba* (the divine

¹ The name of the group is given as *digir* (→✱)-*silaku* ().

² The name of the group is given as *nigginakku*, *digir* (→✱) being omitted, probably because indicated in the preceding line.

³ Or (? perhaps) *But* ()-*ilana*.

⁴ The catchline, giving the first line of the fourth tablet.

Shepherd), is glossed as *Dumu-si*, the god Tammuz; and line 21, where 𒌦 𒂍, explained above as the god *Nammu* and below as the god *Id* (the River), is glossed as Ea (Aa, Ae), the god of the sea and of rivers in general. The gloss to the final character of the name *Ama-šakan-gub* in line 11, which is given as the fourth group having the pronunciation of Sakkan, seems to prove that here also we have an equivalent name rather than a gloss.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

ORIENTAL SCHOOL AT HANOI.—This important school, established by the French Government in the Far East, is doing excellent service. The series of Monographs, of which four have already appeared, is to be enriched by a volume by M. A. Foucher on “Classic Influence on Buddhist Art in India and the Far East.” Another series, a series of text-books for students, is now started. The first two works are handbooks, in French, of Sanskrit and Pali respectively, drawn up, with the scholarship and care one would expect from him, by Professor Victor Henry. The proposed Sanskrit–French Dictionary seems to have been, most unfortunately, postponed for a time. It is much to be hoped that this will be pushed on again as soon as may be possible.

KUṢANA (KUSHĀN) INSCRIPTIONS.

With reference to my list of dated Kushān inscriptions (*Journal*, 1903, p. 7), I desire to invite the attention of all persons interested in the subject to the valuable corrections in readings made by Dr. Lüders (“Epigraphical Notes,” *Ind. Ant.*, 1904, pp. 39, 101, etc.).

I have recently made efforts to obtain a facsimile of No. 71 of my list, the record supposed to be dated in the year 299; but the obliging Curator of the Lucknow Provincial Museum, Bābū G. D. Gangūli, has not yet been able to trace the original. He informs me that “a large number of the inscribed sculptures from Mathurā are lying scattered

in the Museum without any sort of label on them," and that, in consequence, difficulty arises in tracing particular records.

The date of No. 63 of my list (*Ep. Ind.*, i, p. 392, No. xxii) is given as being doubtful, and read as either 95 or 85. An inked squeeze kindly supplied by the Curator permits of no doubt that the date is 99. In order to satisfy myself on the point I submitted the squeeze to Dr. Hoernle, who replies that the date is certainly 99.

The original of my No. 53, which contains the name of Vāsu—, representing either Vāsudeva or Vāsushka, is not in the Museum. Cunningham read the date at first as 44, but his later reading 74 appears to be correct. The 'St. Andrew's cross' symbol for 70 is almost identical with that for 40, as shown in Bühler's *Tables*.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

Oct. 26th, 1904.

VAISĀLI; SEALS OF GUPTA PERIOD.

In pursuance of the suggestion made by me in my paper entitled "Vaisāli" (*Journal*, 1902, p. 287), a copy of which was submitted to the late Sir John Woodburn, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the exploration of the site of Vaisāli was undertaken by Dr. Bloch, under the orders of the Government of Bengal. The results are summarized in his *Progress Report* for 1903-4, and will be more fully discussed in subsequent official publications.

Dr. Bloch, who devoted nearly three months to the survey of the site and excavations in the fort, agrees with Cunningham and me in believing that the modern villages Basār or Basārḥ, and Bakhirā, with others adjoining, occupy the site of Vaisāli (p. 15).

For reasons stated in his Report he found it expedient to restrict excavation to the portion of the area known as the Fort of Rāja Bisāl. The most interesting discovery made here was that of a collection of more than seven hundred inscribed clay seals of documents, which were found in

a small chamber, apparently used as a record room. The soil is so damp that all the documents have perished, but traces of the string by which the seals were attached are still visible. In appearance the seals seem to resemble the votive tablets so often found, but these are genuine seals, and are unique of their kind. The discoverer states that "owing to the great number of duplicates, it will be possible to read all the inscriptions, although a good many specimens have suffered badly." The collection includes the seals of a judge, a police officer, a treasury superintendent, and many other officials, besides those of private persons.

The two specimens of the greatest historical interest are those of members of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. The first of these, "with a figure of a seated lion, is a seal of Mahādevī Dhruvasvāminī, the queen of Mahārājādhirāja Candragupta and mother of Mahārāja Govindagupta." The name of Govindagupta is new. The son who succeeded Candragupta II, Vikramāditya, on the throne about 412 A.D. was Kumārāgupta I. Govindagupta probably predeceased his father. Dhruvasvāminī must, of course, be identified with Dhruvadevī of the inscriptions. The title *svāmī* (fem. *svāminī*), although frequently occurring in the list of the contemporary Western Satraps of Surāṣṭra, has not been known hitherto as used by the Gupta dynasty.

The second seal referred to is that which bears the inscription *Śrī Ghaṭotkacaguptasya*. Ghaṭotkaca, who contented himself with the title of Mahārāja, was the son of Gupta, and father of Candragupta I, Mahārājādhirāja, who came to the throne in 320 A.D. The addition of the word *gupta* to the name of Ghaṭotkaca is new.

Dr. Bloch's find demonstrates that Vaisāli was still a place of importance in the fourth and fifth centuries during the period of the great Gupta sovereigns; and this fact is quite in accordance with the language used by Fa-hien (*Travels*, ch. xxv), which implies that the city was still in existence when he visited it about 403 A.D., in the middle of the reign of Candragupta Vikramāditya, whose queen's seal has now been found on the site. At the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit,

about 638 A.D., the city was for the most part in ruins. Its decay evidently was due to the troubles caused by the White Hun invasion which broke up the Gupta empire about 500 A.D.

Dr. Bloch states that "a detailed and systematic survey has been carried out of the ancient site of Vaisāli at Basārḥ and adjacent villages in Muzaffarpur. The result is a map based on accurate measurements and drawn up on the scale of four inches to the mile." It is good news to hear of an archæological enquiry in India being conducted in a systematic fashion, and, although the exploration of Vaisāli has not yielded all the results hoped for, discoveries of much interest have been made, and Dr. Bloch may be congratulated on the success attained.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

Oct. 27th, 1904.

MR. GUY LE STRANGE is now engaged in preparing the Persian text, with English translation, of Hamd Allah Mustawfi's work on Geography, the "*Nuzhat-al-Kulūb*." The Society has already published a monograph by Mr. Le Strange on the same subject.

THE INSCRIPTION P. ON THE MATHURA LION-CAPITAL.

My explanation of this record, given in this Journal, 1904, p. 709, leaves undetermined the name of the person or persons who inscribed the record, or did something to lead to the inscribing of it.

My friend Professor Hultzsch, having seen my Note, has made to me a suggestion which supplies that deficiency, and helps to illustrate how often "two heads are better than one."

He has suggested to me that the word *sarrasa* is the genitive, not of *sarra*, 'all,' but of the word *Sarra* as a proper name, which is well established both with the dental *s* and with the palatal *ś*; and that the word *dānam*, 'gift,' is to be supplied in connection with it.

Combining Professor Hultzsch's suggestion regarding that word with my explanation of the word *saka-stanasa*, we have the following result. The inscription says :—

TEXT.

Sarvasa saka-stanasa puyae.

TRANSLATION.

(*A gift*) of Sarva, in honour of his home.

And we can now see that the inscriptions F, G, K, N, Q, and R, of the same series, are all capable of being suitably explained in the same way; by supplying in each case the word *dānaṃ*,— or, rather, *dana*, *danaṃ*, or *dane*, in accordance with the spelling of the records.

The case seems to have been as follows. The principal record is, of course, the inscription A, which informs us that a deposit was made of a relic of Buddha by the chief wife of the *Mahachhatrava* Rajula, in concert with other persons, and that a *stūpa* or relic-mound (*containing it*), and a *saṃghā-rāma* or monastery, were presented to the community of Sarvāstivādins. The *stūpa* may have been already in existence. But it seems to be implied that the monastery was founded when the relic was deposited. At the time of the construction of the monastery, and as a preliminary to handing over it and the relic-mound to the destined recipients, various gifts were made by way of endowing it. The opportunity was taken, to record on the lion-capital, as a structural part of some portion of the monastery, the names of some at least of the donors. As space did not permit of registering the exact details of the donations,— the sums of money, the positions and boundaries of lands, etc.,— the inscriptions were made as brief as possible, and were mostly confined to names of donors. And, for the same reason, it was considered immaterial that some of the records should be very difficult of access for subsequent perusal, even if they would not be altogether hidden from view.

From the inscription H, we gather that the name of the monastery was, according to the spelling of the records, Guhavihara. This word may stand for either Guhavihāra or Guhāvihāra. If we take the latter form, it is not unlikely that the monastery was that one which is mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang; see Julien, *Mémoires*, i, 210, and Beal, *Siyu-ki*, i, 181, and note 46. In that case, the relic-mound was inside the monastery, and the monastery was about five or six *li* (say one mile) to the east of Mathurā, and apparently stood on, or constituted, some kind of an eminence, the sides of which were pierced to make cells,—or, say, *guhāh*, ‘hiding-places, caves, dens, secret or separate chambers;’ and the tradition of the period attributed the foundation of the monastery to Upagupta,—erroneously, as far as we can gather from the inscription A,—and represented the relic in the relic-mound as consisting of some of the nails or nail-parings of Buddha.

J. F. FLEET.

3rd November, 1904.

ROMAN COINS FOUND IN CEYLON.

Mr. R. Sewell, in his very interesting paper on “Roman Coins found in India,” printed in the October number of the Journal, says (p. 597): “In the Bombay Presidency I have not found a trace of any discovery of coins of this period [44 B.C. – 68 A.D.]; and in Ceylon only one, viz. certain coins alluded to by De Couto as having been found in A.D. 1574. These were attributed, but apparently on very slender grounds, to Claudius.” I may point out that Sir George Barrow, in his “Ceylon: Past and Present” (1857), records, on pp. 82–85, on the authority of Sir Hardinge Giffard, the former Chief Justice of the island, the discovery at Pánaduré, on the coast south of Colombo, by a native who was digging a grave, of a number of pieces of silver, twenty-eight of which were brought to the collector of revenue or customs, Mr. Deane. “Of these twenty-eight pieces, the most remarkable and the most legible was one

of Tiberius Cæsar, and bearing on the one side the head of that Emperor, with the letters following surrounding it—TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVSTVS—Tiberius Cæsar Divi Augusti filius Augustus, and on the reverse, a figure of Victory seated, holding a palm branch, and the words PONTIF MAXIM—Pontifex Maximus.” On p. 85 are given sketches of the obverse and reverse sides of the coin, which weighed about 59 grains. What the other coins were does not appear, and it is, of course, possible, as Sir George suggests, that they “may have been part of the collection of some Dutch gentleman curious in such matters.”

With regard to the coins mentioned by Couto, I quite agree with Mr. Sewell that the grounds on which he attributed them to Claudius were “very slender.” But Mr. Sewell’s statement on p. 635, “Metal and number of coins not stated,” is incorrect. Couto distinctly says, “there were found two coins of copper, one all worn away, and another of inferior gold, also worn away on one side, and on the other could still be made out a figure of a man from the breasts upwards, with a piece of lettering around worn away in some parts, but there could still be clearly made out at the beginning this letter C, the following letters being worn away, and the lettering continued round, in which could be seen these other letters R M N R.” The C Couto held to be the initial of Claudius, and the other letters to stand for “Romanorum,” the word “Imperator” having preceded this; and he thought it quite possible that the slave of Annius, spoken of by Pliny, had placed the coins where they were found. Unfortunately, as he informs us, these ancient relics were lost at sea in 1592, by the foundering of the *São Bernardo*, in which they were being conveyed to Portugal by João de Mello de Sampaio, who was governor of Mannár when they were discovered (? 1584–85).

DONALD FERGUSON.

Croydon, Nor. 7th, 1904.

THE WORKS OF SAMGHA-BHADRA, AN OPPONENT OF
VASU-BANDHU.

Samgha-bhadra, who is said to have been invited to do so by the Grammarian Vasu-rāta, compiled two works against Vasu-bandhu :—

No. 1. The Samaya of Light, 10,000 ślokas. An exposition of the Vibhāṣā.

No. 2. The Conformity to the Truth (Nyāyānusāra), 120,000 ślokas. A refutation of Vasu-bandhu's Abhidharma-kośa.

These will be found referred to above, pp. 41, 46, and in my translation of the text (Toung-pao, July, 1904, p. 289). As to No. 2, we have a translation by Hiuen-tsang (A.D. 653), Nanjio's 1265. But No. 1 has not hitherto been identified.

Mr. U. Wogihara, now in Strassburg, has cleared up this point, I think, beyond doubt. He writes me that the "Samaya of Light" will be Nanjio's 1266, the H'ien-tsung-lun, restored to Skt. 'Prakaraṇa-sāsana'; and that 'Samaya,' 'established rule,' 'doctrine,' is here translated into Chinese by 'Tsung' (宗), as in the case of the title "Samaya-bhedoparacana-cakra,"¹ 'wheel of various forms of doctrines,' which is in Chinese 'I-pu-tsung-lun-lun' (1286); here 'tsung' is also 'Samaya.'

What I translated by 'light' must, in this case, be 'manifestation,' 'illustration,' and will be much the same as 'h'ien-tsung' (1266); 'h'ien' (顯) also meaning 'manifestation,' 'illustration,' or 'exposition.' So "Samaya of Light" happens to be just the other way about, and it ought to be "Light of Samaya," or "Illustration of the Doctrines." For the original, Mr. Wogihara suggests 'Samaya-pradīpa,' which is very likely. The only objection will be that 'pradīpa' was generally rendered into Ch. 'lamp'

¹ See Böhlingk, s.v.; Wassilief, "Buddhismus," p. 244, note, where he has Samaya-vadhoparacana-cakra.

(燈). It may be 'Samaya-pradīpikā.' 'Samaya-prakarana' will be another probable suggestion (as Mr. Nanjio has).

This difference is of little consequence as long as we have identified the actual text in Chinese. Looking up the Chinese text itself, I have found a statement of Saṃgha-bhadra's to the following effect:—"Formerly I have written a work called the 'Nyāyānusāra' (順正理), but it is too voluminous for general students. I have now written a shorter work called the 'Illustration of the Doctrines' (Samaya-pradīpa)." ¹ Thus these two works being mentioned side by side, both in Paramārtha's Life of Vasu-bandhu and in Saṃgha-bhadra's own book, no doubt is left as to the identity of the two treatises on Samaya.

J. TAKAKUSU.

KĀTYĀYANĪ-PUTRA, AS THE AUTHOR OF THE MAHĀ-VIBHĀSĀ.

Paramārtha states that Kātyāyanī-putra was the author of both the Jñāna-prasthāna and the commentary on it, the Mahā-vibhāṣā. Now, in the introductory chapter of the Vibhāṣā itself, the following question is raised and answered:—"Why is this work (the Jñāna-prasthāna), according to the tradition, attributed to the Āyusman Kātyāyanī-putra?"

Unless this introductory part proves to be an addition by a later hand, it is clear, therefore, that Kātyāyanī-putra was not the author of the commentary. He himself could not have asked such a question.

The more usual tradition that the commentary was composed at or after Kaniska's Council by 500 arahats, and that Aśvaghoṣa had a hand in the final revision, is not touched by this new point.

For this note I am also indebted to Mr. Wogihara.

J. TAKAKUSU.

¹ Wassilief's 'Kuan-sa-ma-ye,' see his "Buddhismus," p. 242.

THE ABHIDHARMA LITERATURE, PĀLI AND CHINESE.

The question of the identity of some of the titles of the Pāli and the Chinese Abhidharma works was a puzzle to us ever since Wassilief's time ("Buddhismus," p. 107). Professor Kern, quoting Wassilief, raised this question in his "Buddhismus," ii, 364, saying: "Not only as regards their number, but also as regards their titles, the seven Abhidharmas of the Northerners agree with those of the Pāli Canon." And he again drew attention to this in his new work on Buddhism in the "Encyclopedia of Indian Philology." Quite lately, in his "Philosophische Grundlage des älteren Buddhismus," p. 148, Professor Max Walleser, basing an important argument on the identity of the two sets of works, expressed his hope that this point might be cleared up by a comparison of the texts. The question was once again put to me by Professor Rhys Davids, to whom I answered at once that the two were not in any sense identical, although the similarity of some of the titles was certainly striking; and that my impression hitherto had been that the one set was modelled on the other.

But as the point seemed to be in need of a further investigation, I have examined the translations into Chinese of the seven original texts which are lost. The titles open to question are as follows:—

PĀLI.	CHINESE. ¹
<i>Thera-vāda.</i>	<i>Sarvāsti-vāda.</i>
1. Dhamma-saṅgani . . . (5)	Dharma-skandha-pāda (1296).
2. Vibhaṅga (3)	Vijñāna-kāya-pāda (1281).
3. Puggala-paññatti . . . (6)	Prajñapti-pāda or Amṛta-śāstra (1317).
4. Dhātu-kathā (4)	Dhātu-kāya-pāda (1282).
5. Paṭṭhāna (1)	Jñāna-prasthāna (1273; 1275).
6. Yamaka (1 ^a)	Samgītī-paryūya-pāda (1276).
7. Kathā-vatthu-pakarana (2)	Prakarana-pāda (1277).

¹ The numbers added in brackets are those of Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue.

The Chinese works given here are translations of the oldest Abhidharma works known to belong exclusively to the Sarvāsti-vāda school. The most ancient of these is said to be Kātyāyanī-putra's Jñāna-prasthāna (1), and then there follow the so-called *six pādas*, of which two (5, 6) are by Maudgalyāyana,¹ one (1*) by Śāriputra, two (2, 4) by Vasumitra, and one (3) by Deva-sarman. Of these the oldest, Jñāna-prasthāna, seems to have occupied a prominent position, for it was on this book that that elaborate commentary, Mahā-vibhāṣā, was compiled in the Buddhist Council under King Kaniska.

Comparing the two sets of the Abhidharma works, as far as accessible to me, I do not find any point, either in form or in matter, which could lead us to think that the two are the same, though they treat, as a matter of course, of more or less similar subjects.

Perhaps the most striking resemblance, at first sight, is that existing between the Pāli (3) Puggala-paññatti and the Chinese (1*) Saṅgīti-paryāya-pāda. Both are a collection of various technical terms arranged according to numbers. Thus:—

PĀLI.	CHINESE.
<i>Puggala-paññatti.</i>	<i>Saṅgīti-paryāya-pāda.</i>
1. Mātikā	1. Nidāna-varga.
2. Eka-puggalā	2. Eka-dharma-varga.
3. Dvi-puggalā	(3) Dvi-dharma-varga.

And so on, with Tri-, Catur-, Pañca-, Ṣaṭ-, Sapta-, Aṣṭa-, Nava-till next.

11. Daśa-puggalā (11)	Daśa-dharma-varga.
12.	(12) An Admonition.

But even this resemblance cannot be taken very seriously. The outward arrangement may have been modelled upon the Saṅgīti-sutta of the Dīgha-nikāya, or the so appropriately called Aṅguttara-nikāya (see p. xiii, Morris, Puggala-paññatti).

¹ But Amṛta-śāstra is attributed to Ghoṣa.

As a matter of fact, the Pāli Paññatti does not correspond in contents with the Ch. Prajñapti, but does resemble, in form, to a certain extent another Chinese work of a different name. It is thus extremely dangerous to base one's argument on a mere resemblance of titles.

It would, however, be too hazardous for me to advance any explanation at present of the resemblance in the titles. As the two sets of Abhidharmas do not any longer admit of a comparison, book with book, it will now be necessary to compare them, taking each category or idea separately—the only method which can yield a fruitful result, and enable us to explain any particular point with certainty.

J. TAKAKUSU.

VINDHYA-VĀSIN.

There is another citation from Vindhya-vāsin¹ in Kumārila's Mīmāṃsā - śloka - vārttikas (Chowkhambā Sanskrit Series, p. 704. 3). It runs as follows:—Antarābhavadehas tu niṣiddho Vindhyavāsinā, tadastitve pramāṇam hi na kim cid avagamyate Comm.:—Yad apy ātivāhikam nāma śarīram pūrvottaradehayor antarāle jñānasamāntānasamdhāraṇārtham kalpyate, tad api Vindhyavāsinā nirākṛtam ity āha

Further, see Professor de la Vallée Poussin's "Dogmatique Bouddhique," i, p. 67.²

J. TAKAKUSU.

¹ For the two citations found in Bhoja-rāja's Commentary on the Yoga-sūtras, iv, 22, see Professor Garbe, Sāṃkhya-Philosophie, p. 39; and also my "Sāṃkhya-kārikā," p. 59 (Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, Jan.-Juin, 1904).

² Journal Asiatique, Oct., 1902, p. 299.

GŪRJURA AND GAUDA.

I am delighted to see from Dr. Hoernle's paper in the *Journal* for October (just received) that the view of Indian history which I was, I believe, the first to put forward, is at last coming to its own. When I was editing for the late Sir J. M. Campbell, in 1892-4, the late Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's *History of Gujarat*, I was led to investigate the history of the name of that province. The views which I then formed were published in a summary form in the historical section of the Bombay Government's General Administration Report for the year 1892-3, and, being buried in a blue book, naturally attracted no attention. They were stated with greater fulness in vol. i, pt. 1, of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, especially in Appendix 3 of that volume, which, however, seems to be very little known, even to professed students of early Indian history. They were restated with corrections in a revised version of my summary of 1892-3, which I contributed to the Bombay Government's General Administration Report of 1901-2. I claim to have been the first to establish the existence of a Great Gūrjara empire, and to suggest the Gūrjara origin of some of the greatest Rajput clans, though to Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar belongs the credit of showing that the Gūrjara emperors are to be identified with the line of Bhoja of Kanauj. Dr. Hoernle will find, in the above quoted volume of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, one or two references to the Gūrjaras which he has overlooked in making his own collections.

One word regarding the 'preceptorship' of Kṛiṣṇa II. The phrase quoted by Dr. Hoernle seems to me clearly to mean that the Rāshtrakūṭa king *humbled the Gaudas*. It is too often assumed that in the tenth century and earlier the name *Gauda* means Bengal. I think, however, that this is a mistake which is responsible for much misreading of Indian history. It was, I think, Professor R. G. Bhandarkar who first expressed doubts on the point, and suggested that *Gauda* meant Gonda in Oudh. The key to the riddle is to be found in Alberuni's notes on the "Völkertafel" of

Varāhamihira (Sachau's Alberuni's India, i, 300), which informs us that Guḍa = Tānēshar. This explains why the Sārasvat Brahmans of the holy Sarasvatī are the Gaudas *par excellence*, and why Gauda and Vaṅga are mentioned separately in the Baroda Grant of 812 A.D. The Gaudas whom Kṛṣṇa II 'humbled' or 'schooled' were therefore the rulers of 'Hindustan' in the narrower sense, or in other words the Gūrjaras themselves.

A. M. T. JACKSON, I.C.S.

Belgaum, Nov. 7th, 1904.

THE GRÆCO-INDIAN KINGS STRATO I SOTER AND
STRATO II PHILOPATOR.

In Mr. Vincent Smith's recently published "Early History of India"—a most admirable summary of the results obtained in recent years by the workers in the various fields of Indian archæology—there occurs a passage bearing on the relationship of the two Stratos which seems to need some further explanation.

The passage in question occurs on p. 201, and is as follows :

"Strato I, a Greek king of Kābul and the Panjāb, who was to some extent contemporary with Heliocles, seems to have been succeeded by Strato II, probably his grandson; who, again, apparently, was displaced at Taxila by the Saka satraps. The satraps of Mathurā were closely connected with those of Taxila, and belong to the same period, a little before and after 100 B.C."

At the end of a note on this passage, Mr. Vincent Smith is kind enough to say "Mr. Rapson's numismatic researches are expected to throw more light on these matters." This has reference, no doubt, to certain views, concerning the relationship of the two Stratos and their place in the history of the Græco-Indian period, which I communicated orally to Mr. Vincent Smith some months ago, and which I hope soon to publish in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. In the meantime, it may help to explain the passage quoted above, if

I give a summary of the conclusions to which a study of the coins of the period has led me.

(1) It has hitherto been held that Heliocles and Strato I restrike each other's coins, and must, therefore, have been contemporaries.¹

This statement requires modification. The coins restruck by Heliocles are those of Agathocleia and Strato I ruling conjointly, not those of Strato I ruling alone. I am further convinced, from a careful examination of all the available specimens of this restruck class, that the restriking is always by Heliocles, never by Agathocleia and Strato I.

On the *obv.* of these coins of Agathocleia and Strato I which are sometimes restruck by Heliocles, appear the head and inscription of the Queen, and on the *rev.* a type (Herakles seated) with the name and the conventional titles of Strato. It has been usually assumed, without any proof whatever, that Agathocleia was the wife of Strato I. It is far more probable that she was the Queen regent during his infancy; and that during this period she was brought into conflict with Heliocles.

(2) The inscriptions, both Greek and Kharoṣṭhī, on the barbarous coins hitherto assigned to Strato II, have not been correctly read.²

The Greek inscription has been hitherto read:—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΥΙΟΥ | ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

“(The coin) of Strato, son of King Strato, the Saviour.”

This inscription is very much blundered, but I hope to show, from a comparison of the ten specimens (all from the Cunningham Collection) now in the British Museum, that it is most probably to be restored:—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟ-
ΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ | ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

“(The coin) of King Strato Soter and Strato Philopator.”

¹ Gardner, B.M. Cat., *Gk. and Scyth. Kings*, p. xxxv and note.

² Cunningham, *Num. Chron.*, 1870, p. 207, pl. xvii (xi), 9–11; Gardner, B.M. Cat., p. 168, pl. xxxi, 7.

The Kharoṣṭhī inscription was read by Cunningham :—

Maharaja rajarajasa Stratasa putrasa ca sampriyapita | Stratasa.

This is evidently unsatisfactory, and indeed quite impossible from the linguistic point of view. Fortunately the true reading can be determined by a comparison of the ten specimens. It is :—

Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa potrasa casa priyapita- | Stratasa.

“(The coin) of King Strato Soter and his grandson Strato Philopator.”

The inscription is fragmentary on each specimen, and can only be restored by a comparison of them all. The vowel *o* in *potrasa* is shown clearly on a single specimen only. When the *akṣara* appears on any of the others, no vowel-sign is visible. Without the evidence of this solitary specimen, we should certainly have had no hesitation in restoring the word as *putrasa*, and thus maintaining the accepted view that Strato II was the son of Strato I! In the Greek legend, which might naturally be expected to correspond to the Kharoṣṭhī legend, there seems to be no trace of a word meaning grandson.

It is almost certain, then, that Strato II Philopator was the grandson of Strato I Soter, and quite certain that he reigned conjointly with him. As yet no specimens struck by Strato II Philopator ruling alone have been found.

It must often have seemed strange to numismatists that the supposed coins of Strato II invariably bear the head of a very old man. It is now evident that the head is that of Strato I in his old age, after he had associated his grandson with himself in the kingdom. We possess, therefore, a long numismatic record of Strato I, in which these are the three chief stages :—(1) infancy : under the regency of his mother Agathocleia ; (2) sole reign : the portraits seem to represent various periods of life from youth to old age ; (3) associated with his grandson : all the portraits are those of an old man.

(3) The coins seem certainly to show that the family to which the Stratos belonged was succeeded at Mathura¹ by the family of Rañjabala; but it is impossible to say whether the Stratos were actually the last Greek princes of this group. Apollophanes, for example, who has similar types, may well have been later in date than the Stratos, if we may judge from the barbarous workmanship and inscriptions of his coins.

Among the apparent successors of this Greek family there is a prince, bearing an Indian name, who has hitherto escaped notice.

Professor Gardner (B.M. Cat., p. 40, Strato I, 10) noticed a coin-legend which he read doubtfully as *padayashasa*. A comparison of the specimen on which this occurs, with another specimen since acquired by the B.M. from the Cunningham Collection, enables me to read and restore the Kharoṣṭhī legend with certainty as:—

Ma[harajasa tra]tarasa | Bhadayasa.

We have, therefore, to add to our list of Indian princes who are known from coins but, as yet, not from any other source, one whose name in Prakrit is Bhadayasa and in Sanskrit Bhadrayaśas. The Greek legend on his coins, unfortunately, fails entirely so far as the proper name is concerned, though it preserves the titles ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.

E. J. RAPSON.

GINGER.

Mr. F. W. Thomas, in his suggestive little note on 'Ορβανός = Rāvāṇa, has incidentally referred to the question as to the origin of the Sanskrit name of the ginger root, *śṛṅgavera*, deriving it from the town Śṛṅgavera. Had we not better say that the town of Śṛṅgaverapura, as it is properly named, has been called after the plant, just as, e.g., Tulsipur in Oudh owes its name to the plant called *tulasi*

¹ "Taxila" in the passage quoted is, no doubt, due to a slip of the pen.

(holy basil)? The name of the plant, as explained in Uhlenbeck's Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary (1898), seems to be a compound made up of *śṛṅgam*, 'horn,' and *veras*, 'shape,' and therefore denoting 'horn-shaped.' There exists, however, another form, with an *i* in the second syllable, viz. Pāli *siṅgivera*, which is important as lying at the bottom of Gr. *ζιγγίβερς*, from which the other European designations of ginger are derived. Franke, in his valuable list of Greek words of Pāli origin (Z.D.M.G. 1893, p. 600), has pointed out that *ζιγγίβερς* is more nearly related to *siṅgivera* than to *śṛṅgavera*, in the same way as, e.g., *σάκχαρον*, *saccharum* ('sugar'), corresponds to Pāli *sakkharā*, not to Skt. *śarkarā*. I have lately come across the Sanskrit prototype of *siṅgivera* in *śṛṅgivera*, which, though not given in any Sanskrit dictionary, is found in a great many recipes contained in an ancient medical work, the *Bhedasamhitā* (pp. 176, 189, 213, 226, 230, etc.), a copy of which was kindly lent to me by Dr. P. Cordier, who has informed me since that the original Telinga MS. from which his Devanāgarī copy of the *Bhedasamhitā* has been transcribed reads *śṛṅgiberam* for *śṛṅgiveram*. The coincidence of the *b* in this word with the *β* in *ζιγγίβερς* is striking indeed, though no doubt an Indian *v* may be represented by a Greek *β*, as e.g. in *Jabadios*, the Greek name of the island of Java, *β* having early assumed the sound of *v*.

In discussing 'the Indian *Ὀρβανός*,' we must not lose sight of the fact, I think, that *Ὀρβανός* generally corresponds to the well-known Latin name *Urbanus*. The influence of this, the usual meaning of *Ὀρβανός*, as well as of the Greek word *ὀρφανός* 'an orphan,' on the supposed transformation of *Rāvaṇas* into *Ὀρβανός*, might help to account for the unusual transition of Skt. *Rā-* into Gr. *Ὀρ-*. Many of the drugs mentioned by *Ὀρβανός* are decidedly Indian.

J. JOLLY.

Würzburg.

November 17th, 1904.

I readily admit the validity of Professor Jolly's objection to my (passing) derivation of the word *śṛṅgavera*, 'ginger,' from the name of the town *Śṛṅgaverapura*. No doubt the relation is, as Professor Jolly urges, the reverse of this: I was misled by a misrecollection of the grammatical passages (*ad* Pāṇ. iv, 4. 22) where the form of the word *śārṅgaverika* is discussed.¹

The derivation of the plant name was thought by the Hindus themselves perhaps to be from the shape of the dried root (*śṛṅgi*, 'horned') rather than from the plant *śṛṅgi*. This we may infer from the existence of the synonym *śārṅga*. They would be very likely then to agree with Uhlenbeck in interpreting *vera* as 'body.'

The actual history of the word is no doubt different. The Oxford English Dictionary follows Hobson-Jobson in connecting the first half with Malayalam *iñci*, which has the same sense, and supposing a proto-Dravidian form *siñci*. We may refer also to Tamil *inci* and Singhalese *iṅgure*. We are then in the presence of a 'culture' word with a wide and ancient history stretching out on to a terrain where I must respectfully part company with it; but I may express a doubt whether Dravidian is the name of its most likely source, and call attention to the possibility of a connection, of some order, with Manipuri *siñ*, Khasi *s'in*, Burmese *khyañ*, Shan *khiñ*, Siamese *khiñ*, Chinese *kian*.

The second part of the word will share the uncertainty of the first: the Pali form inclines us to the belief that *vera* is not here a learned concoction. But is it connected with [*kara*]*vira* or *viraṇa*, or is it a duplicate word meaning 'ginger'? It can scarcely be Prakrit *vera* = *vajra*, or Singhalese *viyali*[-*iṅgure*]. What is the Malayalam [*iñci*]-*ver*, quoted in Hobson-Jobson?

¹ I may here note another possible error, though perhaps in this case the probabilities are the other way:—On p. 747 *supra* I have translated *ko nāma tram* 'by name who are you?'; the rendering finds support in the dictionaries and in the published translation. But the meaning *might be* 'who are you, in fact?' 'Wer sind Sie nämlich?'

A list of other words for the plant and the dried root will be found in Sir G. Watt's "Dictionary of the Economic Products of India," vol. vi, 4, pp. 357-8. Perhaps Sanskrit *ārdra* may, together with **ārdrā*, **āldla*, account for the *ādā* of North India, Guzarātī *ādum*, Marāṭhī *ālem*, Telugu *allamu* (= *ārdram*). But what are we then to say of Malay *halīya*?

It is, of course, important to distinguish between the names of the plant and those of the dried root. From the "Dictionary of the Economic Products," where this is done, and also from the dictionaries of the several languages, it will be seen that Sanskrit *ārdra* and most of its derivatives denote the plant, while the commonest name for the dried root, both in North and South India, is *śuṇṭhī* with cognate forms. As the word exists in Sanskrit and the Dhātupāṭha gives the root *śuṇṭh* in the sense of 'drying,' this *śuṇṭhī* may perhaps represent **śuṣṭī* (cf. Hobson-Jobson, *loc. cit.*).

Śṛṅgavera and *śārṅga* denote the plant, and the same seems to be the primary sense of Singhalese *iṅgure*, Tamil *iñci*, Malayalam *iñci*, Burmese *khyān*, Siamese *khiñ*, Shan *khiñ*, Manipuri *sin*, Chinese *kian*.

F. W. THOMAS.

"THROWING THE STONE."

In the second edition of F. L. James's "Wild Tribes of the Sudan," 1884, p. 91, note, it is stated that the Western Somali are "in the habit of throwing a stone, as their solemn form of oath for seeking a contract and making friends, which once made cannot be broken or infringed." Now in the Koran there occurs four times (Surah iv, 92, 3; xvi, 30, 89) a phrase *alkā al-salama* with the sense 'he submitted,' whether to God or to men; it means literally 'he threw the *salam* towards.' Lane gives us as words for stone or stones *salim*, with noun of unity *salimah*, and plural *salām*. The

last of these three would not in the old Koranic writing be distinguishable from the first, and neither from *salam*, which the text has in these places. It seems to me probable that the right rendering in all cases is 'he threw the stone,' with reference to a practice similar to that which James records of the Somalis.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

A SKETCH OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY. By Lady AMHERST OF HACKNEY. (London: Methuen & Co., 1904.)

To all who are interested in Egypt without being actual students of the hieroglyphics, this book will appeal as one of the most useful which have appeared upon that fascinating country. There is something about the land, and the great river which is its life, about the people, their mummies, their gods, their myths, their sacred animals, and their great book—the Book of the Dead. The river and the land are described brightly and clearly, and this chapter forms an excellent introduction to the history proper which follows. The fifth chapter, which is divided into six sections, begins with the pre-dynastic period, and ends with that of the Persian kings, after which we have the Ptolemies, the Roman period, and Mohammedan, Ottoman, and Khedivial rule, ending with the Soudan War. To these are added chapters upon the Israelites in Egypt, the land and the people as they are to-day, and Christianity in Egypt. The appendix contains a complete list of the kings and prefects, and there is an excellent index.

Naturally a book of this kind comes with an added value from one who has not only visited Egypt many times, but has also studied Egyptology from the large and well-arranged collection of antiquities at Didlington Hall, Lord Amherst's seat in Norfolk, where are preserved the papyri so well described by Messrs. Newberry and Crum, and Drs. Grenfell and Hunt. The illustrations, also, add much to the interest of the book, the frontispiece, a fine reproduction of a head

of Berenike, wife of Ptolemy Euergetes I, being especially good. In the two maps which are given, the use of two colours in indicating the names, and the presence of the original hieroglyphic forms, will probably be greatly appreciated. It is needless to say that Lady Amherst has chosen her authorities well, and has also been well seconded by the members of her family.

When reading modern books upon Egypt, one cannot help feeling regret that Egyptologists have discarded the indications of vocalization, as given in the Greek forms of the names, in favour of a system in which the vowel *e* takes the place of the sound handed down by the Greek writers. Amen, for instance, is probably right at the beginning of a name, but Amon is the correct form at the end. In some cases the Assyro-Babylonian forms, as given by the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, and as they appear in certain historical inscriptions, Babylonian trade and temple documents, and Assyrian contracts, help us. Thus, instead of Ra, as a final component, we ought apparently to read, with Maspero, Rê. Psemtek (Psammitichus) is possibly the Babylonian Pusa-miski, Takelet appears as Taklāta, Tefnekht as Tefanakhte', Shashanq as Šusanqu, etc. More material is naturally required before we can obtain really trustworthy forms, but the indications which we already possess are not without their value.

T. G. PINCHES.

LES DÉBUTS DE L'ART EN ÉGYPTE, par JEAN CAPART, Conservateur adjoint des Antiquités égyptiennes des Musées Royaux de Bruxelles. (Brussels: Vromont & Co., 1904.)

This work, which is dedicated to Professor Flinders Petrie, the pioneer of systematic research in the domain of Egyptian art, is one of the most important contributions to the subject which have been written. It gives detailed descriptions of the various objects of early and primitive Egyptian art treated of, and its 316 pages contain no less than 191 figures,

which, as many of them consist of several specimens, provide a wealth of material for comparison—indeed, the total number of objects reproduced falls not far short of a thousand.

Naturally such abundance of material adds not a little to the value of the book, and when to this is added the fact that it is very well printed, its importance for the subject of which it treats can easily be estimated.

A considerable amount of difficulty exists with regard to the date of these early monuments, and the author is inclined to adopt, as a minimum, the fourth millennium B.C. as the period to which they belong. For the *beginnings* of Egyptian art, however, no such terminal date can be assigned, and it may be necessary, with Professor F. Petrie, to go back to 7000 B.C. for the date of the earliest objects of art of which he treats.

From certain of the statuettes of which reproductions are given, M. Capart shows that some, at least, of the primitive Egyptians painted their bodies, decorating them with various designs and figures of animals. This section is treated of at length, and the customs of other primitive nationalities in the matter of personal decoration is referred to. Tattooing, also, seems to have been used—indeed, it is admitted that the Egyptians of the classical epoch sometimes tattooed themselves upon the breast or the arms with the names or representations of divinities. Other personal adornments were the plaiting of the hair, the wearing of wigs and ‘transformations,’ and, in the case of men, coverings for the hair, beard, and genital parts. Naturally, the numerous pictures extant give many details of the dress of this primitive period, and M. Capart is able to treat not only of the personal ornaments of the people, such as rings, bracelets, bangles, etc., but also of their clothing—the girdle, the tress or pig-tail, the *qarnati* or genital coverings, the cloaks of skins, breeches (both short and long), mantles, etc. Warriors or hunters wore also an animal’s tail attached to their girdles. The form of this appendage implies that it is the original of that with which the figures of gods and kings are provided.

The chapter on decorative art is naturally long and instructive. The theory that this began with representations of natural objects, which gradually assumed conventional and ultimately geometrical shapes, is illustrated in the strange forms of the Columbian alligator-ornament, and the evolution of the human figure-ornament in Polynesian art, etc. The objects of such decorations are fourfold—a purely artistic aim, the need of giving information by means of certain characteristic designs, the desire of making an imposing appearance, and the belief in the efficacy of certain mystic and symbolical forms in religious and magical ceremonies and influences. These are illustrated by the finely-cut flint knives found in Egypt, in which portions are chipped away so as to give a decorative effect, and by the elaborate designs in animals, men, and geometric forms, in the cases of knife-handles of a later date. Spoons, combs, pins, pendants, palettes, sceptres, vases, basket-work, etc., all show how the Egyptians loved to decorate their belongings. Their skill in work of this kind was often considerable, and the pictures which they show frequently have an interest beyond that of the mere design. They give us, for example, pictures of the predecessors of the ships found on later Egyptian monuments, of their dress, of their arms of offence and defence, etc. Their love for animal forms and their skill in reproducing them is a most noteworthy feature. Cylinders, used apparently, as in Babylonia, as seals, with human and animal forms, appear at this early date. As potters' marks a variety of forms was used—men, plants, birds, animals (including the elephant), and insects. Among the conventional signs used by the early potters are many suggesting alphabetic forms such as those with which we are all familiar, and the question naturally arises, whether we have to look for the origin of the Egyptian hieroglyphic system of writing in these pottery-marks, as well as that of the alphabets of Europe. M. Capart discusses the question in full, quoting the opinions of Professor Petrie and others, but putting the case with admirable caution, such as the subject requires.

Not less interesting is the chapter dealing with sculpture and painting, which shows excellently the origins of the art, from the first rude flints cleverly chipped into the form of animals, to the monuments of the early kings, which include the beautiful ivory statuette of Cheops, and many monuments showing the Egyptian type with which we are so familiar. In this chapter are excellent reproductions of those remarkable palettes of grey schist, and the mace-heads of Nar-Mer, another king, which show styles of art differing—sometimes considerably—from that of the Egyptian sculptors of the period and later.

After a short but interesting chapter upon dancing, music, and poetry, the author states the general conclusions to which he had come with regard to early Egyptian art. Its origin was utilitarian, mingled almost everywhere with a religious, or rather magical intention. Notwithstanding the many examples of this period which have come to light, its history is not by any means certain, and anthropologists are still doubtful as to the race of the most ancient inhabitants of the Nile Valley. It may be supposed, however, that there was originally a black population as the base, insensibly pushed towards the south by the white populations, which, according to Maspero, established themselves from remote antiquity upon the Mediterranean slopes of the Libyan continent, and themselves came, perhaps, from southern Europe, penetrating into the Nile Valley from the west or south-west. It is to these populations from Libya that we must attribute the brilliant civilization of the prehistoric burial-places whose monuments are dealt with in this book.

Among the problems touched upon, is that of the sudden change which, at a given moment, appears in the art of Egypt. This is the contrast, upon which the author has often insisted, between private and royal monuments, and between religious and profane art in that country. The primitive inhabitants, moreover, knew nothing of the hieroglyphic writing used in Egypt, and suddenly this style of writing appears ready developed. An official script attached to an official religion, this complicated method was brought

from outside ready made—this can almost be affirmed without hesitation—but from what country did it come? It would seem probable that the Pharaonic invaders came from Asia, perhaps from Yemen, and that they had an origin in common with the Chaldeans. This, says M. Capart, would explain the analogies which have been shown to exist between the first Pharaonic monuments and the monuments of Chaldea, notably the use of cylinder-seals, which, however, soon disappeared in the valley of the Nile. There is also one fact which is certain, namely, that these Semites did not pass directly into Egypt—they ‘Africanized’ themselves before penetrating thither, as is proved by the flora and fauna of the hieroglyphics. There were therefore two styles of art—the primitive art born in the north of Africa which developed in the course of centuries, subjected to but little foreign influence; and the pharaonic art whose origin is unknown, but which had already, when it entered Egypt, become entirely stationary, and which served to express extremely developed religious conceptions. The struggle between these two styles of art, and the influences which they exercised upon each other, are analogous to what took place between the popular and the official religions, between the official and the vulgar tongue. The history of these struggles goes back to the most ancient periods of the ancient empire.

There is no need to point out the value of this work—the details which are here quoted speak for themselves. The book must be read through by the student to enable him to obtain an idea of the monuments on which the theories are based, and the value of the points put forward. Naturally there is much that is uncertain, but wherever there is doubt it is honestly stated.

T. G. PINCHES.

JAPANESE GRAMMAR SELF - TAUGHT. By H. J. WEINTZ.
(Marlborough & Co., 1904.)

JAPANESE GRAMMAR. By H. J. WEINTZ. Hossfeld's Series.
(Hirschfeld Brothers, 1904.)

Both these guides to colloquial Japanese are by the same author, but neither is written upon the Hossfeld system. Both books are unexceptionable, as far as they go, and the phrases they contain are correct and useful. The system adopted in them of teaching the language does not, however, altogether commend itself to me, though it is the one commonly used. It presents the grammar of Japanese upon the plan of that of a Western language, and the greatest difficulty that lies in the way of acquiring a command of correct and idiomatic speech is that of getting rid of European modes of expression, even of European modes of thought. There are in Japanese none, practically, of the grammatical conveniences of English, which has, perhaps, fewer than most modern languages. These defects are made up for, principally, by a Japano-Chinese vocabulary, many of the words of which have a very peculiar, almost, linguistically speaking, technical connotation, and by syntactical arrangements which no existing treatise adequately presents. Were I to write a Japanese grammar I should devote two-thirds of my space to these subjects; the whole of the *accidence* (so-called), including the verbal modes (which are merely contracted locutions), could be easily exhibited in a dozen pages. The materials, in a word, of the language are not difficult to acquire; it is in their edification into sentences, and of these into paragraphs, etc., that the real difficulties lie, and very considerable they are, though to master enough common Japanese for the purposes of the ordinary traveller is a matter of no great achievement. In both these volumes a good deal of syntactical information is given, but a more thorough analysis and parsing of the Japanese sentences and extracts contained in them would have been an improvement. The various uses of *yoku*, *beku*, etc., of the verbal modes in *eba*, *raru*, *raruru*, etc., the manifold uses of *no*, etc., the

manner of employment of *Kango* words, and the ways in which honour words and forms are made to express the difference between *meum* and *tuum*, might advantageously be classified in ascending order of difficulty, while the elliptical and allusive complexion, so to speak, of the language might well be treated at some length. Only in this way can a *natural* grammar of the language be constructed, a true analysis presented, and an adequate introduction to its study, however elementary, prepared. Lastly, I have no doubt that the *Katakana* syllabary—easily to be acquired with a few hours' patience—should be given; it is a very material help to the student and even to the traveller, whose faulty accent and pronunciation often make his speech unintelligible to the native unfamiliar with Europeans and their ways.

F. VICTOR DICKINS.

NAN-TCHAO YE-CHE, 南詔野史, HISTOIRE PARTICULIÈRE DU NAN-TCHAO. Traduction d'une histoire de l'ancien Yun-nan, accompagnée d'une Carte et d'un Lexique géographique et historique, par CAMILLE SAINSON, Vice-Consul de France à Ho-k'eu. (Paris, 1904 : Publications de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes.)

For this cleverly arranged translation of a small Chinese book on the history of Yunnan we are indebted to an official of the French Consular Service who has been stationed some six years at Laokai, a frontier post on the banks of the Red River, between China and Annam. His work was stimulated, as M. Sainson explains in his preface, by the idea of a French railway on the eve of construction from this point to Yun-nan-fu, the capital of the Chinese province. The wide and mountainous province of Yunnan, with its wild borderlands stretching to Tibet, Assam, Burma, and Annam, apart from its attractions for the railway projector, is a most fascinating field for the ethnologist and historian. Marco Polo was the earliest European traveller in these parts, and he gives a vivid picture of the manners and

customs of the aboriginal tribes, which has been worthily filled in by the learned commentaries of Colonel Yule, and further developed by the latter scholar in his introductory essay to Captain Gill's "River of Golden Sand." But our knowledge has been materially advanced during the quarter of a century since the publication of Captain Gill's narrative by the travels of Margary, Baber, Bourne, and Hosie, of the British Consular Service, and of several scientific explorations starting from the Burmese side.

The French have been very industrious meanwhile. The enterprising travels of Lieutenant Francis Garnier and his companions in 1866-8 resulted in a series of finely illustrated volumes; a special work, *La Province chinoise du Yunnan, par Emile Rocher*, was published in 1880, under the auspices of Sir Robert Hart; and many other treatises have appeared in Paris and French Indo-China which there is no space to enumerate here. A memoir by Professor E. Chavannes on the epigraphy of the Nan-chao kingdom, in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1900, may, however, be cited in this connection.

The Nan-chao kingdom, it is well known, was a confederation of six Shan tribes, founded by Sinulo, the chieftain of the southern of the six tribes, in the year A.D. 649. His original territory was on the head waters of the Red River up to the modern Ta-li-fu, and the five other Chao chieftains of kindred blood dominated the mountain gorges in the west of the provinces of Yunnan and Ssüchuan, extending as far north as Yueh-hi-t'ing on the upper borders of Ning-yuan-fu. The founder Sinulo is said to have been a descendant in the 36th generation of a grandson of the famous Asoka, the king of Magadha in India; but this is probably no more authentic than those of eight other lines, including those of Tibet, China, Annam, and Ceylon, which are also traced back here to eight other named grandsons of Asoka. It has always been the fashion for Buddhist countries, on adopting Buddhism, to recast their national traditions, and to make their first king a descendant of the Sâkyas or of one of the illustrious monarchs of India.¹ The ancient Thai of

¹ Cf. Rockhill's "Life of the Buddha" (p. 232).

Nan-chao, according to M. Sainson, appear to have possessed an alphabet of Hindu origin, although previously acquainted with the Chinese script. Their epigraphy, however, as preserved on the few steles that have come down to us, is entirely Chinese, and for a knowledge of their annals we have only Chinese sources to refer to.

The little book, in two fascicules, which has been translated, is a compilation by Yang Chên, a local Chinese mandarin, published in 1550; revised and partially brought up to date by Hu Wei in 1775; and recently reprinted in a useful collection of Chinese books on the province of Yunnan. The translator explains how he has been induced to select it, in preference to more voluminous official records, because it presents, "in spite of certain puerilities," a "fairly complete tableau of the history of the province from the beginning of its relations with the Chinese empire to the foundation of the reigning dynasty of China, written before the old memories of Yunnan had been entirely forgotten." Some of the obvious mistakes of the Chinese author are corrected by the translator in footnotes, such as, for example, the name of Kammala, the eldest grandson of Kublai Khan, who was viceroy of the province for three years, which is always printed here Kan-la-ma. Some confusion in the names of functionaries on p. 15, where the titles have been evidently wrongly punctuated and mixed up with the definition of the duties, might have been avoided by reference to the *T'ang Shu*, the contemporary Chinese annals of the T'ang dynasty, the Nan-chao chapter of which has been translated by Professor E. H. Parker in the *China Review* (vol. xix, No. 2, 1890). On the same page we notice "La reine s'appelle *sin-mo*, ou encore *kieou-mo*; les concubines royales *tsin-icou*." In the original annals these names are given as the native titles of the mother of the king (Chinese *wang-mu*) and queen (Chinese *fei*) respectively.

But such minor slips do not detract from the solid value of the work as an important historical document. The table of "Souverains du Yun-nan" at the end comprises nine dynasties, with a continuously dated record of reigns from

A.D. 649 to A.D. 1253. The last king was taken prisoner by a Mongol general of the future Kublai Khan and deposed in 1253, albeit solaced with the title of mahârâja, and restored to his realm with the hereditary Chinese style of *tsung-kuan*, or governor-general. His successors kept up the line of tributary governors till 1382, when their territory was finally absorbed into the Chinese Empire by the founder of the Ming dynasty. The excellent lexicon of geographical and historical names, ancient and modern, which follows, and the clearly defined map “pour servir à la lecture du *Nan-tchao-ye-she*,” printed in black, blue, and red, call for a word of praise, and complete a well got up book, to which justice can hardly be done in so short a notice.

S. W. B.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF CEYLON. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. i, part 1. Edited and translated by Don MARTINO DE ZILVA WICKREMASINGHE, epigraphist to the Ceylon Government. (London, 1904.)

This volume is the first instalment of a collection of ancient inscriptions in the island of Ceylon, published by sanction of the Government, very much in the same manner as the *Epigraphia Indica*. The learned editor, Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe, a native of Ceylon, has been working during a number of years as assistant to the Archæological Commissioner, Mr. H. C. P. Bell, whose interesting reports on the antiquities of the Kegalla and Anurādhapura districts are well known to all those who take an interest in Indian epigraphy.

The inscriptions published and translated in this volume were all discovered in the neighbourhood of Anurādhapura between 1890 and 1900. No. 1 is an inscription on a granite slab near the *Jetavanārāma*, written in Sanskrit prose, with only a few Sinhalese words in it, like *kiri*, ‘a measure of grain’ (Pali *karisha*), and *parivahana*, ‘a lay warden of a monastic establishment.’ The name of the king not being

given in the inscription it is very difficult to find out the date, but I think that Wickremasinghe is certainly not far from the right time when he assigns it to the first half of the ninth century A.D.

Then follow a number of cave inscriptions discovered at *Vessagiri* (Mahāvamsa, ed. Turnour, p. 123), about a mile to the south-west of Anurādhapura, near the high road to Kurunaegala.

They are very similar to those given in my *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, p. 33, not only with regard to their general contents, but even as far as the proper names are concerned; *Anikaṭa Sona*, as well as *Citrā*, the wife of *Palikada* and daughter of *Surakita* or *Sirikita*, occur in both. The title *Parumaka* attaching to *Palikada* and *Surakita*, which I left untranslated here as well as in the *Tonigala* inscription (No. 1), is rendered by Wickremasinghe as 'His Eminence.' It is the Skt. *paramaka*; and the form *mapurum*, which we find later on (*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, p. 26) stands for *mahāparamaka*.

On p. 23 ff. W. gives us two slab-inscriptions which have also been discovered at *Wessagiraya* in 1890. The first belongs to King *Dappula V* (A.D. 940–952), and contains a grant of 200 kalandas to the *Virāṅkurā* and *Mulasorihāra* monasteries. The language and the contents are very similar to those of the two great tablets at *Ambasthala*, *Mihintale* (No. 121 of my *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*). The translation as given by Mr. Wickremasinghe is, on the whole, a very good one, only with regard to a few words I beg to offer some suggestions.

The words *Lak-dir-poḷo-mehesana-parapuren* in lines 4, 5 are rendered 'by lineal descent from the great lords of the soil of the island of Laṅkā,' and *mehesana* is said to be identical with Skt. *mahesāna*. In the note, however, the author admits the possibility of identifying *mehesana* with the proper name *Mahāsena*, and in this case would feel inclined to translate the words in question 'lord of the soil of the island of Laṅkā by lineal descent from Mahāsena.' I think that both these translations must be rejected. In the note the author

alludes to similar passages in the inscriptions of Ellewaewa pansala, Mayilagastota, and Wewelkaetiya (A.I.C., Nos. 116, 120, 122). Especially the passage in the Mayilagastota inscription strikes us by the similarity of the wording: *ag mehesun wū Lak diwo poḷoyon parapuren himi siṭi Gon biso raedna kushi upan aepā Mihindāhu wasin*, 'by the aepā *Mahinda*, who was born in the womb of the anointed queen *Gon*, chief queen to his Majesty the King, reigning on Laṅkā's ground by hereditary succession.' In the same way the passage in question of the Wessagiri inscription is to be translated: 'Having been conceived in the womb of the queen *Devā*, (chief) queen to the great king *Buddas Siri-saṅgboy Abahay* reigning on Laṅkā's ground by hereditary succession.' I see no reason to translate *raejna* by 'sub-queen' as W. suggests. On the contrary, if she had really been only the sub-queen, this would certainly not have been mentioned in the inscription.

I think we ought to read *mehesun* instead of *mehesana* on the Wessagiri slab, and this corresponds to Skt. *mahishī*, Pali *mahesī*, 'queen'; *poḷoyen* and *poḷoyon* are instrumentals from *poḷo* = *prithivī*, used in a locative sense. In modern Sinhalese we have *poḷowa*, 'earth.' *Sanahay* in line 4 and *sanahā* Galpota (No. 148), B 5, 'having comforted,' is to be derived from *sniḥ* and not from *snā*. The corresponding modern Sinhalese is *sanasanawā*, 'to comfort,' and the change of *h* to *s* is already found in Pāli *senesika*, 'oily' (Mahāvagga vi, 1, 4), which also derives from *sniḥ*.

The second slab bears two separate inscriptions, both referring to benefactions made to the clergy of the monastery Bo-Upulvan-Kasub-giri-Vehera. The king mentioned in these inscriptions is called Siri-Saṅgbo Abhā Mihindu, and Wickremasinghe, following the late Dr. Goldschmidt, identifies him with Mahinda III. The name is given as Mahinda IV on p. 30, but this must be a misprint, for it was under Mahinda III that his commander-in-chief, Sena, led a successful campaign against the Cola king Vallabha, according to Mahāvamsa 54, 12-16. It is the same Mahinda who, in the 16th year of his reign, bestowed a grant on the

vihāras of Caityagiri and Abhayagiri, as stated in the tablets of Ambasthala, Mihintale (A.I.C., 121).

Here we must leave Mr. Wickremasinghe's most interesting publication. It would be easy to write a long article in discussion of the number of interesting points that he raises. It is sufficient for the purposes of this notice to point out the very great importance for Indian epigraphy and archæology of this publication. No other method of publication of the priceless relics of antiquity found in Ceylon is of the slightest use. All European scholars will be thankful to the Government, which has hitherto done so little, though that little has been of great value, for the history and literature of the island.

E. MÜLLER.

Berne, October, 1904.

THE BOOK OF CONSOLATIONS, OR THE PASTORAL EPISTLES
OF MÂR ÎSHÔ-YAHBH OF KÛPHLÂNÂ IN ADIABENE.
Part I. By PHILIP SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, B.A. (Luzac,
1904.)

We must congratulate Mr. Scott-Moncrieff upon the useful piece of work which he has undertaken to edit, and which, to judge from the present volume, will be a highly creditable contribution for a young student. The letters in question are from the pen of one of the heads of the Nestorian Church during the seventh century. He was of Persian origin, a native of Kûphlânâ, whose father took a sympathetic and practical interest in the convent of Margâ. He studied at the famous school of Nisîbis, and was appointed Bishop of Mosul at an early age. In 628 he was promoted to be Metropolitan, and about 644 he was elevated to the premier position as supreme head of the Nestorian Church. His numerous epistles accordingly may be divided into three periods, and it is those written in the first period, whilst Bishop, that are now published in full in the present volume.

Mâr Îshô-yahbh's epistles had long been known, thanks to the indefatigable Assemani, who has given a brief abstract

of them in the third volume of his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, but for many years little further interest was taken in them. Dr. Wright, in his *Syriac Literature*, expressed the opinion that a judicious selection of them would be worth printing, and, more recently, Dr. Budge published a number of them in his *Book of Governors*. This scholar, in the course of a residence at Mosul, had copies made of two modern MSS. containing the letters, and these—with occasional reference to the Vatican MS. used by Assemani—form the basis of Mr. Scott-Moncrieff's work.

Of the fifty which were written by Îshô-yahbh whilst Bishop, many are of considerable interest for the light they throw upon contemporary ecclesiastical life. One letter, in particular, refers to an important event which is chronicled by Bar-hebraeus, namely, the attempt of the Jacobites to build a church at Mosul. The historian states that the worthy ecclesiastic bribed right and left to prevent the completion of this undertaking, and in Letter No. xlii, written to Mâr Gabriel, the Metropolitan Bishop, Îshô-yahbh presents us with his view of the matter. In it he refers to "the unscrupulous audacity of the Jacobites who attempted to build a church in Mosul," and "hints that they bribed the ruling men of the city, that they were helped by a number of evil men who had formerly been Jacobites, and that they were assisted also by the people of Tegrith and by the agency of Satan." With Nestorian charitableness he commences his letter by lamenting that "his sinful lot has made him dwell by the side of the nest of Satan wherefrom yearly a brood of poisonous serpents and deadly vipers pours forth." In another letter (No. xiii), Îshô-yahbh, writing to his namesake, the Patriarch and Catholicus of the East, makes an apology for his flight from his diocese at the time when war was being waged between the Byzantines and Greeks. "The apology," as the editor remarks, "is verbose and full of vague explanations, which, however, fail to convince the reader of anything except that the Bishop fled from his see just at the time when he was most needed. When we consider that Îshô-yahbh was a man of considerable

wealth this is not to be wondered at, for both the pagan Persians, who were his fellow-countrymen, and the Greeks, their enemies, would regard the Nestorian Bishop as a lawful prey."

This volume is confined to the Syriac text only, but the editor has prepared a careful abstract in English of each letter which will suffice to give the ordinary reader a tolerably clear idea of Īshô-yahbh's character and views. We may add that the Syriac is far from easy, and one is rather tempted to suspect that in many cases the present text by no means represents what was written down in the original autographs of the Bishop. It may be added that the attempt to identify the Babylonian measure *gur* with the Syriac *gērîwê* (p. li) does not commend itself. The Syriac term is doubtless identical with *gērîbhâ*, taken by some to be $\frac{1}{30}$ *kur*, and it is the latter term, mentioned in the same context, which has been plausibly derived from the Babylonian.

S. A. C.

COMPENDIOUS SYRIAC GRAMMAR. By THEODOR NÖLDEKE.

Translated from the second and improved German edition by JAMES A. CRICHTON, D.D. (Williams & Norgate, 1904.)

Among all the Aramaic dialects which have flourished from the earliest known inscriptions of the ix-viii century B.C. down to the Neo-Syriac spoken by the scanty communities of the present day, classical Syriac, the language of Edessa and its neighbourhood, occupies the most prominent position. Although Aramaic was once the *lingua franca* over a large portion of the Nearer East, it is only in those districts where it was used for literary purposes that it has left its mark, and were it not for the fact that Syriac plays an important part in the literary history of Christianity, we may doubt whether it would have succeeded in attaining any eminence whatever.

Syriac literature as a whole does not excite one's enthusiasm. There is little originality or freshness in the greater part of it. "What we have in Syriac," remarks a Syriac scholar, "is practically nothing more than the contents of a very fine monastic library."¹ There are, of course, some very notable exceptions, and it is far from our intention to minimise the importance of the language from either a literary or philological point of view. Thus, to mention only one feature, for its versions of the Bible—and the Syriac has been styled "the Queen of Versions"—the language has particular claims to the attention of the theological student, and every serious theologian should be equipped with a knowledge of it, however slight.

Beginners, who are confined to English, have been restricted to Nestle's introductory work (2nd ed., 1889), which in several respects is the most convenient of grammars. It is undoubtedly best adapted for elementary study, whilst Brockelmann's somewhat more elaborate handbook, distinguished for its extremely full and useful chrestomathy (1899), is as yet published only in German. There was no critical or complete work for students until Professor Nöldeke published his *Kurzgefasste Syrische Grammatik* in 1880, and it at once took the first place in this particular department of Semitic study. As every student has found, it is indispensable, and we know of at least one who acquired German in order to be able to use it. Its place in Syriac studies is as pre-eminent as Wright's Grammar revised by Robertson Smith and De Goeje in the realm of Arabic, and it is with particular pleasure that we welcome the familiar work in an English dress at last. Obviously it is a distinct advantage to have the work in English for English eyes, and one is indebted both to the translator for the care he has taken in the preparation of the translation, and to the publishers for their spiritedness in undertaking the publication of a work which, in spite of its lasting value, can never have a very extensive sale.

¹ F. C. Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 156.

The English translation, it must be emphasized at the outset, is not from the old edition. The veteran Orientalist modestly tells us that although he did not reckon upon the necessity for a new edition arising during his lifetime, he had noted down many additions and improvements in his own copy. A good deal of this material has been used in the new edition, and a comparison with the old shows that numerous improvements in points of detail have been advantageously introduced. Dr. Crichton, too, has been at pains to render the mass of material more readily accessible than it was in the past. The very full table of contents has been supplemented by the insertion of its items throughout the book in the form of rubrics to the several sections. Further, Dr. Crichton has drawn up a complete index of the passages cited in the course of the work, an addition for which those who use the book regularly will be sincerely grateful. On the other hand, it has not been thought necessary to append an index of words or forms, such as is to be found in the companion work, the Hebrew Grammar of Gesenius, by Kautzsch; but most students are already aware that in many cases the necessary reference can be found by turning up the word in Brockelmann's Lexicon.¹

The present edition, in the German, is dedicated to Professor Guidi, through whose communications, by the way, the section on the Tone (§ 56) has been considerably developed. In Part II (The Morphology) more notice has been taken of Assyriology, a new and significant feature to which the author himself calls attention in his preface (p. xiv). Many Syriac words now prove to be loan-words from the Assyrian,² but in the case of some alleged examples we are warned that "it is perhaps a matter of doubt whether the supposed borrower may not be the lender, or whether the words concerned may not be part of a common stock."

¹ One would have been glad also of a subject index, e.g., for references to such details as Hebraisms, differences between Eastern and Western punctuation, etc., etc.

² E.g., *šēladdā*, 'corpse,' from the Ass. *šalamtu* (p. 58); in the earlier edition very doubtfully derived from *σκελετόν*.

The first alternative, however, is beset with peculiar difficulty, inasmuch as our knowledge of Aramaic previous to the period of the Zanjîrli inscriptions is practically *nil*.

The extremely full treatment of Syriac syntax has always constituted perhaps the most valuable feature of the whole work, and in the present edition this part has been enlarged by the addition of many fresh examples. In accordance with the original plan, the examples are drawn from the oldest specimens of Syriac (e.g., the Peshitta version of the Bible, Aphraates, etc.), since at an early date Syriac style was much influenced by Greek models. But even in the case of this older literature a certain amount of criticism is requisite. "The Syriac Old Testament," writes Professor Nöldeke (*Preface*, p. xiii), "frequently approximates the original Hebrew text too closely; and precisely because of the intimate relationship of the languages, we sometimes find ourselves at a loss as to whether the verbal reproduction is still in conformity with the true Syriac idiom, or is really a Hebraism." Further, considerable use has been made of the Syriac versions of the Synoptic Gospels, and one extremely important novelty is the careful collation of the ordinary Peshitta text with its more ancient form as preserved in the Curetonian and Sinaitic MSS., whose text in some cases shows fewer marks of dependence upon Greek style.¹

In conclusion, we may note that the fine table of alphabets by Julius Euting has been increased by the addition of three new columns reproducing the old Aramaic forms upon the Zanjîrli, Teima, the Nabataean, and the Palmyrene inscriptions. The value of these inscriptions for comparative Aramaic grammar is recognised by everyone, but Professor Nöldeke has adhered to his original plan, and has refrained almost entirely from touching upon this intricate subject. His own *Mandaean Grammar* (1876) is still the most accessible and valuable book for the purpose, but numerous Aramaic texts and inscriptions have been

¹ E.g., contrast the use of *au* in imitation of the Greek η with the purely Syriac idiom *men dē-* (p. 196, n. 1).

published during the last thirty years, and it is known that the author has modified some of his earlier views. Every branch of Semitic study has been indebted at one time or another to Professor Nöldeke, and the welcome appearance of a revision of his Syriac Grammar inspires the hope that comparative Aramaic grammar may yet receive the stimulus it requires by at least a new edition of the handbook referred to.

S. A. COOK.

CHINESISCHE ANSICHTEN ÜBER BRONZETROMMELN. Von
FRIEDRICH HIRTH. (Leipzig, 1904.)

A magnificent work was published at Leipzig in 1902 under the title of "Alte Metalltrommeln aus Südost-Asien," by Franz Heger, of Vienna, with an atlas of forty-five plates, in which the author gives the results of eighteen years' researches on the bronze drums which are found in the islands of the East Indian Archipelago, as well as on the mainland in the Indo-Chinese countries and within the southern and western borders of China proper. The various types of these drums are figured in the atlas, and the motives of their decoration, which are often of a curiously primitive character, are carefully analyzed and described in the text. The larger museums of Europe were visited for the purpose, among others the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington, in each of which two of these drums are exhibited; while fourteen of the plates are copied from the *Hsi Ch'ing Ku Chien*, the sumptuous catalogue of the palace collection at Peking which was printed in the reign of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung.

Drs. A. B. Meyer and W. Foy had already published a work on the subject under the title of "Bronzepauken aus Südost-Asien," with thirteen plates, at Dresden, in 1897; and Professor J. J. M. de Groot an article in the Proceedings of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Amsterdam in 1898, entitled "De antieke Keteltrommen in den Oost-indischen Archipel en op het vasteland van Zuidoost-Azië." Professor

Hirth had previously written an interesting letter to Herr Heger in 1894, when he was stationed at Chungking in Western China, which was subsequently printed by the writer at Berlin in 1896 in the "Bastian Festschrift." This letter has been criticised by Professor de Groot, who complains of the obscurity of some of the Chinese references, and the work under review is mainly an amplification of the said letter in the form of a running commentary, accompanied by a series of quotations of original Chinese texts.

One of the most important problems for solution is whether the peculiar decoration of these drums was independently evolved by the Shan, Karen, Miao-tzŭ, and other aboriginal tribes who still use them, or whether it was derived from Chinese or Indian sources. The *terrain* happens to be, by the way, precisely that to which some prehistoric authorities ascribe the invention of bronze, but there is no time for the discussion of such recondite questions here. Professor Hirth, in the course of his literary rambles, unearths from an old Chinese book the remarkable views of Fêng-hu-tzŭ, a Chinese philosopher of the fifth century before Christ, which might be compared with certain well-known passages of Hesiod and Lucretius on the sequence of stone, bronze, and iron in the history of human civilization. His views of Chinese culture are stated in the following abstract:—

(1) The Stone or Primeval Age, extending from the earliest rulers down to Huang Ti, the "Yellow Emperor."

(2) The Jade (Nephrite) Age, from the "Yellow Emperor" (B.C. 2491–2389) to Yü the Great (B.C. 1989–1982).

(3) The Bronze Age, extending from the time of Yü to that of Fêng-hu-tzŭ, i.e. from the twentieth century to about 500 B.C.

(4) The Iron Age, or "our own time."

The sequence is identical with that of the palæolithic, neolithic, bronze, and iron periods of European culture, and Professor Hirth hazards the suggestion that the dates may also, perhaps, be taken as more or less approximate.

The drums are not all ancient. They are still made in the present day in Canton and decorated there with sprays of flowers of the four seasons, fishes and dragons, varied emblems of happiness and longevity, and other well-worn motives of modern Chinese art. One such drum figured in Heger's album on pl. xxix, and now in the museum at Vienna, is dated the twelfth year of the reign of Tao-kuang (A.D. 1832), although the inscription is strangely passed as undecipherable. A sketch of the modern process of manufacture by the *cire perdue* process is quoted from a letter written by the late Mr. J. Anderson, Director of the Indian Museum in Calcutta, in which he says:—"The large kettle drum of bronze, of which you have sent me a sketch, is a Karen gong, made by the Karen hill tribes, who inhabit the mountains of Burma. Drums have been made there for generations, and one of them is still provided as part of the dowry of a Karen girl of good family. The frogs on the top and all the ornamentation are cast in one piece. A clay core is first made of the size of the inside of the gong, and on this wax is placed and correctly modelled to the exact shape, and covered with the appropriate ornamentation. When the wax model is finished, fire-clay and water are dashed on to the face of the wax with a brush—the clay and water being thrown with great force penetrate into all the small hollows and angles of the wax. More coarse clay is laid on outside to give strength. The wax is then melted and the mould made nearly red hot. The metal is then poured in."

S. W. B.

CATALOGUS DER MUNTEN EN AMULETTEN VAN CHINA, JAPAN, COREA, EN ANNAM. Door H. N. STUART, Ambtenaar voor Chineesche Zaken, Secretaris van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. (Batavia, 1904.)

The numismatic collection of the Academy of Arts and Sciences at Batavia has lately been enriched by the addition

of two extensive private gatherings of Far Eastern coins, and it has been found necessary to publish the special catalogue which is now before us, which is devoted entirely to the coins and medals of China, Japan, Korea, and Annam. In the previous catalogue by Mr. J. A. van der Chijs, published in 1896, these countries were included in the general series, and were represented by 491, 124, 19, and 69 numbers respectively. The present catalogue has 1735, 159, 749, and 240 numbers, so that the collection has been more than quadrupled in the interval.

The catalogue opens with an ingenious arrangement of diagrams and combination figures, fourteen pages long, explanatory of a complicated system of lettering and ciphering which has been adopted in Batavia, to classify the number of the dots, crescents, and straight lines that are often found on the field of Chinese coins, and their various positions in relation to the square hole in the centre. The signification of these marks is not known, but they serve to multiply varieties for some collectors. The coins with the inscription *K'ai yuan t'ung pao*, for example, attributed to Kao Tsu of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618–627), are increased in this way to no less than 112 varieties, in addition to nine further varieties depending on slight differences in the pencilling of the Chinese characters. The infinite pains of a Dutch mind are required to register all such minutiae, which hardly appeal to ordinary mortals.

A few of the rarer coins numbered in the catalogue are represented only by an "Afdruk in Papier," which may be taken to be, I suppose, a rubbing on paper made in Chinese fashion. A short bibliography is attached, which includes one Japanese book on coins, but not a single Chinese numismatic work. Original research, in fact, is not a special feature of the volume, although the author is careful to refer to any article in which the coin described by him has been previously figured, and thus supplies the absence of plates in his own catalogue.

The Chinese coins are supplemented by a representative series of the silver dollars and subsidiary coins issued towards

the end of the nineteenth century in the provincial capitals of Kwangtung, Hupeh, Fukien, Kiangnan, Anhwei, and Kirin; and in the Peiyang and Fêngt'ien arsenals. These have scarcely been noticed before in numismatic books. The smallest silver coins issued by these mints are, however, 20 cents, 10 cents, and 5 cents, being equivalent to $\frac{1}{5}$, $\frac{1}{10}$, and $\frac{1}{20}$ of the corresponding dollar. This is proved by their inscriptions, which are 1 mace 4·4 candarins, 7·2 candarins, and 3·6 candarins respectively, while the dollar is inscribed 7 mace 2 candarins. Here they have all been catalogued, by a little slip, as $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, and $\frac{1}{16}$ of the dollar.

There is no space left to refer to the many excellent points of the book, which is fairly well printed, and is altogether an acceptable addition to the numismatic literature of the Far East.

S. W. B.

THE VOYAGES OF PEDRO FERNANDEZ DE QUIROS, 1595 TO 1606. Translated and Edited by Sir CLEMENTS MARKHAM, K.C.B., P.R.G.S., President of the Hakluyt Society. Two vols. (Hakluyt Society, 1904.)

Pedro Fernandez de Quiros was by birth a Portuguese, but became, while still a lad, a Spanish subject, through the union of Spain and Portugal under Philip II in 1580. Of his early life nothing is known; but at 30 years of age he was already a skilled pilot, and when Alvaro de Mendaña, who had received a commission to colonize the Solomon Islands, which he had discovered in 1565, sailed from Peru in 1595, Quiros went with him as chief pilot and captain of the *San Jeronimo*, which was accompanied by three other ships. As Mendaña's wife and her two brothers formed part of the expedition, besides a camp master who was a fire-eater, the chief pilot's position was in the last degree unpleasant. At Santa Cruz, a new discovery, the enterprise culminated in the murder of the camp master, the deaths of Mendaña and his brother-in-law Don Lorenzo, and the succession of the widow, Doña Isabel,

to the command (for which she was quite unfitted); followed by a disastrous voyage to Manila. It was while on this expedition that Quiros conceived his grand project of adding to the dominions of Spain the vast southern continent which he was convinced existed, extending as far as the South Pole. Through the good offices of the Pope, Quiros obtained from Philip III (who had succeeded his father in 1598) a royal order to the viceroy of Peru to fit out two ships for the projected expedition; and after much disappointment and delay he left Callao in December, 1605, in command of two ships and a launch to seek for his new continent. His second in command was the able sailor and pilot Luis Vaez de Torres, and he had in the ships other faithful friends and supporters, but also several enemies, who stirred up mutiny and disaffection, and to whom was largely due the failure of the expedition. On 26th January, 1606, Quiros was in 26° S.; and had he continued on his course he would have discovered New Zealand; but he changed his course northwards, and his chance was gone for ever. After discovering a number of small islands, at the beginning of May, 1606, the largest island of the New Hebrides group was reached, and Quiros thought that he had found his continent. Having anchored in the port of Vera Cruz, in the great bay of St. Philip and St. James, the discoverer, with much pomp and ceremony, took possession in the names of the Church, the Pope, and the King, of "all this region of the south as far as the Pole, which from this time shall be called *Austrialia del Espiritu Santo*, with all its dependencies for ever and so long as right exists." (The name "*Austrialia*," Quiros explains in one of his many memorials to the King, was bestowed to commemorate the connection of Austria with Spain. Probably he wished to give it a name of his own creation, "*Terra Australis*" having figured on maps since 1570.) On the 8th of June the fleet left the port to complete the discovery; but a storm arose, the ships got separated, and Quiros returned to Peru, to learn later that his lieutenant Torres had reached Manila, after discovering a large part of the southern coast of New

Guinea, having also passed through the strait that now bears his name and seen Australia, though he did not know it. The rest of Quiros's life was one series of bitter disappointments, and "he died at the age of fifty, quite worn out and driven to his grave by Councils and Committees, with their futile talk, needless delays, and endless obstruction."

In these two volumes Sir Clements Markham has given translations of the narratives of the two expeditions in which Quiros took part, and various connected documents, the whole forming a record of much interest. Quiros was fortunate in having as his companion and amanuensis the young poet Belmonte Bermudez; and his journal of the two voyages, which occupies the whole of the first volume, is most graphic in its details. Space will not allow of quotation; but I may mention that on p. 28 there is a description of the breadfruit—one of the earliest probably; and on p. 196 the process of distilling fresh water from salt is described—also an early instance. Sir Clements Markham's introduction is excellent, the comparative list of maps and bibliography by Mr. Basil Soulsby are most useful, and the maps contained in a pocket in the cover are very helpful, the facsimiles of the old Spanish ones being especially interesting.

I wish I could accord unqualified praise to these volumes; but I think it only right to point out some of their defects. In the first place, the different narratives here translated are not as fully connected as they ought to be, by means of cross-references in footnotes; and in the case of Torquemada's account of the voyage of Quiros we have in the footnotes passages quoted from the other narratives here given, but with no references to pages, and the translations being entirely different. This lack of cross-reference to parallel passages has led to some very strange blunders, as I shall show below. Another fault is that there is no attempt to identify or explain the various native words recorded by the diarists. For instance, we have a word denoting some title of honour for a chief spelt *jauriqui* (pp. 41, 92, 143), *jalique* (p. 225), *telique* (p. 358), and *taliquen* (p. 434),

all being apparently variants of one and the same Polynesian word, but all entered separately in the index, as well as *tauriqui*, which form, a footnote on p. 92 tells us, occurs in Mendaña's first voyage. On pp. 251, 485, and 503, we are told of the hoisting by Quiros over his new-found island of the Spanish flag bearing the royal arms, with the two columns (of Hercules) and the (motto) "Plus ultra"; but all three passages are so printed, with no explanation, not even the words I have put in parentheses, that one wonders if the translator understood what was meant; at any rate, in the index is the marvellous entry "*Plus ultra*, continent"! In the description of the breadfruit on p. 28, 'pineapple' should be 'pine cone,' and 'white food' should be 'blancmange' (see *New Eng. Dict.*, s.v.). On p. 29 we read:—"They found many *caves* full of a kind of sour *dough*, which the Chief Pilot tasted. There is another *fruit*," etc. The parallel passage on p. 269 says, "in the pots and in *cavities* were found certain sour *fruits*," which shows that *masa* cannot here mean 'dough.' It must mean 'mass' or 'mace,' or it may be the Portuguese *maçã*, 'apple.' Again, on p. 50 we read: "There are large and red *amaranths*, *greens*, and a sort of calabash," etc. The parallel passage on p. 269 says: "As regards vegetables, I only knew of *amaranth*, *purslane*, and calabashes"; and a further one on p. 481 reads: "The vegetables that were seen were calabashes, great *bledas*, much *purslane*." In all three passages *verdolago* should have been rendered 'purslane.' But what are we to say of *amaranth* as a vegetable! In the third passage, it will be seen, '*bledas*' takes the place of 'amaranths.' This should be *bledos*, a word which occurs, untranslated, on p. 86, and the English equivalent of which is 'blites' (see *N.E.D.*, s.v.). On p. 431 we read of the soldiers "arriving at the ships tired, worn-out, with their feet bruised by the *jiggers* on the beach between the water and the rocks." One wonders how *jiggers* came to be in such a place, and how they could 'bruise' men's feet; but the mystery is explained by a passage on p. 215, where we are told of these same men that "the *sea urchins* on the beach hurt their feet." In both cases

the original has *erisos*. On p. 307 'jiggers' occurs again, as the translation of *rodadores* (lit. 'rotators,' which the jiggers are not, I believe); and finally on p. 485, and this time correctly, as the equivalent of *niguas*. The passage on this last page is by itself a proof that the *erisos* of p. 431 could not be jiggers, for in it Quiros, expatiating on the advantages of his 'Austrialia,' says: "I have not seen . . . the ants that are very harmful in houses and to fruits, nor jiggers, nor ticks, nor mosquitos." (In the translation the words 'and to fruits' and 'nor ticks' are omitted — by an oversight, apparently.) On p. 267 we read: "The cocoa-nuts, when green, serve as *cardos* and for cream"; and to the word *cardos* is the footnote "Thistles; teazel." This explanation is erroneous, as shown by the parallel passage on p. 480, which says of the coconuts: "When they are green they serve instead of *artichokes*, and the pulp is like cream." (I here enter a protest against the ridiculous spelling 'cocoa-nut,' which occurs almost throughout the work.) On p. 51 we find the statement: "There are aloe trees, much *demajagua*, from which they make their cords and nets," etc. A footnote to *demajagua* says that it is "not a Spanish word." Though so printed in Zaragoza, it should be '*de majagua*,' the first word being the Spanish preposition, and the second being evidently identical with *maçágua*, which Minsheu, in his *Vocabularium Hispanico-Latinum et Anglicum* (1617), vaguely explains as "*Fructus quidam in India*." Another instance of the translator's having been misled by the original occurs on p. 505, where Quiros is made to tell the King of Spain that "The Indies form a *grain* of land more than 8,000 leagues in circuit," etc. It is true that Zaragoza has "*un grano de tierra*," and the translation is accurate, but the statement is an absurdity. I suspect a copyist's error, and that Quiros really wrote "*una gran tierra*" ("a great territory"). In one case the translator seems to have gone out of his way to blunder, viz., on p. 51, where we read: "They make great use of a *root* which

is also used in the East Indies, called betel, and in the Philippines *buhio*. It is a cordate-shaped *leaf*," etc. The word rendered 'root' is *comida*, 'food.' Another example of erroneous literal translation, like the 'white food' mentioned above, is that of 'black swords' (p. 223), which a footnote suggests were "probably wooden swords for teaching the drill." As a matter of fact, *espada negra* is a foil, *espada blanca* being a real sword. It is funny to read (as on pp. 54, 57, 247) of common soldiers being addressed by their superiors as "your worship," "your mercies": of course, *vuesa merced* must, in such cases, be rendered simply by 'you.' Here and there we find words left in the original Spanish, for no apparent reason, such as *con cajas* ('with beat of drum'), p. 350; *camarones* ('prawns'), p. 187; *albaricoques* ('apricots'), p. 269; and several of the names of fishes on p. 481, and the place-names on pp. 471-474. On the other hand, some words are translated where the original would have been better left: such as 'indigo' on p. 51 for *jiguilete* and *añil*, and 'crocodile' on p. 145 for *caiman*. I have noticed a few misprints, such as *Hiliuscus* for *Hibiscus*, and *Nephilium* for *Nephelium* (p. 274), 'currants' for 'currents' (p. 223). The statement on p. 469 that "All the maps," of which facsimiles are given, "are signed by Diego de Prado y Tobar, who thus claims to be their author," is incorrect, only one bearing his signature, and also (as should have been mentioned) the date 13th December, 1606. These maps were sent to Spain in 1613, according to the Introduction, but in 1614 according to p. 469. Diego de Tobar himself, in his letters printed on pp. 511-513, states that he sent them by the late viceroy of India, Ruy Lourenço de Tavora, who, we learn from Portuguese authorities, left India in the *N.S. do Cabo* in January, 1613, but did not reach Portugal until September, 1614. I may point out that the story about the elephant and the crocodile on p. 145 is very similar to that told by Pedro Teixeira (see p. 225 of the Hakluyt Soc. translation). Yet one writer places the occurrence in 1596, the other in 1600!

Neither, however, professes to have been an eye-witness of the event.

DONALD FERGUSON.

MANUEL D'ASSYRIOLOGIE, Fouilles, Écriture, Langues, Littérature, Géographie, Histoire, Religion, Institutions, Art, par CHARLES FOSSEY. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1904.)

This work, which contains 470 pages, three plans, and a map by J. Lesquier, promises to be one of the most thorough which has ever been presented to the public. The volume now issued is devoted to "Explorations et Fouilles, Déchiffrement des Cunéiformes, Origine et Histoire de l'Écriture." Beginning (after a short chapter upon the general aspect of the ruins) with Benjamin of Tudela, the author recounts the successes of each explorer in turn, ending with Lehmann and Belck, De Morgan, Peters, Hilprecht, and Haynes. Other names will have to be added to these when accounts of their labours are published, but it may be noted that Botta, Place, Layard, Oppert, Rassam, G. Smith, Loftus, and all the brilliant army of explorers have their place, and their labours are all enumerated with wonderful conciseness.

After the excavators, the names of the decipherers claim attention. The author naturally cites Pietro della Valle, and reproduces the five characters which he copied, placing, however, Herbert, "who was, perhaps, the first (1634) to put forward an opinion concerning the cuneiform characters," before him. Pietro della Valle's letter referring to the Persian cuneiform script was written in 1621, but not published until 1658.

Grotefend, the father of Assyriology (as the study is not altogether correctly called), occupies the first place, and after him are cited, among others to whom allusion cannot be made here, Saint-Martin, Rask, Lassen, Hincks, Rawlinson, Oppert, and Wall. It is gratifying to notice the fair way in which Rawlinson's claim to have worked out the decipherment of the Persian cuneiform independently is treated.

But the study of the old Persian, which paved the way for the decipherment of the other two scripts, is but the preliminary to the chapters upon the work done in other branches of the domain of Assyriology, in which, among the brilliant band of pioneers and students such as Grotefend, Rawlinson, Hincks, Norris, Oppert, Sayce, Weissbach, and others, the name of Westergaard (1844) looms largest. He, however, was greatly indebted to Sir Henry Rawlinson's squeezes, published and studied by Norris.

In the decipherment of the third language, Semitic Babylonian, it is interesting to note that here, too, Grotefend came first; and though he sometimes went off on the wrong track, he nevertheless was able, at times, to gain the right road. He recognized (1819) the nature of the Babylonian tablets since called 'contracts,' and distinguished the names of the witnesses. Merit is due to him on account of his comparison of the different styles of Babylonian writing then known to scholars (though they differ from each other considerably), and to this study Botta and Longpérier also contributed. It was the Irishman Hincks, however, who made the most progress therein, and notwithstanding many unavoidable errors, his work is such as to command the highest admiration. Rawlinson, Oppert, Fox Talbot, Menant, Schrader, and others finish this chapter. It seems to me, however, that M. Fossey somewhat minimizes the value of the Greek transcriptions of Babylonian tablets published in 1902 by Professor Sayce and the writer of the present notice. Surely it is something to know for certain that besides *t* and *p* the Assyro-Babylonians had also the sounds of *th* and *ph* (or *f*). But for the defective nature of the Greek alphabet, these transcriptions would also have furnished information upon the pronunciation of the sibilants, which is badly needed.

Such are the contents of the first two books. The third deals with the origin and history of the cuneiform character, the ideographic nature of which, at first denied, was established by Oppert. Here we come forth from the domain of the first tentative efforts to find the values of the characters

and the meanings of the words into the researches of to-day, and we realize that, whilst satisfactory progress has been made in deciding the modern equivalents of words in Semitic Babylonian, and also, to a certain extent, in Sumero-Akkadian, we are far from possessing the material necessary to write a complete history of the script. M. Fossey rejects the attempt made by Professor Delitzsch in 1897-8 to analyse the cuneiform writing. For him, of the 500 characters of which the cuneiform script consists, not forty are simple characters, the remaining 460 being made up from these by composition and by the use of 'motives' and numbers. There is no doubt that Delitzsch is to a great extent right in his explanations—indeed, his are in a measure the principles which have guided Assyriologists in explaining the origin of their sign-list; but there is no doubt that, in many cases, other explanations than those which he has proposed will have to be sought. A very interesting examination of the question is given by the author of the book now being noticed.

The remaining chapters, three in number, are devoted to a consideration of the Sumerian origin of the Babylonian writing, in which the theory of Halévy that the Sumero-Akkadian language was nothing but an 'allography' is fully discussed, with the only result possible, namely, its rejection. M. Fossey contributes some interesting arguments in favour of the view generally held that the non-Semitic texts undoubtedly show a real language, not the least important being those Greek transcriptions of Babylonian inscriptions already referred to. The final chapter of this volume treats of the Babylonian origin of the Susian and the Persian styles of writing. With regard to the former this has never been in question, but the connection of Old Persian cuneiform with that of Babylonia is doubtful.

In conclusion, it may be said that this is one of the most intelligent compilations concerning cuneiform research that has ever been penned, and the whole series of volumes will doubtless become a general book of reference. There is a most excellent bibliography of 54 pages and a good index.

T. G. PINCHES.

THE BABYLONIAN EXPEDITION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, edited by H. V. HILPRECHT. Vol. X: Business - documents of Murašû Sons of Nippur (Darius II). By the Rev. A. T. CLAY, Ph.D. (Philadelphia, 1904.)

This new instalment of the discoveries of the American Expedition at Nippur (as Nippur was most likely pronounced) consists of no less than 132 tablets, for the most part rather closely written, and therefore of some length. Twelve selected texts are translated, and it is clear from these that the whole is an exceedingly important and varied collection, the leasing of the fish-ponds by Bêl-nadin-šum to Ribat, the hire of small cattle by Bêl-supê-muḥur to Aḥu-šunu, and the release for trespass granted by Baga'-dâta' to Bêl-nadin-šum being especially interesting.

It is not possible to go through this important collection in anything like detail, but there are many things which are worthy of notice—linguistic, geographical, sociological, and legal. Of special interest are the personal names, some of which are accompanied by Aramaic transcriptions, in the dockets with which several of the tablets are inscribed. As these have considerable importance and attract attention, both the editor of the texts and of the series of volumes in which they are included discuss briefly their nature and bearing.

In the population inhabiting the district from which these tablets came, Professor Hilprecht recognizes Babylonians, Cassites, Persians, Medians, and even Indians.¹ The mountainous tribes of Asia Minor—among them Tibarenians and Hittites—are also referred to, together with Ammonites, Moabites, Jews, Edomites, Egyptians, and other nationalities.

The Aramaic dockets which are found on several of the tablets sometimes furnish, like numerous others from Babylonia and Assyria, valuable information concerning the

¹ In the preceding (ninth) volume. This word is there given as *ûl-Hindûa*, 'settlement of Indians' (Hilprecht).

readings of Babylonian and other names, and are in many cases useful in checking the readings and transcriptions of those and other words in general. One of the most interesting examples of the value of these dockets is that which transcribes the group $\rightarrow\text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠}$, D.P. KUR-GAL. Unfortunately the absence of vocalization in the Aramaic form 𐤏𐤏 makes it impossible to say at present whether the 𐤏 is a vowel or a consonant—whether the name in question is to be read *Ūru* or *Aicurru* (= *Amurru*), though Professor Clay gives a quotation which seems to make the latter more probable.

The Aramaic transcription which has attracted most attention is that representing the important group $\rightarrow\text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠}$, which enters into the composition of so many noteworthy names, including those of several Assyrian kings. The Aramaic transcription of this is apparently 𐤏𐤏𐤠 , a riddle only slightly less dark than that of the Assyro-Babylonian form itself. Professor Sayce (*Expository Times* for December, 1904, p. 141) regards it as being equivalent to the Assyrian *In-arišti*, the Sumerian *Nin-Uraē*, 'the lord of the mitre.' Professor Johns, who had already suggested *Uraštu* in his review of the work under consideration, now suggests (*ibid.*, p. 144) *Araštu* or *Arašit*, reading 𐤏𐤏𐤠 instead of 𐤏𐤏𐤠 . Professor Clay proposes provisionally 𐤏𐤏𐤠 . Something is naturally to be said in favour of all these transcriptions. The reading of *En-rešet*,¹ etc., for *Ninip* or *Adar* (the old transcriptions) is undoubtedly a gain—the uncertainty as to its true form is due to the defects of two systems of writing having united in the same word.

Another group upon which light is thrown is $\rightarrow\text{𐤠} \text{𐤠}$ (the plural of $\rightarrow\text{𐤠}$, *ilu*, 'god'), which is proved to have been at the time of these tablets *ili*, and not *ilāni*. Valuable

¹ This (if the word be correctly read by Professor Hilprecht) suggests a Babylonian form *Enu réštū*, 'the primæval lord.'

comments upon this point are made by Professor Hilprecht, who also expresses the opinion that *llu* was never pronounced before and together with the name of a deity. This opinion is expressed in connection with the use of *al* for *il*, followed by the name of a god, quoted by Professor Johns in his *Assyrian Doomsday Book*, p. 15. Concerning this I publish, on pp. 143-150, copies and transcriptions of tablets in the British Museum which may serve to elucidate the question.

To both Professor Hilprecht and the Rev. A. T. Clay the thanks of all scholars are due for the splendid publication briefly noticed here. It is a valuable addition to Babylonian sociological and legal literature, and does great credit to the University which thus encourages the study generally called Assyriology.

T. G. PINCHES.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(October, November, December, 1904.)

GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

November 8th, 1904.—Sir Charles Lyall, Vice-President,
in the Chair.

Mr. Edmund Marsden,
Mr. E. M. Cooke,
Mr. E. Crawshay-Williams,
Mr. R. P. Dewhurst,
Captain Luard,
Mr. L. D. Barnett,
Mr. John Grey Downing,
Mr. Purshottam N. Manjee,
Babu Harendra Krishna Mukherji,
Mr. E. L. Bevir,
Mr. Justin C. W. Alvarez,
Mr. Amir-uddin Ashraf,
Maulvi Abu Musa Ahmad al Haq,
Syed Amir Ali,
Mr. N. C. Sen,
Mr. M. R. Apat Krishna Paduval,
Mr. Irach Sorabji,
Herr Said Ruete,
Signore Alessandro Costa,
Mr. Maung Ba Thein,
Mr. Mounng Ba Hla Oung, and
Mr. Hira Lal

were elected members of the Society.

Professor Rhys Davids read a paper on "India and the West" (what ideas has the West borrowed from India). A discussion followed, in which Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Frazer took part.

December 13th, 1904.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

Mr. Maung Tun Lwin and

M. Théodore Ferrieu

were elected members of the Society.

The President, in opening the proceedings, said: I have to refer to the great loss the Society has sustained by the death of Lord Northbrook. It was fortunate that so distinguished a statesman should be willing, after retirement from the high and important posts he had so admirably filled in the administration of the Empire, to give the benefit of his wide experience to the work of this Society. He continued, as I know very well from personal communications with him, to take a very keen and earnest interest in Indian affairs and in the peoples of India. And without claiming to be a scholar himself, he recognized the fact that scholarship establishes links of sympathy and of mutual appreciation between Europeans and the natives of India. During Lord Northbrook's Presidency he displayed in the comparatively humble sphere of our work the assiduity in business, the tact, and the sagacity which had been so conspicuous in a larger sphere. He greatly encouraged the scheme for a revival of the Oriental Translation Fund. This was brought about during his term of office. It has gone on ever since, and one volume a year has been regularly published. It was also during his Presidency that the Society made an attempt to interest a larger circle in its work by starting a series of evening popular lectures, followed by an informal conversazione. Professor Max Müller and Sir M. E. Grant-Duff delivered two lectures under this scheme; and though the expenses were so great that the scheme had to be abandoned, it was a step in the right direction. It was also under Lord

Northbrook that a Catalogue of our printed books was at last drawn up and published. It is strange that a Society such as ours should have delayed so necessary an adjunct to our Library and our work. It was in Lord Northbrook's time that the financial difficulties were surmounted, and the need was supplied. The membership of the Society had risen, its income had increased, and this publication became at last possible.

During Lord Northbrook's Presidency there was much anxious thought as to whether, on the expiry of the lease of our rooms during his term, we should vacate them. It was finally resolved to stay where we are. Lord Northbrook, in this matter, endeavoured to assist us by trying to obtain some such support from the Government as it gives to other learned societies. But his efforts failed. There was no room at Burlington House where some learned societies are housed rent free; and the Government would not give a grant, in lieu of rent, as they give to one or two others.

In these and other matters, among which I may mention the Oriental Congress held in London in 1892, Lord Northbrook was of the greatest possible service to the Society and to the cause we have at heart. In him we have lost a real friend and a powerful support. The loss of England and of India is also our own loss. I beg to move that the respectful condolences of the Society be conveyed to his family at the great bereavement they have sustained.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The President then said: I regret also to have to announce another serious loss to the Society. We have lost Professor Edmund Hardy, the great Pali scholar. Born at Mainz in 1852, and for many years Professor at the Catholic University of Freiburg in Baden, he had afterwards been Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Religion at Freiburg in Switzerland. This post he resigned in 1898, and devoted himself entirely to Pali studies. When he died he was certainly among the foremost, if not the foremost, Pali scholars in Europe, and his sudden and premature death is a great blow to all those branches of historical enquiry to

which a knowledge of Pali is so great an aid. Especially will his co-operation be missed in the work of the new Pali Dictionary, which we hope soon to see completed. The details of the work of the deceased scholar will be found in the obituary contained in our next issue. His name will be always honoured amongst us. I beg to move that an expression of our sympathy at the great loss they have sustained should be conveyed to his family.

The proposition was accepted unanimously.

The Dastur Sahib Rustamji Peshotan Sanjana read a paper entitled "Is Zoroastrianism Dualistic?" A discussion followed, in which Professor Browne, Professor Rhys Davids, Dr. Bhabha, and Mr. Hagopian took part.

OBITUARY NOTICES.

PROFESSOR EDMUND HARDY.

PROFESSOR EDMUND HARDY, D.D., Ph.D., was born on the 9th of July, 1852, at Mainz, where his family had long been settled, and was highly esteemed. His father was a chemist. Young Hardy, after passing through the Gymnasium at Mainz, entered the College for Catholic priests there; and on the 19th January, 1875, was consecrated priest. For eight years he was chaplain at the parish church at Heppenheim, and then studied at the Universities of Heidelberg and Berlin. In 1885 he was made Professor of Philosophy at the University of Freiburg in Baden. He resigned that post in 1893, and entered the Benedictine Monastery at Beuron. Shortly afterwards he was offered a combined Professorship of Indian Languages and Literature and of the Comparative History of Religions at the University of Freiburg in Switzerland. This he accepted; but in 1898 considerations of health compelled him to resign that post also, and he lived from that time in retirement, first at Würzburg and afterwards at Bonn-Pappelsdorf, devoted to study. It was at the latter place that his sudden and premature death took place on the 10th October last, in the fifty-second year of his age. He died, as he had lived, a sincere and devoted Catholic.

Professor Hardy had throughout his career taken great interest in the comparative study of religious beliefs, and contributed a series of papers on the general question of those studies to the fourth volume (1901) of the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*. But his more particular interest lay with the history of beliefs in India—a history which runs

a course, in many respects, parallel with the history of similar beliefs in the West; which we can judge with impartial eyes; and which, being independent, is in so many ways both interesting and suggestive. To facilitate the study of this history he published two short manuals, admirable both in scholarship and in judgment, the "Buddhismus" in 1890 and the "Vedisch-brahmanische Religion" in 1893. His valuable monograph on Asoka appeared in 1902.

He had long been a member of the Pali Text Society; and felt more and more drawn to the study of that branch of religious history in India, and from 1893 onwards he practically devoted himself entirely to Pali studies. In 1894 he published the Pali text of the commentary on the Peta Vatthu, and undertook the completion of the Pali Text Society's edition of the Anguttara, which had been left unfinished at the lamented death of Dr. Morris. This edition he completed in 1900; and then edited the commentary on the Vimāna Vatthu in 1901, and the Netti Pakaraṇa in 1902. He was engaged at his death on a new edition of the Mahāvamsa and on an edition of the Anguttara commentary, both for the same Society. During these years he probably worked harder at Pali than anyone else, and rapidly raised himself to a foremost position among living scholars.

When the Pali Text Society contemplated a new Pali Dictionary to take the place of Childers's Dictionary, now antiquated and out of print, he welcomed the scheme with eagerness, undertook the work of sub-editor, and threw himself into the work with characteristic ardour. He had already noted up, as he read, many rare forms, and new words and meanings, in his copy of Childers. He now set to work to search the literature in a systematic way for lexicographical material. As the carrying out of the scheme was kept back through the delay of an institution to which the Society had applied for the necessary funds, his materials accumulated from day to day; when, in the midst of this important work, he was suddenly taken from us.

The loss to Pali scholarship, and to all the historical, philosophical, and philological studies that Pali scholarship

implies, is simply irreparable. Professor Dr. Edmund Hardy had devoted himself to this work with a devotion and a singleness of aim that are beyond praise. His accuracy and care in small matters of detail was only equalled by his grasp of the larger questions involved. His long experience as a teacher of philosophy facilitated both his comprehension of Buddhist arguments and his power of interpreting them to others. And there were combined in him many of the best points of that sound German training to which historical and philological studies owe so much.

I cannot close these few words on the work of Professor Hardy without alluding to his personal charm. He was as modest and simple as he was intellectually alert and earnest. He seemed quite incapable of any littleness or jealousy. In our frequent intercourse and correspondence in the work of the Pali Text Society, I found him always helpful, always willing to put first, not any interests of his own, but the public advantage, the progress of knowledge. He was a man who always raised in me a feeling of affectionate reverence.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

DR. EMIL SCHLAGINTWEIT.

THE death of Dr. Emil Schlagintweit removes one of the few Europeans interested in the study of the Tibetan language. The travels and explorations of his three brothers, Hermann, Adolph, and Robert von Schlagintweit, during the years 1854–8, are recorded in their well-known work, published by the first of them in the years 1869–80, *Reisen in Indien und Hochasien* (four vols.; Jena). The rich collections which resulted from these journeys included a large number of manuscripts, block-prints, and objects illustrating the culture and Buddhism of Tibet. Emil Schlagintweit, who was born in 1835, did not accompany his brothers to the East. But having conceived an interest in Oriental learning, though originally devoted to the study of law at Berlin, he undertook the task of arranging the

collections and utilizing them for philological purposes. Most of the manuscripts passed into the Bodleian Library at Oxford, where a catalogue is at present in preparation. But some few remained apparently in the possession of the family.

In 1863 appeared Dr. Emil Schlagintweit's most important work, entitled "Buddhism in Tibet, illustrated by literary documents and objects of religious worship, with an account of the Buddhist systems preceding it in India. With a folio atlas of twenty-one plates and twenty tables of native print in the text" (Leipzig and London, 1863). It was written in English and dedicated to King William I of Württemberg. The value of the work resided largely in the fact that it was the first account of Tibetan Buddhism to be accompanied by descriptions and representations of the actual objects and implements used in worship. In this respect its utility, especially that of the atlas, is still, after the appearance of Major Waddell's treatise, not quite exhausted.

A second work, of a somewhat more popular character, appeared in 1880-1 under the title *Indien in Wort und Bild. Eine Schilderung des indischen Kaiserreiches* (Leipzig), two large illustrated folio volumes, containing a description of modern India, based in part upon information contained in official compilations, and in tone favourable to the British Administration.

The remainder of Dr. Schlagintweit's literary activity is represented by a number of papers published chiefly in the Transactions of the Munich Academy, of which he was a corresponding member. In 1866 appeared under the title *Die Könige von Tibet von der Entstehung königlicher Macht in Yárlung bis zum Erlöschen in Ladák (mitte des 1 Jahrh. vor Chr. Geb. bis 1834 nach Chr. Geb.)*, the text and translation of a work mentioned by Csoma Körösi and Schiefner; its Tibetan name, *Rgyal . rabs*, corresponds in Sanskrit to *Rājaramśa*, "Line of Kings." To the same year belongs an address delivered before the Academy on the subject of Indian Ordeals (*Die Gottesurtheile der*

Indier). We have, further, a sixteenth century work on the Chronology of Buddhism, entitled *Die Berechnung der Lehre. Eine Streitschrift zur Berichtigung der Buddhistischen Chronologie verfasst im Jahre 1591 von Sureçamatibhadra. Aus dem Tibetischen übersetzt mit einer Textbeilage* (Munich, 1896), and a life of the religious reformer Padma-sambhava, *Die Lebensbeschreibung von Padma Sambhava dem Begründer des Lamaismus. I Teil: Die Vorgeschichte, enthaltend die Herkunft und Familie des Buddha Çâkyamuni. Aus dem Tibetischen übersetzt mit einer Textbeilage. II Teil: Wirken und Erlebnisse in Indien* (Munich, 1899 and 1903).

Three of these were based upon manuscripts belonging to the collections of his brothers. He further published catalogues of the small collections of Tibetan manuscripts and blockprints in the State Libraries at Munich and Stuttgart (*Die Tibetischen Handschriften der königl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München*, Munich, 1876, and *Verzeichniss der tibetischen Handschriften der königlichen Württembergischen Landesbibliothek zu Stuttgart*, Munich, 1904), and, under the title of "East Indian Caste in Modern Times" (*Ostindische Kaste in der Gegenwart*, Z.D.M.G. xxxiii (1879), pp. 549-607), a summary of the teachings of the first Indian censuses on that subject. We may mention also an article on the range of the Indian vernaculars (*Die geographische Verbreitung der Volkssprachen Ostindiens*, Munich, 1875), and an article communicated to *Petermann's Mitteilungen* for May, 1904. At the time of his death, which took place on October 20th last, he had just published (*Bericht über eine Adresse an den Dalai Lama in Lhasa* (1902) *zur Erlangung von Bücherverzeichnissen aus den dortigen buddhistischen Klöstern*) an account of an attempt to obtain, through the German and American embassies in Peking, catalogues of the literary contents of the Tibetan monasteries. A letter was composed and despatched to the Dalai Lama, but in a communication of January, 1904, Mr. Rockhill expressed an apprehension that the British Expedition would delay for some years, if not indefinitely prevent, a reply.

Dr. Schlagintweit was a doctor in Law and Philosophy, a Member of the Bavarian Academy, Foreign Member of the Academy of Lisbon, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, Corresponding Member of the Société d'Anthropologie and the Société d'Ethnographie in Paris, etc., etc. But for his occupation in the Bavarian Civil Service, in which he received the title of Regierungsrath, his literary activity might no doubt have been more extensive. In Tibetan he was well versed, and in Sanskrit moderately. Towards his fellow-scholars he was well disposed, and his work will retain a claim to their recognition.

F. W. THOMAS.

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VII.

ST. THOMAS AND GONDOPHERNES.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

STUDENTS of early history are greatly indebted to Mr. Philipps for the clear and compendious form in which, in his article entitled "The Connection of St. Thomas the Apostle with India," published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 32, 1903, pp. 1 ff., 145 ff., he has brought together from so many works, some of them not easily accessible, even if they were known, to general readers, so much matter of importance about the Christian tradition which connects St. Thomas the Apostle with India.

Mr. Philipps has dealt with the western sources of information. It seems useful to here sum up his results, and to supplement his work by an examination of an item obtained from eastern sources in the way of corroboration of the western tradition.

First, however, it must be stated that, whereas the Christian tradition represents St. Thomas the Apostle as the missionary to India and Parthia, by the term "India"

we are not necessarily to understand simply the country which we now call India. As used by ancient writers, the term denoted the whole of the south-eastern part of Asia, on the south of the Himālaya Mountains, and on the east of a line running from about the centre of the Hindū Kush down along or close on the west of the Sulaiman Range to strike the coast of the Arabian Sea on the west of the mouths of the Indus. It thus included our India, with Burmah, Siam, Cochin China, the Malay Peninsula, and the islands of the Indian Archipelago, and with also that portion of Afghanistān which lies between Kābul and Peshāwar. And the "India" which is first mentioned in the fuller tradition (given in abstract below), may easily have been a territory of which the principal components lay in Afghanistān and Baluchistān, and which embraced in our India only the Pañjāb strictly so-called and the western parts of Sindh.

Mr. Philipps has given us an exposition of the western traditional statements up to the sixth century A.D. And one decidedly important feature of his results is that they make it quite clear, even to those who have not specially studied the matter, that we are not in any way dependent upon apocryphal writings; or upon so late a work as the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus a Voragine, of the thirteenth century A.D., which, moreover,— we now know,— does not assert that St. Thomas was put to death by a king named Gundoferus, though it has been quoted to that effect; or upon the Anglo-Saxon Life of St. Thomas written by Elfric or Aelfric in the tenth century A.D.; or upon any information obtained in the last quarter of the ninth century, when, it is said, Alfred the Great sent Suithelme and Aethelstan to India with alms which he had vowed to St. Thomas and to St. Bartholomew; or even upon a Latin work, compiled in probably the sixth century, which purports to be a translation from the Hebrew of one Abdias.

The tradition goes back to much more ancient times than those indicated just above, and is based on far better authority. And, citing only some of the most ancient

statements, we find that, in its earliest traceable form, it runs thus:—

According to the Syriac work entitled *The Doctrine of the Apostles*, which was written in perhaps the second century A.D., St. Thomas evangelised “India.” St. Ephraem the Syrian (born about A.D. 300, died about 378), who spent most of his life at Edessa, in Mesopotamia, states that the Apostle was martyred in “India,” and that his relics were taken thence to Edessa. That St. Thomas evangelised the Parthians, is stated by Origen (born A.D. 185 or 186, died about 251–254). Eusebius (bishop of Caesarea Palaestinae from A.D. 315 to about 340) says the same. And the same statement is made by the *Clementine Recognitions*, the original of which may have been written about A.D. 210.

A fuller tradition is found in *The Acts of St. Thomas*, which exist in Syriac, Greek, Latin, Armenian, Ethiopic, and Arabic, and in a fragmentary form in Coptic. And this work connects with St. Thomas two eastern kings, whose names appear in the Syriac version as Gūdnaphar, Gundaphar, and Mazdai; in the Greek version as Goundaphoros, Goundiaphoros, Gountaphoros, and Misdaios, Misdeos; in the Latin version as Gundaforus, Gundoforus, and Misdeus, Mesdeus, Migdeus; and in the remaining versions in various forms, of the same kind, which need not be particularised here.

The Syriac version of *The Acts* may be regarded as the original one, and as more likely than the others to present fragments of genuine history. According to Dr. Wright, it dates back to not later than the fourth century; while Mr. Burkitt would place the composition of it before the middle of the third century, and Lipsius would seem to have placed it in or about A.D. 232. And the substance of it is as follows:—

On the occasion when the twelve Apostles divided the countries of the world among themselves by lot, “India” fell to St. Thomas. He did not wish to go there. But a merchant named Habbān had been sent into “the southern

country" by Gūdnaphar, "king of India," to procure for him a skilful carpenter. Our Lord appeared to Habbān, and sold St. Thomas to him for twenty pieces of silver. St. Thomas and Habbān started next day. Travelling by ship, they came to a place named Sandarūk. There they landed, and attended the marriage-feast of the king's daughter. Thence they proceeded into "India," and presented themselves before king Gūdnaphar. And there St. Thomas preached in the cities and villages, and converted the king himself and his brother and many other people. After that, while St. Thomas was preaching "throughout all India," he went to the city of king Mazdai. There, as the result of his converting Mazdai's wife Tertia and a noble lady named Mygdonia, he was condemned to death. He was slain with spears by four soldiers on a mountain outside the city. And he was buried in the sepulchre in which the ancient kings were buried. But subsequently, while king Mazdai was still living, the bones of the Apostle were secretly removed by one of the brethren, and were taken away to "the West."

The Greek, Latin, and other versions give sundry additional details, besides presenting variants of the names of the persons and places; and notably, instead of Sandarūk, we have Andrapolis in the Greek and Andranopolis in the Latin version, and one recension of the Latin version names the city of king Gundaforus as Elioforum, Hienoforum, or Hyroforum, and speaks of a mountain called Gazus. Also, while the Syriac version styles its king Gūdnaphar "king of India," the Latin version describes him both as "king of India" and as "king of the Indians," and the Greek version mentions him only as "king of the Indians."

Certain statements, which, however, cannot be carried back to before the seventh century, if indeed to even so early a period as that, assert that the place at which St. Thomas was martyred was named Kalamēnē, Karamēnē, Kalamina or Kalamita.

And the Christians of the Malabar Coast place the scene of the martyrdom at Mylapore near Madras, and, in addition to following the accepted date of the 21st December, are

represented as placing the event in the year A.D. 68 by some means the nature of which cannot just now be ascertained.

With those matters, however, we are not here concerned, beyond noting the point that there is no evidence at all that the place where St. Thomas was martyred was anywhere in Southern India. Any statement to that effect cannot be traced back beyond the middle ages. And all the real indications point in quite another direction.

The important point for us is that a Christian tradition, current in Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Asia Minor, and all those parts as far as Italy, and connecting St. Thomas with Parthia and "India," and with two "Indian" kings whom it specifically names, is traceable back to at any rate the third or fourth century of the Christian era, and perhaps to the second quarter of the third century.

Now, in the Christian tradition there are details which tend to prevent us from placing implicit reliance upon it. And, as regards its external bearings, it would hardly suffice, standing alone, to allow us to introduce into the early history, as a proved fact, the existence, at some time between about A.D. 33 and 68, of two kings of our India or of parts thereof, whose names should be found in the Gūdnaphar, Gundaphar, Goundaphoros, or Gundaforus, and the Mazdai, Misdaïos, or Mesdeus, of the tradition. In short, from any point of view it was a desideratum to obtain corroboration of the tradition, of some kind or another, from extraneous sources.

The required corroboration was first found in coins which, from 1834 onwards, have been obtained from Beghrām in the vicinity of Kābul, from Pathānkōt in the Gurdāspur district of the Pañjāb on the north-east of Amritsar, from Kandahar, and from various places in Sindh and Sēistān.

Of these coins, one, of Parthian type, which has a Greek legend only, presents the name Undopherēs;¹ using plainly a nominative case, though the remainder of the legend is in the genitive construction.

¹ Gardner's Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of India, p. 174.

The other coins, which are of Indian types, bear legends in Greek on the obverse, and in an Indian dialect written in Kharōshthī characters on the reverse. Here, the Greek legends present genitives of which the nominatives might be taken either as Undopherrēs or as Undopherros, with a double *rr*,¹ and, with a single *r*, as Gondopharēs or Gondopharos,² and as Gondapharēs or Gondapharos;³ from which forms we select those ending in *ēs*, on the analogy of the coin, mentioned just above, which presents the form Undopherēs with the single *r*. And the Kharōshthī legends present genitives of which the nominatives are either Gudaphara⁴ and Gudapharna,⁵ or quite possibly Gundaphara and Gundapharna.

On the basis of these coins, it has been the habit to take Gondopharēs as the standard Greek form of the name. But the second Kharōshthī variant, which gives the ending *rna*, recalls at once those Iranian names which appear in Greek in the forms of Intaphernēs, Artaphernēs, Phrataphernēs, Tissaphernēs, Holophernēs or Horophernēs, and Sitaphernēs, with sometimes a transposition of the *e* and the *r* of the third syllable, so as to present the forms Intaphrenēs, etc.; and, by the way, the last two of these names occur in the Indianised forms Harapharaṇa and Setapharaṇa in an early inscription, in characters of the Brāhmī class, at Kārlē (ASWI, 4, 113, No. 21). It thus seems to present the closest approach, as yet obtained, to the true form of the second component of the Iranian name, and to indicate very plainly that the most accurate Greek form, as pronounced and used for all practical purposes, was, in the nominative, Gondophernēs or Gondaphernēs; in which direction, I think, points also the use of the double

¹ For instance, *op. cit.*, p. 103, Nos. 1, 4; p. 104, No. 8; p. 105, Nos. 13, 21.

² For instance, *op. cit.*, p. 104, No. 10.

³ For instance, *op. cit.*, p. 105, No. 22.

⁴ For instance, *op. cit.*, p. 103, Nos. 1, 4; p. 104, Nos. 8, 10; p. 105, No. 22.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 105, Nos. 13, 21; and for another very clear specimen, in connection with which the second component, *pharna*, with *rn* (not simply *r*) in the last syllable, has been read rightly, see Cunningham's *Coins of the Sakas*, plate 10, No. 4, and p. 58.

rr in some of the Greek legends on the coins, namely those of the Undopherrēs class. And I therefore decide upon using the form Gondophernēs for all general purposes; citing any of the other forms only when literal quotation is necessary.

The similarity of the name on the coins with that in the tradition was recognised from as early a time as 1848.¹ With that, there was recognised the possibility of identifying the king who issued the coins, with the first king connected by the tradition with St. Thomas. And the numismatists have decided,² on evidently quite satisfactory grounds, that the palæography of the Greek legends on the coins of both the types, and the use of the title *αὐτοκράτωρ* on the coin of the Parthian type, justify our placing the coins between about A.D. 8 and 50.

The coins, however, are not dated; at any rate, no date seems to have been as yet recognised on them, though one of the coins of the Indian type³ presents on the reverse two Kharōshthī characters, of which one, on the right of the symbol, is distinctly the syllable *sa* or *saṃ*, which according to a frequent custom may stand for *saṃvatsara*, 'year,' and the other, on the left of the symbol, may well be a form of the sign for 'twenty.' But that would give, we now know, only a regnal date. And there was wanted an epigraphic record which should present a date in some era, capable of being recognised as a date of Gondopharnēs, and adaptable to the tradition.

The desideratum was at length supplied by the discovery, in or about 1857, of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription, which, like the Indian legends on the coins, is in an Indian dialect written in Kharōshthī characters. Of this record, we have three published treatments, with plates; by Professor Dowson (JRAS, 1875, 376 ff.), by General Sir Alexander Cunningham

¹ It was pointed out in that year, apparently for the first time, by M. Reinaud, in his *Mémoire Géographique, Historique, et Scientifique sur l'Inde*, p. 94 f.

² See, for instance, Gardner's Catalogue, Introd., p. 44 f., and Rapson's Indian Coins, p. 15, § 62.

³ Gardner's Catalogue, plate 22, No. 12.

(ASI, 5, 1875, 58 ff.), and by M. Senart (JA, 1890, i, 113 ff.). The meaning of part of it is not yet certain; we can only say that that portion records some religious act done by some person in honour of his father and mother.¹ But the important part of it is clear and unmistakable. It is dated in the twenty-sixth year of a king Guduphara, and, further, in the year 103 of an era not specified by name, and in the month Vaiśākha, which, in the early centuries of the Christian era, began sometimes in March and sometimes in April.

There has never been any hesitation about identifying the king Guduphara of the inscription with the Gudaphara, Gudapharna, Gundaphara, or Gundapharna of the Kharōshthī legends on those coins the Greek legends on which give the name of the same king as Undopherrēs, Gondopharēs, and Gondapharēs, for, I hold, Gondophernēs. And there are, indeed, no grounds for entertaining any doubts on that point.

But there have been differences of opinion regarding the application of the date in the year 103.

Somewhat recently, the opinion has been advanced by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar that the date is a date in the Śaka era of A.D. 78, and is equivalent to A.D. 181 (JBBRAS, 20, 382). Any such result as that, however, is altogether inadmissible. There are no real grounds for thinking that the Śakas ever figured as invaders of any part of Northern India, above Kāthiāwād and the western and southern parts of the territory now known as Mālwa (see JRAS, 1904, 706 ff., and page 155 above). Indeed, we may now say definitely that they never did so; and, to what I have said there regarding the occurrence of the word Śaka in one of the early Jain inscriptions at Mathurā, I may add that it is now certain that the word used there means simply Buddhists, mentioned as Śakas by a form, which in the language or spelling of that period was the customary form, of the tribal name of their founder Śakamuni-Buddha. And, in accordance with the conclusions thus arrived at

¹ The meaning of this part of the record has perhaps been now elucidated by M. Boyer, in an examination of it (JA, 1904, i, 457 ff.) which came to my notice after the above remarks were written.

regarding the Śakas, we have the fact, which is an instructive one, that the Śaka era is, even in late times, almost entirely foreign to Northern India. Its use there is limited to quite a few sporadic instances, of which the earliest one that can possibly be adduced is more than six centuries later than even A.D. 181.¹ And no indications have been obtained that it ever penetrated to the territory from which we have the Takht-i-Bahi record.

On the other hand, Professor Dowson (*loc. cit.*, 382) and Sir A. Cunningham (*loc. cit.*, 60) referred the year 103 to that reckoning, commencing B.C. 58, which is now known as the Vikrama era, but is more appropriately to be styled, for at least its first eight or nine centuries, the reckoning of the Mālavas or the Mālava era; and so they placed the record in A.D. 46. M. Senart (*loc. cit.*, 127) has assumed for the reckoning used in the record a starting-point between B.C. 90 and 80, which would place the record itself between A.D. 13 and 23. M. Sylvain Lévi (JA, 1897, i, 36 ff., and see IA, 1904, 13 ff.), placing the record about the middle of the first century A.D., has assumed for the reckoning used in it a starting-point quite close to the commencement, which he would place about B.C. 50, of the reckoning used by Kanishka and his successors. And Mr. Vincent Smith (JRAS, 1903, 41), finding independent reasons for placing the accession of Gondophernēs somewhere about A.D. 25, has similarly assumed for the reckoning used in the inscription a starting-point about B.C. 50, but, to avoid the supposition of the existence of yet another amongst various unknown eras, has “provisionally” treated the reckoning as the Mālava or Vikrama era; and so he, also, has placed the record in A.D. 46.

The last three views, however, involve recourse to an expedient which, in any circumstances, is to be avoided whenever practicable; namely, the assumption of an era for the existence of which there is no actual evidence at all.

¹ See IA, 26, 148, and EI, 5, Appendix, 50, No. 351, referred doubtfully to A.D. 804–805, but more probably two centuries later. The next known Śaka date, the earliest certain one, in Northern India, is No. 352, of A.D. 862.

And it is especially difficult to understand why such an expedient should be adopted, when it only gives us a new era commencing quite close to an era which is already well established and is exactly suited to the conditions of any particular case.

In the present case, we have such an era, already well established, in the Mālava or Vikrama era, commencing B.C. 58, which is emphatically the historical era of Northern India (see IA, 20, 402 ff.). And a few special remarks may conveniently be made about this era here; for it is really extraordinary that scholars should fight shy of just that era which gives the true solution of the early chronology, and should seek to devise any expedient rather than have recourse to it: it is difficult to know to what to attribute their objection to it, except perhaps, in a great measure, to some still lingering influence of Mr. Fergusson's unlucky theory, exploded long ago, that the era was simply a late invention of the tenth or eleventh century A.D.

That this era has its initial point in B.C. 58, is distinctly proved by numerous dates, from Northern India, ranging from A.D. 842 onwards (EI, 5, Appendix, 4, No. 12 ff.), which are recorded in it by name, and have been tested and found correct by calculation. There are other dates, again from Northern India, ranging back to A.D. 372 (*ibid.* 2, No. 1), which are unmistakably recorded in it, though in consequence of not presenting sufficient details they cannot be actually tested, and though they do not all include a mention of it by name. It is not an astronomical era like the reckoning of the Kaliyuga, which was devised by the astronomers some three thousand three hundred years after a more or less fictitious astronomical initial point, to which it was referred back by calculation for purposes of computation; and it was not even adopted for astronomical purposes, as the historical Śaka era of Western and Southern India was adopted. There are not any grounds for believing otherwise than that it was in current use from its very first year. And, whatever may be urged to the contrary, it was certainly founded, though the fact cannot perhaps be actually

proved at present— (and our knowledge of the early history of India will never be correct, until numismatic and palæographic theories, and views about art, are re-examined and brought into line with the fact that it was so founded),— by Kanishka, whose northern capital, it may be remarked in passing, was Takshaśilā, Takkasilā, Taxila, close to the locality to which the Takht-i-Bahi record belongs.

The Mālava or Vikrama era was founded by Kanishka, in the sense that the opening years of it were the years of his reign. It was actually set going as an era by his successor, who, instead of breaking the reckoning, so started, by introducing another according to his own regnal years, continued that same reckoning. It was accepted and perpetuated as an era by the Mālava people, whose territory, with its capital then at 'Nāgar' or 'Karkota-Nāgar' near 'Tonk,' was in the immediate vicinity of Mathurā, the southern capital of Kanishka and his direct successors, and who were plainly subjects at that time of the kings of Mathurā. It thus derived from the Mālavas its earliest known formal appellation; namely, *Mālava-gaṇasthiti*, "the reckoning of the Mālavas," as explained by Professor Kielhorn (IA, 19, 57). And eventually, in or about the ninth century A.D., it came to be known as the Vikrama era, in circumstances which have been elsewhere indicated by the same scholar (IA, 20, 407 ff.).

And to these remarks there may be added the following, in view of a recent proposal¹ to revive the idea that the Seleucidan era was at one time used in north-western India, and to refer to that reckoning some of the dates which are in reality dates of the Mālava or Vikrama era.

There are now two leading varieties of the Mālava-Vikrama era. According to one, called conveniently Chaitrādi, the years commence with the first day of the month Chaitra, falling in early times in February or March. According to the other, conveniently called Kārttikādi, the years

¹ Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Panjab and United Provinces, for the year 1903-1904, p. 55.

commence with the first day of the month Kārttika, falling in early times in September or October. And Professor Kielhorn's researches have led to the conclusion that the Kārttikādi year was from the beginning intimately connected with the era (IA, 20, 399).

There cannot, in my opinion, be any doubt that, while the opening years of the era were regnal years, of Kanishka, very likely commencing at some point near to the first day of Kārttika, at an early period in the history of the era those regnal years were, for some purpose of greater convenience, superseded by the Kārttikādi calendar years, of which the first day is the day following that new-moon conjunction which occurs next after the autumn equinox. And that feature of the era was probably borrowed from the Seleucidan calendar, along with an occasional use of the Macedonian names of the months. But there are no grounds whatsoever for thinking that the Seleucidan era itself was ever used by any kings or peoples of India.

So much, as regards the origin and early use of the Mālava or Vikrama era, commencing B.C. 58. Apart from this era, there is not any known era, and there are not any real grounds for believing in the existence of any era, to which, having regard to the locality from which the Takht-i-Bahi record comes and its period as marked by the characters in which it was written, the date presented in it can be referred. The reference of the date to this era, commencing B.C. 58, places the record in A.D. 46, definitely and without any provisional treatment, and determines the commencement of the reign of the king Guduphara in A.D. 20 or 21. This result exactly suits the palæographic and other requirements, as determined by the numismatists, of the coins which mention the same king by other Indian variants of his name and by Greek representations of it. And we need no longer hesitate about deciding that this result is the only possible one and is the correct one.

This result, placing the commencement of the reign of Guduphara-Gondophernēs in A.D. 20 or 21, and establishing the fact that in A.D. 46 his dominions included, in India

itself, at any rate the territory round about Peshāwar, is reached from the Takht-i-Bahi inscription and the coins, without any help from the Christian tradition. As regards the tradition, the position is now this.

The above result gives us, in just the period for the death of St. Thomas, a king, Guduphara-Gondophernēs, whose name can be satisfactorily identified with that of the Gūdnaphar, Gundaphar, Goundapharos, and Gundaforus of the tradition, and who would be quite properly mentioned as a king of India or of the Indians. To this we must add, though the point is not a matter of the same certainty, that a not unreasonable proposal has been made by M. Sylvain Lévi (JA, 1897, i, 37 ff., and see IA, 1904, 14 f.) to take the name Mazdai,— characterised by Mr. Burkitt as a good Old-Persian name,— as a transformation of a Hindū name, made on Iranian soil and under Mazdean influences, and arrived at through the forms Bazodēo, Bazdēo, or Bāzodēo, Bāzdēo, which occur in Greek legends on coins, and to identify the person with the king Vāsudēva of Mathurā, a successor of Kanishka. And we must further remark that, for this king Vāsudēva, we have inscriptional dates which, taken in the same way with the date in the Takht-i-Bahi inscription as dates in the Mālava or Vikrama era,— in which way only, in fact, they can be properly taken,— are equivalent to A.D. 22 and 40, and shew that he was a contemporary of Guduphara-Gondophernēs.

Now, we could easily account for the tradition, and, even irrespectively of any anachronisms, we could at once dismiss it as a fable, if it had connected with St. Thomas any long-familiar royal names that have lived in story and tradition, such as those of Chandragupta, Aśōka, Kanishka, Sātavāhana, and Vikramāditya. But the names put forward in connection with St. Thomas are distinctly not such as have lived in Indian story and tradition. And, whatever conclusion might be formed in respect of the name Mazdai, either by means of Persian history or legend or in any other way, the case is quite different as regards the name Gūdnaphar, Gundaphar, Goundapharos, or Gundaforus. No name, save that

of Guduphara-Gondophernēs, in any way resembling it, is met with in any period of Indian history, save in that of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription of A.D. 46; nor, it may be added, any royal name, save that of Vāsudēva of Mathurā, in any way resembling that of Mazdai. So, also, as far as we know or have any reason to suppose, no name like that of Guduphara-Gondophernēs is to be found anywhere outside India, save in the tradition about St. Thomas.

From the wide range of the localities from which his coins have been freely obtained, it is manifest that Guduphara-Gondophernēs was the powerful ruler of an extensive territory, which included, as a part of it, much more of India than simply a portion of the Peshāwar district. Yet his memory perished in India, so that he has become known there in simply recent times, and only from the inscription and the coins. Outside India, any such name as his seems to have survived only in the tradition about St. Thomas. And the very fact that such a name has been put forward in the tradition, which in respect of synchronistic requirements it exactly suits, is at least strongly suggestive that there is an actual basis for the tradition in historical reality, and that St. Thomas did proceed to the east, and visited the courts of two kings reigning there, of whom one was the Guduphara-Gondophernēs of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription and the coins, and the other was very possibly Vāsudēva of Mathurā.

VIII.

A JAPANESE THOREAU OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

BY MINAKATA KUMAGUSU¹ AND F. VICTOR DICKINS.NOTES FROM A JŌ-SQUARE HUT.²

CHAPTER I.

OF the flowing river the flood ever changeth, on the still pool the foam gathering, vanishing, stayeth not. Such too is the lot of men and of the dwellings of men in this world of ours. Within City-Royal, paved as it were with precious stones, the mansions and houses of high and low, rivalling in length of beam and height of tiled roof, seem builded to last for ever, yet if you search few indeed are those that can boast of their antiquity. One year a house is burnt down, the next it is rebuilt, a lordly mansion falls into ruin, and a mere cottage replaces it. The fate of the occupants is like that of their abodes. Where they lived folk are still numerous, but out of any twenty or thirty you may have known scarce two or three survive. Death in the morning, birth in the evening. Such is man's life—a fleck of foam on the surface of the pool.

¹ My friend Mr. Minakata is the most erudite Japanese I have met with—equally learned in the science and literature of the East and of the West. He has frequently contributed to *Nature* and *Notes and Queries*. He now lives near the town of Wakayama in Kishiu. In the second volume of the *Life of Sir Harry Parkes*, by Mr. S. Lane-Poole and myself (p. 160), will be found an interesting account by Lady Parkes of her husband's visit to the last Daimyō of Wakayama in March, 1870. The narrative ends with the sentence "It was like being in fairyland." The translation has been entirely remade by myself upon the basis of that of Mr. Minakata. The notes, save where otherwise indicated, are his, somewhat remodelled by myself.

² A 10 feet square hut; the name is explained later on.

Man is born and dieth; whence cometh he, whither goeth he? For whose sake do we endure, whence do we draw pleasure? Dweller and dwelling are rivals in impermanence, both are fleeting as the dewdrop that hangs on the petals of the morning-glory. If the dew vanish the flower may stay, but only to wither under the day's sun; the petal may fade while the dew delayeth, but only to perish ere evening.

CHAPTER II.

Now since first I had conscious knowledge of the world about me have some forty Springs and Summers gone by, and of many strange events have I had experience.

On the 28th day of the 4th month of 3 Angen [May 28th, 1177], while a violent storm was raging about the hour of the dog [7-8 p.m.], a fire broke out in the dragon [south-east] quarter of the city and extended to the dog and hog [north-west] quarter as far as the Shuzaku¹ Gate, the Daigoku² Hall, the Daigaku ryō,³ and the Mimbushō⁴—in the course of that one night the whole was reduced to ashes. Folk say the fire began in a cottage used as a temporary hospital situated in the lane known as Higuchitomi. Favoured by the wind the conflagration spread fanwise. Distant houses were smothered in the smoke, the nearer spaces were enveloped in coils of flame. The air was filled with clouds of dust, which reflected the blaze, so that the whole neighbourhood was steeped in a glow of fire amid which tongues of flame darted over the adjoining streets. Amid such horrors who could retain a steady mind? Some, choked by the smoke, fell to the ground; others in their bewilderment ran straight into the flames trying to save their property, and were burnt

¹ Gate of the Red Sparrow—in the middle of the south face of the Palace at Kyoto.

² Or Hachishō In, Hall of the Eight Boards of Government.

³ The University of Chinese Learning, etc.

⁴ One of the Eight Boards—answering nearly to the Home Office.

to death; great stores of wealth were utterly destroyed—in very truth the loss was incalculable. Sixteen mansions of *kugyo* were consumed, and innumerable smaller houses. A full third of the city was destroyed. Thousands of persons perished, horses and cattle beyond count. How foolish are all the purposes of men—they build their houses, spending their treasure and wasting their energies, in a city exposed to such perils!

CHAPTER III.

Again, on the 29th of the hare [4th] month of 4 Jijō [May 25th, 1180] a hurricane devastated the city from the Nakamikado Kyōgoku¹ quarter as far as Rokujō.² Not a single house was left standing within the circuit of several wards. Some were levelled with the ground, some were left with beams and uprights alone standing, the cross-pieces of the gateways were blown off in some cases and carried three or four *chō* [one *chō* = 360 yards] away, fences were blown down, and neighbouring compounds thus thrown into one. Needless to say, the contents of houses were scattered in all directions, while the shingles filled the air like leaves in Winter, and clouds of dust like smoke obscured the sky and blinded one's eyes. The roar of the wind was fearful, one could not hear a word spoken, the storm seemed a true hell-blast. Not only were houses destroyed, but the numbers of those who were injured or maimed in their attempts to save their dwellings was incalculable. The wind finally veered towards the goat and ape quarter [south-west] and did much harm in that region. It was a whirlwind, but what a one! An extraordinary hurricane! People doubted not it portended some evil of like dimensions.

¹ In the northern part of the capital.

² In the southern part of the capital.

CHAPTER IV.

Again, in the same year in the waterless [6th] month a change of capital was suddenly made, against all expectation. Kyoto had already been the capital for some centuries since its choice by the Mikado Saga [A.D. 810–823].¹

As there was no sufficient reason for this removal the people were discontented beyond words. Their complaints, however, were of no avail, and the Mikado and his Court betook themselves to Naniwa in Settsu. Who, then, if he regarded the ways of the world, would care to remain in the deserted city? But those who hankered after place and rank and courted great men's favour strove their utmost to forestall their fellows in removing, if only by a single day. Others whose home was lost, whose hopes were frustrated, and whom the world neglected, remained sorrowfully behind. The mansions of those who had vied with each other in the height of their roofs [i.e. in wealth and show] fell into ruin, houses were demolished, and the parts floated down the Yodo to the new city, gardens were turned visibly into mere fields. Even men's dispositions changed, only horses and harness were thought of, and there were none to use ox-drawn carriages. Lands in the south and west rose in demand, and property in the north and eastern provinces fell in value.

CHAPTER V.

At this juncture I had occasion to visit the new capital, and found it too confined for the due laying out of streets and avenues. To the north lay the slopes of a chain of hills, on the south it was washed by the sea. The roar of the waves sounded everlastingly in one's ears, the briny gales

¹ Kyoto was really founded by Kwammu in 784, but the next Mikado, Heizei, resided for three years at the former capital, Nara (hence he is often known as the Nara Mikado), so that the founding of Kyoto is ascribed to his successor, Saga. The removal was decreed at the instance of the famous Taira no Kyomori.

blew everlastingly in one's face, the Palace right among the hills reminded one of the Round Timber Palace,¹ though it was not without design and elegance.

Daily were dwellings taken to pieces and sent down the river to be rebuilt in the new City-Royal, yet many were the open spaces and few the completed mansions, and while the old capital was desolate the new town was unfinished, and men seemed to themselves to be drifting with the clouds. The old inhabitants were unhappy because their property was lost, and the newcomers had to live amid the unpleasant bustle of construction. As one scanned the ways one saw carriage-folk on horseback and vestments of state and elegance replaced by common tunics. The grace of manners of the former capital all at once vanished, and country fashions reigned. Such were clear signs of public disturbance; every day grew the agitation, and the minds of folk became unsettled. Nor was this confusion without cause, and when the Winter came the people could not be restrained from returning to Kyoto. But what became of the houses that had been pulled down and removed? We know not, but this we know, that the old state of the city was not restored. According to dim tradition, in the wise days of old the sovrans² ruled compassionately, their palaces had but thatched roofs, nor were the eaves adjusted to them [no verandahs — a luxury?]. When

¹ The Empress Saimei died in A.D. 661 at Asakura in Tosa, where she was at the head of an army assembled to assist the Koreans against China. Her son Tenji lived in the same place, mourning for her, and ordered his Palace to be constructed of kuroki (timber with the bark on), which later mikados imitated on ascending the throne as a symbol of frugality and humility (a Chinese, not a pure Japanese idea). He made (or caused some court poet to make) the following verse on the occasion:—

*Asakura ya
ki no marudono ni
ware woreba
nanori wo shitsutsu
yuku ha taga ko zo !* (Mannyōshū).

[In a rude palace, at Asakura, of round unbarked timber, dwell I, and as men pass shouting their names, I ask whose sons they be.] The meaning of this quintain is not apparent.

² The Mikado Nintoku (A.D. 313–399) is more particularly referred to.

no smoke was seen ascending from the hearths the taxes were remitted. One knows only too well how ill these modern days compare with the days of yore.

CHAPTER VI.

Once more—it would be in Yōwa [A.D. 1181], but so long ago is it one cannot be sure—for two whole years a famine raged in the land, a very miserable time. Either there were droughts in Spring and Summer, or floods and storms in Autumn and Winter. So the evil went on, and of the five grains¹ no crops were reaped. To till the land in Spring was vain, in Summer to plant was foolishness, in Autumn there was no reaping, in Winter nothing to store. So that many people in the different provinces deserted the land and crossed the frontiers [of their proper districts?], or fled from their homes to pick up a living among the wild hills. Many prayers of various kinds were offered up, and unusual rites were practised, but without avail. The town, of course, depends upon the country, but nothing came from the country, and so it was that the city lost, so to speak, its countenance.² While folk begged for aid they offered their goods recklessly for sale, but caught never a purchaser. Gold was held cheap and grain dear. Beggars whined in misery by the roadsides, dinning one's ears with their cries, and so in misery came to an end the first of those two years.

CHAPTER VII.

The following year it was hoped matters would mend, but instead a plague was added to the famine, and more and more vain the prayers offered up appeared to be. It seemed as if the whole population would starve to death like the fish in the proverbial pool [none of which survive

¹ Rice, wheat, *awa* (*Setaria*, Italian millet), *kibi* (*Sorghum*, *Panicum miliaceum*), and *hiye* (*P. frumentaceum*).

² Misao tsukuru.

on its drying up]. At last even men who wore hats and whose feet were covered and who were well dressed began to go around begging from house to house. Such poor wretches would often fall to the ground from weakness as one looked at them wondering how they could stand on their feet. The number of those who perished of hunger is incalculable, they lay dead under walls and by roadsides, and as there were none to carry away the bodies the air was filled with the stink of their corruption, and sorry indeed were the sights that met one's eyes. Of course, the banks of the river¹ were impassable for horses and vehicles [because they were crowded with corpses]. Even the poor woodcutters lost their vigour, and faggots became scarce, so that men in their helplessness destroyed their own dwellings and took the wood to market, but the value of a man's load was not enough to buy a single day's food. A strange thing was that among these faggots were to be seen pieces of wood painted with red lead or showing patches of gold and silver foil. On inquiry it was discovered that destitute wretches had plundered the temples of images of Buddha and broken sacred vessels and ornaments for mere firewood. That one should be born into such a world of dross and evil as to witness so sinful a deed, which I, alas, did!

CHAPTER IX.

Pitiful scenes there were. There was a sort of rivalry in death among those men or women who could not bear to be separated. What food one of such a pair procured by begging would be reserved to keep the other alive, while the first one was content to die. Both sexes displayed this tender self-sacrifice. With parents and children it was almost the rule for the parent to die first. And there were cases in which infants were found lying by the corpses of their dead parents and trying to suck the mother's breast.

¹ The dry parts of the bed of the river are meant—foreshores, a sort of no man's land. The river, of course, is the Kamogawa.

CHAPTER X.

In the great temple of Ninwa [Benevolence and Peace] was a chief priest of the Jison [Compassion and Respect] temple named Ōkurakyō Ryūgyō, who, moved by commiseration for the countless numbers who died, made arrangements, with the help of other saintly men, to write on the foreheads of the dead the holy character *a* [Sanskrit ॐ] as a seal to Buddha. He kept count of the bodies marked during the fourth and fifth months, and found in the portion of the capital bound by Ichijō on the north and Kujō on the south, Kyōgoku on the east and Sujaku on the west, altogether about 42,300 corpses. To these must be added many others in different quarters of the city and in the suburbs to give a correct idea of the vast numbers of deaths that took place at this time. Lastly, must be counted in the numbers of those who perished in the provinces. Not very long before, under the Mikado Sutoku, in the period Chōshō [A.D. 1132-4], a like catastrophe occurred, but the details are unknown to me — what I saw with my own eyes was strange and terrible enough.

Again, in 2 Genryaku [A.D. 1185¹] a great earthquake occurred. It was not an ordinary one. Hills were shattered and dammed up the rivers, the sea toppled over and flooded the shore-lands, the earth gaped and water roared up through the rents, cliffs were cleft and the fragments rolled down into the valleys, boats sculled along the beach were tossed upon the bore, horses on the roads lost the ground beneath their hoofs; all round the capital, it is hardly necessary to add, in various places not a single building was left entire; house or temple, tower or chapel,² some were rent and cracked, others were thrown down; the dust rose into the air like volumes of smoke. The roar of the quaking earth mingled with the crash of falling buildings

¹ Bramsen gives Genryaku one year only: 1 Bunji is probably intended, the nengo were sometimes changed in the course of the year.

² Tomb-chapels or mortuary shrines.

was like thunder. To remain within doors was to run the risk of being crushed; to rush out of doors was to be swallowed up in some gaping fissure, unless you had wings to fly up into the air, or could ride on the clouds like a dragon. In the midst of all these horrors one felt that of all dreadful things an earthquake is the most dreadful. Amid all this ruin I will mention a piteous case. The son of a samurai, six or seven years of age only, had built himself a little play-hut under a shed against a wall, in which he was amusing himself, when suddenly the wall collapsed and buried him flat and shapeless under its ruins, his eyes protruding an inch from their orbits. It was sad beyond words to see his parents embracing his dead body and hear their unrestrained cries of distress. Piteous indeed it was to see even a samurai, stricken down with grief for his son thus miserably perished, forgetting his dignity in the extremity of his grief.

Such violent shocks did not last long, but the after-shocks continued and twenty or thirty times a day were repeated with a force that under ordinary circumstances would have been felt as most alarming. This went on for some weeks, the shocks diminishing in frequency from four or five to two or three in a day, or even one only, with intervals of quiet days, but for three months the disturbance continued. The other three of the four great calamities, flood, fire, and storm, leave the great earth almost unchanged—not so earthquakes.

Long ago in the period Saikō [A.D. 854–6] it is said there was a great earthquake which did vast damage, and amongst other calamities threw down the august head of the great Buddha of the temple of Tōdai. But that earthquake was far from being as disastrous as the one described, and people accordingly for some time talked of nothing but the misery of this world and the foulness and frivolity of the human heart. Days and months, however, summed up and years passed, and after a time no one so much as spoke a word about the great earthquake of Genryaku.

CHAPTER XI.

What is so hateful in this life of ours is its vanity and triviality, both with regard to ourselves and our dwellings, as we have just seen. According to our position so are our troubles, countless in any case. A low man under high protection may have his moments of delight, but not an abiding happiness. For he must restrain his tears when in distress, his natural emotions must be kept down, he is always uneasy as to promotion or disgrace, standing or sitting [constantly] subject to alarms, he is like a sparrow that finds itself close to a hawk's nest. If a poor man lives next door to a rich one he is oppressed with shame at his shabby appearance, and tempted to flatter and cringe before his neighbour. He is never quite at ease ; as he looks upon his wife and children and servants he envies his wealthy neighbour of whose contempt for him he gets wind. Should he live in a crowded quarter he can scarcely escape if a fire break out ; is his house situate in a remote district, it is hard to get at and the ways are infested by thieves. The great man grows avaricious, the solitary man is disliked by the world. Wealth, too, brings cares from which the poor man is free. To depend on the protection of another man is to be his slave, to protect other folk is to be the slave of your own emotions. To follow the world is a hardship to oneself, to disregard it is to be counted a madman. Where or how shall we find peace even for a moment, and afford our heart refreshment even for a single second ?¹

CHAPTER XII.

For many years I lived in the house of my paternal grandmother. When that relation was interrupted [death of grandmother] my health suffered, and I could no longer remain there. Just over 30, I built myself a house to suit my own ideas, one-tenth of the size of my former home.

¹ The characters seem to mean "while a pearl (or gem) tinkles" (as part of a beadlace or chain).

It contained one room, in fact it was hardly a house at all. It had a kind of wall, but a gate I could not afford. The uprights were bamboos, the construction was like a shed for vehicles. When the snow fell or the wind blew it was scarcely safe. It was close to the river-bed, in the way of floods and handy for thieves.¹ There I passed my time reflecting on this world of nothingness. Thirty years and more thus slipped by, during which I surveyed the vicissitudes of my wretched life in relation to events around me. Attaining my 50th Spring, I left my house and turned my back on the world. As I had never wife or child there was nothing to hinder me. I was no official, I had no emoluments; what interest had I in the world? And so I lay idly five more Springs and Autumns amid the clouds of Mount Ōhara.

When the 60th year of my life, now vanishing as a dewdrop, approached, anew I made me an abode, a sort of last leaf as it were, just as a traveller might run himself up a shelter for a single night, or a decrepit silkworm weave its last cocoon. This compared with the dwelling I had in my middle period was less than one-hundredth of its size; as I wax in years my lodging wanes in space. It is not an ordinary sort of hut I live in. It measures only 10 feet square, and is under 7 feet in height. As I had no fancy for any particular place I did not fasten it to the ground. I prepared a foundation, and on it raised a framework which I roofed over with thatch, cramping the parts with crooks so that I might remove it easily if ever the whim took me to dislike the locality. The labour of removing, how slight it would be!—a couple of carts would suffice to carry the whole of the materials, and the expense of their hire would be that of the whole building.

¹ Lit. 'white-wave [fellows],' from a place so named in ancient China much haunted by robbers. So we might say 'Hounslow Heath fellows.'

CHAPTER XIII.

Now since I hid me in the recesses of Mount Hino the manner of my abode is this. To the south juts out a movable sun-screen [a sort of pent-roof?] with a matting of split bamboos, bound together parallel-wise. Westwards a small shrine with a Buddhist shelf and a picture of Amida so placed that the space between the eyebrows shines in the rays of the setting sun. Before the curtain-doors of the shrine are fixed the figures of Fugen and Fudō.¹ Above the paper-paned sliding doors of the north side runs a small shelf, on which stand three or four black leather boxes containing collections of Japanese poetry, books on music, and such works as the *Wōjōyō shiu* [book on Buddhist Paradise]. Besides these is a *sō* [sort of koto or flat harp with thirteen strings] on one side and a *biwa* [lute] on the other side—what are known as bent harp and jointed lute. Along the east side are spread large bundles of bracken fern, which with bundles of straw make me a couch. There is a window opening in the east wall with a writing-desk. Near the head of the couch is a brazier to burn faggots in. North of the hut is a small garden surrounded by a low hedge of wattled branches. Here I grow some medicinal herbs. Such is the fashion of my temporary cabin.

CHAPTER XIV.

To describe the situation I must tell you that to the south is a bamboo pipe and a reservoir made of piled up stones. A copse stands close by the eaves, so that firewood is not far to fetch. The name of the place is Toyama. All traces of man are hidden by the coils of *masaki* [*Euonymus japonica*, Thbg., var. *radicans*]. The valley is thickly wooded, but open to the west, so that the place is not unfitted for philosophic meditation. In the Spring I can gaze upon the

¹ This description of the interior is not very clear. I have done my best with it.

festoons of the wistaria, fine to see as purple clouds. When the west wind grows fragrant with its scent the note of the *hototogisu* is heard as if to guide me towards the Shide¹ hill; in Autumn the shrill song of the cicada fills my ears, sounding like a regret for his cast-off moult or may be a complaint of this mortal world;² in Winter I watch the snow-drifts pile and vanish, and am led to reflect upon the ever waxing and waning volume of the world's sinfulness.

When I get tired of reciting prayers or of reading the scriptures I can rest at will; no one is by to prevent me, no friend to reproach me. I have made no vow of silence, but my lonely life stops my lips' play. I do not need to trouble myself about the strict observance of the commandments, for living as I do in complete solitude how should I be tempted to break them? When I bend my steps towards the white waves of the stream I watch the morning boats cleaving the flood in their passage to and fro across the river, and recall to mind the beautiful verse of the acolyte Mansei;³ at eventide, when I hear the rustle of the laurel leaves⁴ under the breeze, my fancy carries my thoughts to the waters of Jinyō,⁵ and I touch my lute in the manner of Gentotoku.⁶ When my spirits are exuberant and my imagination active, I liken the music the wind makes among the pine groves to the melody known as the Winds of Autumn, or the murmur of running waters to the air of the Flowing Fount. I have no skill in the arts of song or

¹ A hill in Hades crossed by souls on their way to Paradise or Hell. The *hototogisu* is the *Cuculus poliocephalus*.

² A pun on *utsusomi*, which means 'mortal,' and also an insect's empty moult.

³ Or Mansami, the religious name of Kasa no Ason Maro, a poet of the eighth century.—M. K.

The allusion is to some verses of his—

*Asaborake
kogi-yuku fune no
shiranami,*

“the white waves left in the track of the boat sculled forth at daybreak.”

⁴ *Katsura*—*Cercidephyllum japonicum*.

⁵ A place in China mentioned in a poem by the celebrated Hakurakuten on a girl famed for her skill on the lute.

⁶ Minamoto no Tsunenobu, the founder of the Katsura school of lutists.—M. K.

music, but I do not strive to please other men's ears, 't is but to nourish my own mind that in my solitude I play and sing.

At the bottom of my hill stands another cabin, made of wattled bush-work. There the hill-ward dwells. He has a son, a youth who sometimes comes to see me, and we ramble about together. He is 16 and I am 60, yet we enjoy each other's company despite the difference in years. Sometimes we gather *tsubana*¹ shoots, or the berries of the *icnanashi*,² the bud-like bulbs of the yam,³ or the leaves of the *seri*.⁴ Sometimes we roam among the tanks for the paddy-fields that lie around the foot of the hill to pick up fallen rice-tufts to make *hogumi*⁵ of. On sunshiny days we climb the peak of my hill, and I gaze upon the distant skies that loom over my old home, over Kowada's hill, Fushimi's town, over Toba and Hatsukashi. No owner claims any rights here, so I am in full possession of my pleasure.

When the fancy takes me to look further afield I need not undergo the labour of walking. I follow the line of hill-tops, cross Sumiyama and Kasatori, and pray at Iwana's⁶ shrine or bow before that of Ishima, or force my way amid the jungles of Awazu, not forgetting to do honour to the monuments of the old sage Semimaru⁷—without moving

¹ *Imperata arundinacea*, Cyr., var. *Koenigii*, Hack., a sort of grass, the young shoots of which are edible.—M. K.

² Lit. 'rock-pear'—*Epigea asiatica*, Max.—M. K.

³ *Dioscorea japonica*.—M. K.

⁴ *Oenanthe stolonifera*, D.C., Max.—M. K.

⁵ A kind of coarse matting.

⁶ Here is a shrine of Kwannon.

⁷ A celebrated recluse and minstrel, totally blind, who flourished in the tenth century. A courtier named Hakuga no Sammi invited him to leave his retreat and live in the capital. Semimaru sent a quintain by way of answer—

*Yo no naka wa
totomo kakutomo
sugushiten
miya mo waraya mo
hateshi nakereba.*

"In this world of ours, palace or straw-roofed hut, what matters it—wherever we dwell will there be yet something unattained." Now the blind poet was the only man who knew the secret modes of the Ryusen (Flowing Fount manner) and the Takuboku (Woodpecker manner), and the nobleman for three years spent every night, fair or foul, in the neighbourhood of the hut in the hope of hearing

a step. Or I cross Tanokami's stream and seek out the tomb of Sarumaru; on the way home, according to the year's time, we gather cherry sprays in full blossom, or ruddy-leaved autumn maple, or collect fern fronds, or pick up fallen nuts; and some of these treasures I humbly present to Amida, and some I keep for presents.

On tranquil nights I gaze upon the moon's orb shining in through my window, and think of the great figures of the men of old, or am moved to tears that drench my sleeves by the mournful cries of the monkeys in the neighbouring thickets. I note the fireflies in the jungle, and seem to see the flares of far-off Makijima,¹ while the patter of rain at daybreak reminds me of the rattle of a storm amid the leaves of the woods. The *horohoro* of the *yamadori*² makes me wonder whether 'tis my father or my mother that crieth, and the tameness of the deer that roam under the peak tells me how far removed I am from the world of men.

these. One full-moon night in the eighth month he was there, and the blind minstrel, thinking himself alone, sang the following verses:—

*Ausaka no
seki no arashi no
hageshiki ni
shiite zo itaru
yo wo sugosu tote.*

“Notwithstanding the gales that roar down the pass of Ausaka I still do pass here the days of this present life of mine (i.e. the middle of the three existences—past, present, and future).”

On hearing the chant Hakuga began to weep. The singer meanwhile soliloquised, “How I should love to converse with anyone who should visit me on so fair a night as this!” Then Hakuga went in and told his story, whereupon the old man was delighted and instructed him in all the lore of the lute.

(江談抄, Kodanshō, eleventh century, in Hanawa's 群書類従, Gunshō ruishiu, ed. 1902, vol. xvii, pp. 592-3.)—M. K.

¹ Of the fishing-boats by the island of Maki.

² The copper pheasant. The Buddhist saint Gyogi, 行基, has a verse upon this—

*Yamadori no
horohoro to naku
koe kikeba
chichi ka to zo omou
haha ka to zo omou.*

“When the copper pheasant uttereth its cry ‘horohoro,’ I listen and wonder whether 'tis my father who crieth or whether 'tis my mother who crieth.”—M. K. [The allusion is, of course, to the doctrine of transmigration.]

On cold nights I often stir up the ashes of my brazier to renew the embers, the comfort of an old man just waking from a nap. My wild hill is no dreadful place, but the melancholy hootings of the owls give it one of the characteristics of hilly tracts, whereof the aspects are so various, giving rise to many reflexions in the minds of learned and thoughtful men.

CHAPTER XV.

When I first came to this place I did not intend to stay long, but now I have dwelt here these five years. My cabin has weathered with the course of time, the eaves are loaded with dead leaves, the ground it stands on is green with moss. From time to time news of what takes place in City-Royal reaches me in my solitude, and I hear continually of the deaths of persons of importance; of smaller men who disappear the roll is endless. I hear, too, of houses burnt down in numbers, but my humble cabin remains a safe shelter for me. 'Tis cramped, indeed, but it has a bed for me to sleep on at night, and a mat to sit on during the day, so I have no reason to be discontented. The hermit-crab is satisfied with a narrow shell for its home, which shows that it knows its own nature; the osprey dwells on high crags because it fears man. So is it with me. A man who knows himself and also the world he lives in has nothing to ask for, no society to long for; he aims only at a quiet life, and makes his happiness in freedom from annoyance. But those who live in the world, what do they do? They build mansions, but not for their own pleasure; 'tis for their wives and families, for their relatives and friends, for their masters or teachers, or to store their property, or to house cattle and horses. Now I have built my cabin for myself, not for any other man. And why have I done so? As the world now goes I find no congenial minds in it, not even a servant to trust to. What profit, then, were a larger house to me? whom should I invite to it? whom could I take into it to serve me? One usually seeks the friendship of rich men,

and thinks most of public personages ; men of good hearts and honest souls are not sought after. More wisely, I make friends of lutes and flutes. One who serves another is apt to be always thinking of rewards and punishments, he hankers after favours, and is not content with mere good treatment and kindness and the peace that ensueth. To me, then, it seems better to be one's own master and one's own servant. If there is something to be done I prefer to use my own body to do it. This may be bothersome, but easier than to see that other folk do it for you. If I have to walk, I walk ; it means some toil, but less than that of looking after horses or carriages. In one body I possess two servants : my hands do what I want, and my feet bear me where I would go—both serve me just as I desire them. Again, my mind knows exactly what the body has to endure, so it lets it rest when tired, and does not task it save when fresh and vigorous. And when it does use the body it does not abuse it, nor would the mind be put out by the body being sometimes in a dull mood. And besides, plenty of exercise and plenty of work are good for the body ; too much idleness is bad for the body. In addition, to impose a burden upon another man, to constrain his will, is a sinful thing—we have no right to take possession of another's powers.

CHAPTER XVI.

About my clothing and food I have something to say. Wistaria cloth and hempen fabrics are enough to hide my nakedness, sprouts of *Imperata* grass and nuts picked up on the hills suffice to sustain my body. As I don't live in the world I need not care about my appearance ; in the absence of luxuries even coarse fare is sweet. I do not address these observations to wealthy folk, I merely compare my former way of life with my present one. Since I got quit of society and forsook the world I know nothing of envy or fear. I commit my life to the care of Heaven, without regret and without anxiety. I liken my body to a cloud in the sky ; I neither put my trust in it nor despise it. All the joy of

my existence is concentrated around the pillow which giveth me nightly rest, all the hope of my days I find in the beauties of nature that ever please my eyes.

CHAPTER XVII.

Now the three realms of existence—past, present, and future—depend on the soul only. If the soul is ill at ease, of what profit are cattle and horses and the seven treasures? Palaces and mansions and stately towers give no pleasure. On the other hand, in this solitary cabin I know the fullest joy. When I chance to go to City-Royal I may feel some shame on account of my beggarly appearance, yet when I come back to my hut I feel nothing but pity for the men who squirm amid the dusts of the common world. If anyone doubt me, I beg him to consider how birds and fishes do pass their lives. Do fish ever tire of the simple water they dwell in? As we are not fish we cannot say. Do not the birds always long for their woods and copses? Again, as we are not birds we cannot tell. So it is with those who choose the life of a recluse—only those who do choose it can know its joys.

To resume. My life is now like the declining moon approaching the edge of the hill which is to hide it. Ere long I must face the three realms of darkness. What deeds in the past shall I have to plead for there? What the Buddha has taught to men is this—Thou shalt not cleave to any of the things of this world. So 'tis a sin even to grow fond of this straw-thatched cabin, and to find happiness in this life of peace is a hindrance to salvation. Why, then, should I let the days be filled with the vanity of exultation in an empty joy?

In the peace of daybreak I once meditated upon this doctrine, and this is the question I asked myself—"You have fled from the world to live the life of a recluse amid the wild woods and hills, thus to bring peace to your soul and walk in the way of the Buddha. You have the appearance of a saint, but your soul is full of turbidities.

Your cabin is a slur on the memory of the habitation of Jōmyō Koji¹; in virtue you are below even Shuri Handoku.² Is your degradation the result of your poverty and mean condition, your inheritance from a previous existence, or have your trains of thought destroyed your mind? "What answer could my soul give? None. I could but move my tongue as it were mechanically, and twice or thrice repeat involuntarily the Buddha's holy name. I could do no more.

Written on the last day of the yayoi month of 2 Kenryaku [May 1st, 1185] by the Sōmon Ren-in in his cabin on Toyama.

Alas! the moonlight
Behind the hill is hidden
In gloom and darkness.
Oh, would her radiance ever
My longing eyes rejoiced!

¹ Koji, 居士, parishioner, the 'bourgeois' of Hindoo society (Eitel). Jōmyō is Vimalakīrti, a fabulous person (?), said to have lived contemporaneously with the Buddha in the city of Viyari. He excused himself from attendance on the Buddha on the ground of sickness. Many holy men are sent to inquire into the case, but Jōmyō eludes them all. At last Mañdjuśrī appears and engages the pretended sick man in a subtle discourse. Upon this Jōmyō performs a miracle—in his one room he manages to find seats for all the 3,000 saints and 500 disciples of the Buddha. In addition, at the request of some of those present, he divides in half the remote universe of Mudō (*akohōbhya*, 'motionless'—containing denizens represented by a number consisting of unity followed by seventeen ciphers), and brings them, too, into the room, with the Buddha himself preaching to them. In the fourth century a Chinese traveller in India saw this very room, and found it measured 10 feet square (*hōjō*). Chōmei borrowed the name for his own hut; but it is not the hut, after all, that makes the saint.—M. K.

² Shuri Handoku was the most foolish of all the disciples of Buddha. He forgot not only his family name, but even his own personal name. Popular rumour credited him with carrying a tablet hung round his neck with his name thereon. After his death a kind of ginger (*Zingiber myoga*, Rosc.) grew on his grave, which makes those who eat it forget everything. This story is based upon the name 名荷, the characters of which mean 'name-bearing,' i.e. carrying away the name. *Suri* or *shuri*, it may be mentioned, means 'small'; *handoku*, 'path.'

Some additional remarks by the Rev. S. Takafuji, a well-known doctor of the Avatanisaka system:—"The mother of Handoku was the wife of a wealthy man, with one of whose slaves she eloped, and in the course of time gave birth to two sons. Her parents left all their wealth to the boys, after which the elder one became a disciple of the Buddha and attained the rank of arhat, transferring his share of the inheritance to the younger one, Handoku. The latter refused the gift, and desired to be instructed in the law, but as he was found unable to remember a single clause of the sūtra he was set to study he was expelled. On this he wept and was pitied by the Buddha, who gave him instruction on the doctrine of Nirvana, whereupon he became also an arhat."

[In Dr. Aston's "History of Japanese Literature" a translation of part of these "Notes" will be found. Another version—to my mind very imperfect—has been published, I find, in the Trans. of the As. Soc. of Japan of 1892.]

THE LIFE OF KAMONO CHŌMEI.¹

In youth he was known as Kiku Dayu [Master Chrysanth], also as Minami Dayu (the south [quarter] Master). For generations his family had furnished wardens to the shrine of Kamo in Yamashiro. In the period Ōhō he was promoted to the junior lower fifth rank. In the next reign [of Takakura] he asked for but was refused the Kamo wardenship. Annoyed at this failure he shaved his head, and took the religious name of Ren-in. In the reign of the second Toba, when the Chamber of Poesy was instituted, he was offered a seat, which he accepted, but after a short time resigned. At a later period he went to visit the Shōgun Sanetomo at Kamakura, but nothing came of the visit and he returned to Kyoto, whence he betook himself to retirement among the neighbouring hills. There he dwelt contentedly enough and attained the age of 63. He was a good musician, a student of Buddhism, and a follower of the philosophy of Ch'wangtzu. He wrote the Hōjōki, the charm of which is still as much felt and admired as it was hundreds of years ago.

NOTES ON CHŌMEI BY MINAKATA KUMAGUSU.

The god of Kamo is said to have been the offspring of a thunder-god and a woman. When Kyoto was founded the shrine became an important one.

¹ Not Kamo Chōmei; the *no* is as necessary as any *von* or *de*. Nor must Chōmei be read *japonicè*—Nagaakira.

On renouncing the world in consequence of his failure to obtain the wardenship of the shrine he sent the following verse to a certain recluse :—

*Izuku yori
hito wa irikemu
Makuzu hara
akikaze fukishi
michi yori zo koshi.*

“From wherever he may have made his way [to the real realm—the way of Buddha, a religious life], he hath come, ’t is certain, by a path o’erblown by autumn winds across the waste o’ergrown with *kuzu* [*Pueraria*].” The point of this verse is this. The leaves of the bush are easily ruffled by the wind so as to show their *ura mi* [under surfaces]. Now *urami* means weariness [with the world], and thus the object of Chōmei’s message to the recluse was to explain his own desire to lead a hermit life. *Akikaze*, autumnal winds, again involves the meaning of satiety or disgust [*aki*]*—*he is blown hillward by a blast of disgust with the world.

The portable hut described in the “Notes” reminds one of the story related in Ramusio’s “*Viaggi e Navigazioni*” of a noble Armenian who behaved in just the same way as Chōmei and constructed for himself a similar hut.

On the Emperor requesting him to resume his membership of the Chamber of Poesy, Chōmei sent the following stanza :—

*Shizumi niki
imasara Waka no
uranami ni
yosebaya yoran
ama no sute-fune.¹*

“’T is sunk to the bottom the fisher’s deserted bark one would fain bring again to the wave-beaten strand of Waka.” Here the main quibble is on Waka = *waka* [Japanese verse],

¹ Of the stanzas in this essay, gathered from various sources and very characteristic of old Japan, the text seems worth presenting in English italics.

and the meaning is that the writer lost in seclusion cannot enter [*yose*] the Chamber of Poetry.

Chōmei was well acquainted with Chinese literature. The last sentence of the *Hōjōki* is an imitation of one in the *Monzen* [Elegant Extracts] of Prince Shōmei, 照明 [A.D. 501–531]: “As the water passeth by that maketh the river, so pass by the men whose lives make the age [reign].”¹

Of all the works of Japanese recluses perhaps the *Tsurezuregusa* by Yoshida Kenko [A.D. 1283–1350] is the best known.² The *Hōjōki*, however, is thought by many critics to be superior to these “Fugitive Notes.”

A little earlier than Chōmei flourished the renowned Saigyō Hōshi, whose image is so common an object in Japanese curio shops. He was a samurai of rank who resigned his order and, despising the pomps and vanities of the world, spent his life in pilgrimages to places consecrated by saintly tradition or associated with historic personages or celebrated for the beauty of their scenery, on which he has left descriptive or eulogistic stanzas. The explanation of the multitude of recluse-writers in the twelfth century is to be found in the great political, social, and domestic changes that then took place—the long peace that began with the settlement of the capital at Kyoto in 784 having ended in the civil disorders inaugurated by the rivalries of the Minamoto [Gen] and Taira [Hei] houses. Of this revolution, for such it was, as important as that of the seventh century which flooded the country with the civilization of China and that which is being accomplished under our own eyes, I venture to add a brief account from the writings of the most famous of the Tokugawa statesmen, Arai Hakusekii.³

The ancient emperors took as their principal consorts princesses of their own families—just as was the custom

¹ So in a well-known hymn with

“Time, like an ever rolling stream,
Bears all its sons away.”

² There exists a translation into English by the Rev. W. Eby, and an excellent account will be found in Dr. Aston’s “History of Japanese Literature.”

³ See Dr. Knox’s fine translation of his most interesting and characteristic autobiography in vol. xxx, Tr. As. Soc. Japan.

in Egypt and Peru—down to the reign of the Emperor Shōmu [A.D. 724–794], who married a daughter of the Fujihara house, Akeko, better known as the Empress Kwōmyō [Her Shining Majesty]. She was the Catherine of Japan, dissolute and unprincipled, but showed great favour to Buddhism, by whose followers her memory is still revered. Many stories are told anything but creditable to her, and an ancestor of mine, Fujihara no Sanekata [a poet of the tenth century], is said to have suffered death because he failed to render her an impossible homage.

From that time the mikados continued to take their consorts from the Fujihara family [this, of course, from the beginning was the work of the Fujiwara clan, not the mere choice of the Mikado; his freedom in this respect, so far as he had any, was employed in the selection of his concubines. The earliest (?) of the Fujiwara was a Naidaijiu, he flourished in the middle of the seventh century, was Crown Prince and a younger brother of the Mikado Tenchi or Tenji. *Nihongi, sub ann. A.D. 669*]. On the death of the Mikado Montoku [A.D. 851–9] Fujiwara no Yoshifusa got himself appointed Sesshō [攝政] or Regent, the heir-apparent being a minor, afterwards the Mikado Seiwa [A.D. 860–876]. The next Mikado, Yozei, was a madman and consequently deposed by Fujiwara no Mototsune, younger brother of Yoshigusa, who raised the Mikado Kwōkō to the throne [A.D. 885–7], whose son and successor, Uda [A.D. 888–897], made Mototsune Kwambaku [關白] or Prime Minister.

From that time the mikados were the puppets of the Kwambaku of the Fujiwara clan. But history is continually repeating itself. The Fujiwara clan was an extensive one, containing many principal and sub-families, who lost no time in quarrelling over the Kwambakuship and the honours and emoluments of the Court. Fighting men were hired nominally as guards to the Mikado, really to defend the interests of the Fujiwara. Thus for some three centuries the Fujiwara were virtually rulers of the state. Revolts were frequent, but on the whole were

successfully dealt with. Towards the close of the eleventh century an outbreak occurred in the north-western province of Dewa which was put down with great difficulty by Minamoto no Yoshiie, who, considering himself insufficiently rewarded by the Fujiwara, is said to have prophesied that his own descendants would in time supplant them. This, in fact, was so, for the Shogunate was established in the person of Minamoto no Yoritomo. In A.D. 1156 the so-called War of Hogen [A.D. 1156-9] began in the capital. Fifteen years earlier the Mikado Sutoku had been compelled to abdicate. Sutoku—or Shutoku—had desired that his younger son should succeed Kōn-e [A.D. 1142-55], but Shirakawa II was made Mikado instead. The Fujiwara clan at the same time found themselves in the same predicament as the Imperial family were in, for the retired Kwambaku Tadasane was opposed to the actual Minister Tadamichi, his elder son, and wished to replace him by his younger son Yoronaga, who allied himself with the Mikado Shutoku and hired a number of fighting men to support his cause. Among these were the old Minamoto no Tameyoshi with his numerous sons, except the eldest Yoshitomo, who took the part of the new Mikado [Shirakawa II]. A member of the powerful Taira clan, the famous Taira no Kyomori, also joined the new Mikado's party, while his uncle Tadamasa opposed him. A battle took place at night just after the funeral of the father of the rival Mikado—Toba [A.D. 1108-23]. Many of the Court nobles who opposed the Shirakawa party were beheaded—the first instance of capital punishment being inflicted upon the nobles since the year 810. Shirakawa also sent his rival [and brother] into exile. Kyomori beheaded his uncle Tadamasa, and Yoshitomo beheaded his own father, Tameyoshi. Yoronaga, the cause of all this bloodshed, was killed in the fight. He was Sadaijin, left great minister, at the time of his death.

Some three years later, in the twelfth month of the year 1159, began the so-called War of Heiji [A.D. 1159-60] between the Minamoto [Gen] and Taira [Hei] factions,

originating in the jealousy of Yoshitomo and Kiyomori. The Gen were defeated, and a month later Yoshitomo himself was slain. The victorious Kyomori spared the son of Yoshitomo—the famous Yoritomo—but sent him into exile. The power of the Fujiwara was completely broken, and Kyomori caused himself to be made Prime Minister under a new title, Daijōdaijin [太政大臣], and divided half the realm among his kinsmen and followers. More than once he put the ex-Mikado himself—Shirakawa—in prison, and finally caused the Mikado Takakura [A.D. 1169–80] to abdicate in favour of his son by Kyomori's daughter. Crowds of nobles were banished or beheaded, and the whole land seethed with resentment. A rebellion broke out in Idzu under the leadership of Yoritomo, during which Kyomori died. The Taira party were utterly defeated in the great sea-fight of Dan-no-ura [near Shimonoseki], and almost exterminated by the ferocious policy of the victor. Yoritomo, who was a statesman, saw the unwisdom of the system followed by the Fujiwara and Kyomori of allowing the provincial nobles to depend upon the Court rather than upon themselves, and inaugurated the Kamakura Shogunate [A.D. 1185], under which the local governors were converted into *ke-nin* [retainers] of his own family. In 1221 the ex-Mikado Toba II got together an army and tried to overthrow the Kamakura power. He was unsuccessful, and was banished to the island of Oki, where he died. This Toba II [commonly known as Go Toba no In, the retired Emperor Toba II] was the only Mikado, from the seventh century at least, to the restoration of 1867–8, who showed any independence. He was an able soldier, and equally versed in the arts of making sword-blades and poetry. It was he who made the author of the *Hōjōki* a member of the Chamber of Poesy.

Such was the history of the twelfth century, in the latter half of which and beyond the author of the *Hōjōki* lived. One can easily understand his desire to withdraw himself from such scenes of confusion and bloodshed as were almost daily enacted in his time. It was out of no feeling of

loyalty that men like Chōmei, Saigyō, or Yoshida Kenko retired from the world: it was mainly out of disgust at the turbulence of the age, and disappointment under the loss of office, rank, and emoluments with the changing fortunes of the factions that strove for mastery. Indeed, the much vaunted *chiugi* [忠義] of mediæval Japan is largely a myth. It was prized as a rare virtue. We have seen that nephews beheaded uncles, sons fathers, brothers banished brothers, and nobles rebelled against the emperors, sent them into exile, deposed them, and with the help of mercenary bands kept the land in a continuous welter of civil war. The foundation of the Kamakura Shogunate did not end this unhappy condition of the State, which endured, indeed, with occasional intervals of peace, until Iyeyasu affirmed his supremacy by the second storming of the castle at Ozaka.

Saigyō, who, unlike Chōmei, was a family father, lets the truth escape from him in the following stanza:—

<i>Shiba no iho ni</i>	To the wattle hut
<i>mi wo ba kokoro no</i>	my soul hath
<i>sasoi-kite</i>	enticed my body ;
<i>kokoro wa mi ni mo</i>	alas ! my body
<i>sowanu narikeri.</i>	there beareth not my soul.

Of the details of Chōmei's life not much is known ; it was probably uneventful after his retirement. The following stanzas will give some idea of his poetic power and cast of thought. They are taken from a book called *Kamo no Chōmei shiu*, 鴨長明集—The Poems of Chōmei—which has his signature appended with the date 1 Shōgen (A.D. 1207).

MOON AND SEA.

<i>Kuma mo naki</i>	The orb undimmed
<i>kagami to miyete</i>	that shineth like a mirror, ¹
<i>sumu tsuki wo</i>	the clear moon !
<i>momotabi migaku</i>	the white waves of ocean
<i>okitsu shiranami.</i>	do burnish it innumerously !

¹ Of polished white metal. The restless waves are even polishing the reflected image of the moon.

THE MURMUR OF THE CICADAS AT THE DEPARTURE OF AUTUMN.

*Aki shita
mushi no koe koso
yowani nare
tomaranu mono to
tare ka oshieshi.*

Of Autumn loving
cicadas now the murmur
more feeble groweth ;
this empty world how fleeting
who taught these [tiny]
creatures ?

THE EARLIEST SOFT RAINS OF WINTER.

*Oto suru mo
sabishiki mono to
maki no ita ni
omoi shiraseru
hatsu shigure kana.*

Those pattering drops !
like sound of fulling-board¹
they wake in me
a sense of solitude—
those first Winter showers.

WINTER MOONSHINE ON SHRINE AND TEMPLE.

*Itsuwari wo
wakite togamuru
shime no uchi ni
hiru to na mie zo
fuya no yo no tsuki.*

Through sacred fringe
from holy shrine that wardeth
every falsehood,
dare not, O moon of Winter,
to counterfeit day's glory.

THE WEARINESS OF LIFE.

*Sumi wabinu
iza sawa koyemu
Shide no yama
sate dani oya no
ato wo fumubeku.*

Fatigued with living,
my spirit fain would cross
the hill of Shide² ;
e'en thus I should
my father's footsteps follow.

The above was probably composed upon the failure to obtain his father's post of warden of the Kamo shrine. A friend, one Sukemitsu, sent him the following sensible quintain in reply :—

¹ The sound of beating cloth on a board to make it supple—a frequent motive in old Japanese poetry.

² The hill in Hades all souls must cross.

*Sumi wabite
isogi na koe zo
Shide no yama
kono yo ni oya no
ato wo koso fume.*

Scorn not to live,
nor haste to climb the hill
of fatal Shide ;
but in this world of men
thy father's footsteps follow.

A CLOUD OF BLOSSOMS IN A PICTURE OF THE PURE LAND.
(JŌDO = PARADISE).

*Taezu chiru
hana no arikeri
furusato no
ume mo sakura mo
ushi ya hito toki.*

Ah ! yonder blossoms
fill the happy scene for ever ;
alas ! my village
the spray of plum and cherry
but seeth to see them wither.

OBLIVION OF THE GLORY OF THE WEST¹: THE BEAUTY OF
MOONRISE.

*Asa yuu ni
nishi wo somukaji
to omoedomo
tsuki matsu hodo wa
e koso mukawane.*

In either twilight,
upon the west my back
ne'er would I turn ;
yet when the moon is rising
I cannot westwards look !

So delightedly does he contemplate the rising moon that he forgets he is turning his back on the quarter where Paradise lies.

¹ Paradise is in the west, the moon rises in the east.

IX.

THE MANAVULU-SANDESAYA.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION.

By LIONEL D. BARNETT, M.A., D. Litt., M.R.A.S.

THE Mānāvuḷu-sandesaya, or in Pali Mahānāgakula-sandesa, which to-day first reaches the Western reader, is a little Pali poem of somewhat singular character. It is in the form of a poetical epistle, in the style of high *kāvya*. It is dated from Mahānāgakula (Mānāvuḷu), a city of Ceylon. After long and occasionally complicated panegyrics upon this city, a local Buddhist monastery, and the *mahāthera* Nāgasena residing in the latter, it proceeds to describe in similar strains the city of Arimaddanapura (Pugāma, the modern Pagan), the emperor Siri-Dhammarāja who bears rule therein, a monastery built by the latter near his capital, and a distinguished *mahāthera* named Kassapa-Saṅgha-rakkhita who dwells there. Then follows an address from Nāgasena to Kassapa, in which Nāgasena mentions that he has received a letter from Kassapa through a minister Nāṇa, apparently containing a request. The poem here practically comes to an end. Five verses follow, containing greetings to a certain Sāriputta and an exhortation to reform the Church in Pagan as it had been reformed in Ceylon by Parākrama-bāhu; but as these verses are in part grossly corrupt, as they are singularly feeble and debased in style, and as they are ignored by the Sinhalese translator of the rest of the poem, we are justified in regarding them with suspicion. Either they are altogether spurious, or they are a rough draft which the poet never worked out. The poem is thus a mere fragment.

The author obviously is not Nāgasena himself, but is probably a monk of his school. The whole significance of the work lies in its topical character; it bears upon the historical events of the middle of the thirteenth century, and can only be the work of a contemporary.

At that time Pagan, still the leading state in Burma, was in close contact with the metropolitan church of Ceylon. Details of these relations are given in the inscription of Dhammacheti,¹ and it suffices here to point out that in 1250 A.D. there existed in Pagan two great divisions, the *Purima* or old Church and the *Sihala* or Sinhalese Church, which had been recently introduced from Ceylon. Ānanda Thera, a leader of the latter party, died at Pagan in 1245. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, however, the Church in Pagan declined in importance as the empire of Pagan hastened to its fall. No poet in the fourteenth century or later could describe Pagan in the language of our author.

Our author calls the king of Pagan *Siri-Dhammarāja*. This is an abbreviated form of *Siri-tribhuvanāditya-pavara-paṇḍita-dhammarāja*, the regular title of the Pagan kings. The king who bore it from 1211 to 1234 A.D. was Uzanā, who was son of Narapati-sithū, and is also known as Jeyasinga (Zeya-theinka), Nan-daung-myo, and Tilo-min-lo. His successor was Kya-swā (1234–1250), followed by another Uzanā. Any one of these three may be the king glorified by our poet; the facts which we shall next review suggest that it is the first or the second of these monarchs to whom he refers.

Kassapa Mahāthera is an interesting figure whom I restore with much pleasure to literature from the ruins of his home. At Siri-paccayā (Thiri-pitsayā), hard by Pagan, among the ruined masses of monastic buildings there is a group that still bears the name of *Shin-katthaba*, the Reverend Kassapa. This was the monastery of Mahā-kassapa, who in the middle of the thirteenth century was one of the leaders of the

¹ See also *Mahāvamsa*, lxxx, 6 f.

Church in Pagan. An inscription found here¹ states that in Nadaw 606 Sak. (A.D. 1244) Min Hla built a large monastery for the residence of the Reverend Mahā-kassapa, and gave an estate for the maintenance of the establishment. This apparently was an addition to the previous establishment; for the latter, according to our poet, was originally founded by the king, and the same inscription records other gifts to the monastery of Mahā-kassapa, of which the first is dated Pyatho 599 Sak. (A.D. 1237-8). Two other inscriptions, dated 604 Sak. (A.D. 1242), mention a similar gift of land to his monastery;² while another document records the foundation of another monastery in 599 Sak. (A.D. 1237) and the dedication of slaves for its service in the presence of Mahā-kassapa and Dhammasiri-subhūti.³ To bear witness to such dedications was a function that even kings and great nobles did not despise.

Even the minister Nāṇa mentioned in our poem seems to have left his name upon the monuments of this period; for an inscription dated 599 Sak. (A.D. 1237) records the construction of a grotto and monastery by a minister named Nāṇa Pi-si and the dedication of slaves and land for its maintenance.⁴

We cannot lay any stress upon the dubious verses 57-62; but it may be remarked that about this time there was a distinguished friar in Pagan, Sāriputta surnamed Dhamma-vilāsa, who may be the Sāriputta of v. 59.⁵ Parākrama-bāhu's reformation of the Church, to which v. 62 alludes, is a commonplace, and suggests no conclusions.

In this period the town of Mānāvulu or Mahānāgakula was also important. It had been the seat of Kittisiri Megha, and Parākrama-bāhu I made it the capital of the surrounding province.⁶ Subsequently it lapsed into insignificance, and

¹ *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava* (Rangoon, 1892), x, No. 15, p. 243.

² *Inscriptions of Pagan, etc.*, iv, No. 3, p. 117, and vii, No. 16, p. 184.

³ *Inscriptions of Pagan, etc.*, iii, No. 6, p. 101.

⁴ *Inscriptions of Pagan, etc.*, vii, No. 14, p. 181.

⁵ See Forchhammer, *The Jardine Prize*, pp. 29 ff.

⁶ *Mahāvamsa*, lxi, 23; lxxii, 118 ff.; lxxv, 21.

it exists no longer. The fame of Nāgasena likewise seems to have been short-lived ; his memory indeed is apparently preserved only in this little poem.

In editing the text I have used four Sinhalese palm-leaf MSS., which were formerly in the collection of the late Mr. Hugh Nevill. They are—

- A. Text with a fairly old and scholarly *sannaya* (i.e. text analysed and interpreted in Sinhalese) ; written in a Low Country hand by a clumsy and somewhat illiterate scribe, about 1800. 15 folios.
- B. Text with same *sannaya*, fairly correctly written in a neat small hand of the early nineteenth century. 11 folios.
- C. Text with same *sannaya*, copied recently from A or a near ancestor of A. 14 folios.
- D. Text only ; carelessly and ignorantly written ; represents the same tradition as B, and hence is of no independent value. 5 folios.

As A, B, and C give the text of each stanza twice, firstly by itself (*saṃhitā*-text) and secondly with its interpretation in the *sannaya* (*pada*-text), I denote the readings of the former by A^a, B^a, and C^a, and those of the latter as A^b, B^b, and C^b. The *pada*-text often varies from the *saṃhitā*-text, and is usually more correct. Italics denote conjectural alterations or additions.

The critical notes are by no means exhaustive, for in such a small work it is needless to register all the confusions of similar letters which teem in Sinhalese MSS., and signify nothing. Hence I have usually ignored cases where an obvious blunder in the *saṃhitā* is tacitly corrected in the *pada*-text, or *vice versâ*, and generally I have recorded only salient divergences of the MSS. or irregularities of some slight significance. In the matter of spelling I have usually followed the tradition of B, D.

MĀNĀVULU - SANDESAYA.

- Rammā mahānāgakuloditamhā purā mahānāgakulākulamhā
udiccasampannakulācitamhā¹ samiddhisam̐yogavibhūsitamhā. (1)
- laṅkitthīvadane vibhūtisadane sātaccasammānane
yasmim̐ sajjitatoraṇe sataruṇe sādhūna' sādhāraṇe
dhammārāmakule vilopavikale paccatthiduggācale
ārāmo ahu rāmaṇiyyavibhavo datṭhabbasāro varo. (2)
- yasmim̐ vihāre yatipum̐gavānaṃ guṇātibhārubbahanātureva
mahī samunnāmitatoranoghabāhābhir ārocayate visādaṃ. (3)
- suddhaduddhapataḷaṃ va vālukāpaṭṭaṃ aṭṭahasitaṃ va bhūmiyā
bhāti yattha munivīraṇīrajaṃ patṭha toruṇaṇeṇ usannibhaṃ.² (4)
- ambare avilambantā dharāsannihitā thirā
pāsādā 'bhivirocanti sārādā va payodharā. (5)
- dīpā jhāyanti ārāme saddhim̐ sambuddhasūnubhi³
andhakārā vigacchanti saddhim̐ cittamalehi pi. (6)
- indindirānandanamañjarikā mandānilāndolitapallavaggā⁴
samuggirantīva ghanānurāgam anokahā sam̐yatisaṅgaladdhaṃ. (7)
- mandamandapavanaggakampitā bālasālavayā vihaṅgame
vārayantir iva tuṅgakūjite⁵ jhānanandanavibādhanā bhayā. (8)
- asārabhāve kadalīvanāvalī⁶ cirassa nindāparipīḷitā yaḥim̐
vidhāya chāyā yamipum̐gavānugā subhesinī nūna' tapovan'
ajjhagā. (9)
- yasmim̐ sammasanānubaddhahadaye ātāpine sam̐yate
'neke sam̐yamipum̐gave guṇagaṇārāme thirārambhīṇe⁷
sevante vanavāhinisucipayoraṇe taraṅgākule
raṅgantā mudumārutā kalarutā sākuntasānkūjitā. (10)
- evaṃvidhe cārutare vihāre visuddhasaddhammaniketaramme
ranañjayābaddhamanoratho hū thero⁸ mahānāgacamū paṇito (11)

¹ A^b, B^b, C^b -ācitamhā ; A^a, B^a, C^a, D -ocitamhā.² A^a, B^a, C^a, D -nīrajāpa- ; A^b, B^b, C^b -nīrajapa-.³ A, C sūnibhi.⁴ A^a, C^a -ādol- ; B^a, D -andol- ; A^b, B^b, C^b -āndol-.⁵ A, C kuñj- ; B, D kūj-.⁶ C kadalavināvali.⁷ A, C, D -ārambhite.⁸ After thero A adds nāro, C nāro.

- nissaṅgo dānadhārāsuraḥhi guṇagaṇādhoraṇārohaṇaḍḍho
 sikkhākāruṇṇapuṇṇassavaṇavisaraṇāghūṇitāghāṇureṇū
 yo hū vāṇikareṇū raṇaraṇakamahāvāraṇoddāraṇāya
 paṇṇātiṇṇorudanto samaṇamaṇi mahāgandhamātaṇgaṇāgo. (12)
 saṅkhindukundaharahāramuṇālanāla-¹
 bhāgīrathisaḷilanimmalakittipūre
 yasmim vasantakulite² pavijambhamāṇe
 samphullalakkhiṃ upayanti tapovanāni. (13)
 naṭati sirasi reṇū buddhapādāravinde³
 naṭati sugatavāṇivāṇinī kaṇṭharaṇge
 naṭati hadayaṇge bhāvanānāṭakitthī
 naṭati caraṇaraṇge lokamolīnam ālī. (14)
 muttāguṇatte pi guṇā mahagghā na dīghasuttā na sarandhavuttā
 nīhārabhānū na pi somabhāve na sūlapāṇi na kapāladhārī. (15)
 janappasādā viya yassa sārā sudhābhisittā viya candabhāso⁴
 saroruhālīva sakesarāvalī guṇānurāgeṇa guṇā vibhūsitā. (16)
 na candakantūpalavantiniḷḷharā na candapādā na ca candanaḍḍavā⁵
 na ceva hārābharāṇā na nīyare samantato yassa yathā guṇāvalī. (17)
 laṅkāy' ābharāṇo guṇoghasaraṇo dhammākare toraṇo
 kummaggāvaraṇo⁶ visuddhacaraṇo so 'yaṃ asādhāraṇo
 taṇhākūlavidāraṇo raṇaraṇavyāpāraṇodāraṇo
 dhammappītisurāpagāviharaṇo erāvaṇo vāraṇo. (18)
 tejoguṇā cīvaralakkhaṇena parissajantīva⁷ tanuṃ samantā
 durāsado yena yaṃissaro so sasenamāreṇa pi duddamena. (19)
 āsā yato paṭutaraṃ munikomudāni
 nīhārabhānulasitena hilādayāno
 so nāgasenayamipo yasaraṃsipūro
 āsāvisālaḷayaṃ dhavalīkaroti. (20)
 sanāgaseno⁸ pi hilādaye⁹ janāṃ ghanānurāgo pi pajāsu nimmamo
 yaṃābhirāmo pi durāsado sadā virūḷhamūlo pi ca aggasammato. (21)

¹ A^a, C^a -*nālam*.

² So B, D, A^a, C^a; A^b, C^b -*tulite* (or -*tuline*).

³ Should we read -*dā*?

⁴ A, B, C -*bhāvo* (D -*bhāvaro*); but the Sinh., which explains "like the moon's rays" (*candra-marīcīṇ menda*), confirms our emendation.

⁵ A, B, C, D *candanandavā*.

⁶ Should we read *dum*?

⁷ A^a, C^a *parisayan*-; A^b, C^b *parissayan*-; the latter may be right.

⁸ *Sonā*- A^a (originally, but corrected), C^a, D.

⁹ *Hilādayo* A (originally, but corrected), C, D.

pāṇo sadhammissarasāsanassa nibaddhakaccho kalisāsanassa
niketabhūto tapasādhanassa sirīdharo sissapasādhanassa. (22)

jambuddīpavare nirāpadakare nissesakosākare
velāvellitasāgarorulaharīpākāragopāyite
dhammādisarabodhimāṅgalaghare¹ vijjāpagāsāgare
sādhūdārasaroruhākaravare bhūkāminisekhare (23)

dosārimaddanasamunnatanāmadhey²
samppannakosaparivāramahākuladdho
sabbūpabhogaparipunṇagahābhirāmo
dhammābhirāmajana³vissamaṇassamo hū. (24)

jinavaratanujā³ guṇabhūruhabhū parahitaniratā sahitāvahitā
sucaritacaritopasamābharanā sacaraṇasarasīruhamāṇḍanato (25)

kamalākarataṃ upanenti hi yaṃ satataṃ sukhitā subudhā vibudhā
amarā viya nandanamajjhagatā muditā 'bhiramanti hi yattha
gatā. (26)

dese tasmim vimalakamalādevimūlādhivāse
pārāvāropanatavividhodāramuttādisāre
addhe⁴ nānājanadhanabharā bhūmibhedābhisaūke
samppannaṅgā sujanabharanā rājadhānī ahosi. (27)

sārodaggavisālasālavālayo yassaṃ sudhāmaṇḍito
lakkhisaṅgamamaṅgalāvutasitappālabapattāvalī
piṇḍibhūya padakkhiṇāhitatanū kittippabandho yathā
bhūpālassa virājate patidisam gantvā disoṇṇhitam.⁵ (28)

pāsādo himaselakūṭadhavallo bhūpālamūlālayo
kūṭāgāraparamparācitasiroraṅgappasaṅgākulo
devindassa vinindati⁶ ppatidinam pālambahemāvalī
devānandanananandanābhiramaṇe erāvaṇam vāraṇam. (29)

toraṇesu ca baddhakinkiṇijālajātaraṇitena hāriṇim⁷
raṅgakelicaturo va māruto gāyate va nagarīpatiyasam. (30)

¹ A^a -ādhi-, corrected to -ādi-; A^b, B, D -ādi-; C -ādhi-.

² Dosāra- A, C (in A^a orig. dosāri-); sodāri- D.

³ A, B, C, D -tanujā.

⁴ A, B, C addho . . . bhūmibhedābhisaūko (D addho . . . -saūke);
the emendation is confirmed by the Sinh.

⁵ I.e. in Sanskrit dig-aragūṇhitam. C^b has -tā, A^b -to altered to -tam, D -to.

⁶ B, D nindita.

⁷ A, B, C, D hāriṇi or -ni; but the Sinh. treats the word as epithet of -yasam,
which must be a feminine, as apparently in v. 49.

dānambudhārāparipānapīṇitā mattadvipānaṃ ghanadānapaṅkile
gaṇḍatthale baddhapadā¹ silimukhā nibaddhajhaṅkāraraveṇa
ñāyare. (31)

turaṅgamā kiṅkiṇijālabaddhā jaṅghālavegena vijambhamāṇā
saddāyamānā va nabhecarāṇaṃ saḥassabhānussa turaṅgamānaṃ. (32)

madhukaranikarāṇaṃ pānagārāravindā²
tataruhatarusākhāañjalīpeyatoyā
vividhavihagakilāgāyanākeliraṅgā
sisiramadhuranirā pokkharaṇṇo ramenti. (33)

kokilālikulamañjusiñjitā mañjarījarajapuñjarañjitā³
rucirakāmaratidūtacūtakā rañjayanti yuvino va kānane. (34)

evamvidhe vividharammavibhūtisāre
tatthārimaddanapure paraduppasayhe
sāmantamolimañjirañjitapādapiṭho⁴
dhammena sāsati bhuvam siridhammarājā. (35)

yen' indriyāṇi sakalāni vasīkatāni
sampannañāṇakarūṇāguṇabhāvanena
dhamme pi so 'bhiramate nijamandire va
molim yathāvahati saṅghapādāravinde. (36)

khaggayatṭhi raṇakelidohaḷā yassa paṇisarasīruhe tṭhitā
veravīrabhaṭacittakoṭarā vuṭṭhitā⁵ va ghanadhūmasantati. (37)

kim cittam yadi sindhuvārijathare dhāvam bhujāṅgālayam
jhatvānāribhaṭātavi⁶ na samito⁷ dubbāratejonalo⁸
cittam na ppalayuggadīdhitimahāmattaṇḍacandattana
yam⁹ tenārivilāsiniñjalanidhim nāseti nissesato. (38)

yasappabandhā saradabbhasubbhā¹⁰ dasā disā¹¹ 'bhippasaranti yassa
kavīna' vācāyatavātavegā picuppabandhā viya vippakiṇṇā. (39)

¹ A, B, C, D -pādā.

² Only A^a, C^a -dā; D -de.

³ B -rañja-.

⁴ A, C -piṭhe.

⁵ B^a, D duṭṭh-.

⁶ A, B, C, D jhatvāmāri-, dividing jhatvāma ari-; the Sinh. also suggests jhatvāna.

⁷ A (?), B, C^a, D samino; C^b samito.

⁸ C, D duddhāra-; but A, B, and the Sinh. confirm our reading.

⁹ A^a, C^a santenāri-; B^a, D yan tenapi-.

¹⁰ B ambha-; the Sinh. translates "mass of clouds."

¹¹ Should we read disā dasubhippasaran'i?

rājindirāmaṅgaladappaṇena¹ tivaggalakkhīratimandireṇa
narādhirājena manobhirāmo akāri āramavaro ulāro. (40)

pākāramaṇḍalaparikkhitagehapālī²
rammā sudhādhavalitā valitā jutīhi
khīramburāsiparimanthanavegajātā³
pheṇāvalīva nibiḍā⁴ laharīviniddhā. (41)

yogānuyogādiguṇoditena vikampitā saṃyaminam gaṇena
ubbandhitā pāpabhaṭā va yattha dhajā ca †m' accunnatatorāṇesu.⁵(42)

pabhātakāle himabindusandanī vihaṅgamodīritanādanāditā
tapodhanānam tapatejajjitā rudanti maññe pavanā vanālayo. (43)

kamalinī c'⁶ alinīlasaroruhā sarasasārasasārasamaṇḍanā
avirasā virasātapatāpahā⁷ tapavanopavanodarahāriṇī.⁸ (44)

tahim vihāre viharam yasassī taponiketo guṇasannivāso
so saṅgharakkhitam itīritanāmadheygo thero mahā sakalalokaki-
rītapādo. (45)

kundāvadātā kavikaṇṭhahārā disambarāḍambavippakiṇṇā
yasappabandhā sanarāmaro pi te gāyi loko katakaṇṇapūro.⁹ (46)

yadi ppavālabudhikhīrasāgarā samam careyyum bhuvane samantato
tato 'nukubbanti disāsu vitthaṭā yasappabandhā tapatejavellitā. (47)

pavālagāṅgāhi vilobhitajjutī virājate patthaṭatejasantati
pakāsituṃ kuṅkumapaṅkilepanam disaṅganāpīnapayodharopari. (48)

yo yasāmantasekena¹⁰ nibbāpeti jagattayam
dhammaramsābhisekena abhisandeti mānavam. (49)

vasanti yasmim karuṇādayo guṇā sirīnikete viya rājamandire
asaṅgacārī tu yasoparamparā caranti loka kuṭiyam va piṇḍitā. (50)

guṇānam anto ca na dissate me sarasvatī sīdati mandabhāgā
na mañjarībhārapalambasākhe vaso 'tthi paṅgussa hi sālārāje. (51)

¹ A, B, C, D -*indarā*-. In the next line only B^b has *akāri*. A, B^a, C, D *akāsi*, which may possibly be right, supposing the poet's grammar to be vitiated by the vernacular (the Sinh. has here *keḷēyi*, both active and passive).

² B, C^b -*parikkhitta*-, and so apparently the Sinh.

³ A -*parimanthana*-; C -*paramanthana*-; B, D -*paripanthana*-.

⁴ A, B, C, D *nikhiḍā*.

⁵ Corrupt. A, B^b, C, D agree in reading *maco*- (B^a *maṇḍ*-), and the Sinh. construes it as if it were *acc*- (i.e. *aty*-) !

⁶ A, B, C, D *m*; the Sinh. suggests *c'*.

⁷ A, B, C *virasāpatāpahā* (D -*tāpavābhā*); the Sinh. has "allaying unpleasant heat."

⁸ B^a *tapanopavanod*-, B^b *tapavanod*-, D *tapavanopavādāra*-.

⁹ B, D -*kaṇṇu*-; A, C -*kannu*-.

¹⁰ A^a, C^a *yāsā*-; A^b, C^b *yasa*-; B, D *yasā*-.

taṃ kassapamahātheram bruvīti¹ guṇasekharo
nāgasenamahāthero āsiṃsanapurassaram. (52)

dubbārānaṅgavātāhatataralatarā gāḍharāgūḍhanirā
hārādhārābhirāmā maṇighiṇivalayāveladibbāyudhālī²
vijjucchāyāsanāthā sanakharakarakā mārārājambudālī
nālam yaṃcittakekiṃ pacalitukaraṇe³ pātu tuyhaṃ sa dhīro. (53)

lasati tuhinaramsi puṇṇaramsi nisāyaṃ
lasati divasabhāge bhānumā 'nantabhānu
hasati kamalasaṇḍaṃ pattaḡimhānakāle
jayati yativaro 'yaṃ sabbadā merudhīro. (54)

niccaṃ sirīramaṇamaṅgalamandireṇa
piṇāmi te caraṇapallavasekhareṇa
dittappabhāpaṭalapallavitodareṇa
devāsuro ragasiromaṇibhassareṇa. (55)

bhadantapādā pahitaṃ⁴ hi paṇṇam āniya dattaṃ guṇarukkha-
paṇṇam

nānābhidhānena padhāninā yaṃ samaggasāmaggiraso⁵ va taṃ me. (56)

disvāna paṇṇam tava bhūripaṇṇam sutvāna sandesam ulārapīti
jāto 'mhi sammānanabhājanānam āyācanā pītivasīkaroti. (57)

[pavāraṇā⁶ hoti⁷ yadatthikena yen'atthi attho pahinanti paṇṇam
sampaḍayissāma⁸ yathābalaṃ taṃ thirāya sāmaggi na bhedanīyā. (58)

sāriputtassa pucchāma kusalaṃ kusalesino
puññaṃ pariṇayissāma⁹ sāsanaṭṭhitikāmino. (59)

tvānirāmayatvaṃ dadāmi¹⁰

api jitaṃ saṅgāme pariccajjaṃ idaṃ kusalabbataṃ
patijā jīvitamāyaṃ dhammarataṃ hi dullabhaṃ.¹¹ (60)

¹ C *brū-*, D *bra-*.

² C *-ghina-*.

³ A^b, B^a *-karaṇo*; A^a, C^a *-karano*.

⁴ A, B, C, D *-pādāmihitam* (B^a twice *hitam*).

⁵ A, B, C, D *samaggi-*; the Sinh. *siyaḷu*, "all."

⁶ Verses 58-62 are for the most part incorrigibly corrupt, and probably spurious.

⁷ A (?), C *bheti*.

⁸ A, B, C, D *sammāda-*.

⁹ B *pariṇāy-*; D *parinay-*; A, C *pariṇāmay-*.

¹⁰ B *tvānirāmayattha*, C *tvāromayatvā*, A *dādāmi*. D omits all.

¹¹ So apparently A, C; A, however, has *samsāgame* (?), and C *-raṇam*. B has *jīvitam samsajjam idaṃ ku^o sulabham*, D *jīvitam soyāgamena . . . sulabham patirājāti jīvitam mayam*.

bhadantapādāna' samīpacārī ye¹ buddhabhikkhū paṇamitvaneham²
na ceva³ puccham hi (na dātudeyyam)⁴ dadāmi puññāni virañji-
tāni. (61)

saddhim parakkamabhujena mahībhujena
saṅgho visodhayi yathā jinasāsan'ettha
tumhe pi tattha siridhammanarādhirājam
ādāya sāsanaṇavaram suvisodhayātha. (62)]

TRANSLATION.

(1) [Sent] from the pleasant city called Mahānāgakula, which is thronged with crowds of mighty elephants, formed by the gathering of families of exalted estate, and adorned by the presence of fortune.

(2) In this, which is as it were the face of the Lady Lankā,⁵ a seat of splendour, a place of constant entertainment possessing ornamented archways, with youthful folk, where righteous men form a general population delighting in the Law, free from raids, a mount unsurmountable by foemen, there is a noble Pleasance of delightful splendour and notable richness.

(3) In this Close the Earth, being as it were faint from supporting the exceeding weight of the virtues of the noble ascetics, displays her weariness by throwing up crowds of archways as her arms.⁶

(4) Here a strip of sand gleams like a mass of pure milk, like the Earth's smile, in semblance as pollen from the broad and far-spread pistils of lotuses, which are the virtues of valiant sages.⁷

¹ A, B, C *ye ye* ; D *yo ye*.

² D *teham*.

³ A, C *nameva* ; D *tam eva*.

⁴ These words are found only in D.

⁵ Sinhalese poets are fond of comparing a city to the jewelled face of the Earth or of Lankā ; so in the *Anurādhapura-vistaraya*—

Anurādhapuram rammaṇ āsi laṅkāmahītale
bhūmikāminiyā sādhu maṇḍitam vadanam viya.

⁶ Cf. Buddhacarita, viii, 37.

⁷ *Guṇa* = 'pistil' and 'virtue.' The point is strengthened by *niraja*, which suggests *nis-rajas*.

(5) Its temple-buildings shew like autumnal clouds which, instead of dallying in the sky, have fixed themselves firmly in the earth.¹

(6) In this Pleasance lamps are burned while the sons of the Enlightened One meditate;² and darkness is dissipated, together with the defilements of the mind.

(7) Its trees, whose blossoms delight the bees,³ and whose twig-tips are fluttered by gentle breezes, breathe forth as it were an intense devotion⁴ gotten from attachment to the ascetics.

(8) Stirred by the edge of the gentle wind, the young trees' circles as it were keep off the shrilly piping birds in fear lest they should disturb the delights of meditation.

(9) Here, affording shade, stands a plantain-grove, which is as though, after long repining at the reproach of its saplessness,⁵ it had at length attached itself to the noble ascetics and come to the hermitage in desire of good works.

(10) Soft winds, tender-voiced, full of birds' songs, dancing on the wave-thronged stage of the forest-rivers' pure waters, do service⁶ here to many noble ascetics, whose hearts are fixed upon contemplation, who are zealous,⁷ self-disciplined, delighting in all the virtues, resolute in their undertakings.

(11) Such is the charming Close, pleasant as being the abode of the pure Good Law, where dwells the famous elder, the great Nāgasena, whose desires are fixed upon conquest in the Strife.⁸

¹ The same metaphor as in *Attana-galu-vamśa*, i, 7.

² The point lies in the double meaning of *jhāyanti*, signifying both 'are burnt' and 'meditate.'

³ The words are chosen to suggest *Indra* and *Nandana*.

⁴ *Ghanānurāga* means both 'intense devotion' and 'thick reddening' (of red pollen floating in the air). In its ethical sense *anurāga* is a phase of *saṅga*.

⁵ As so often, the plantain (*Musa sapientum*) is taken as typical of the vanity of life from its apparent lack of sap.

⁶ The winds are compared to dancing and singing girls; their stage is the river, their audience the hermits.

⁷ *Ātāpine* is glossed as *kelasayan tavannāvū vīryā āti*, 'having valour consuming the *kilesas*.'

⁸ So the *sannaya*; the strife is with the *kilesas*.

(12) He is without attachment (without fixed place), fragrant with the streams of charity (with streams of ichor), blest by being ruled (ridden) by guides (elephant-masters) in various virtues (reins), fearing not the atomic dust of sin (stirring up no atomic dust in the sky) because of the abundance of his mercifulness and righteous obedience (proper docility) from training, having the Goddess of Speech as his bride (having pleasant-voiced elephant-cows), possessing sharp and great tusks of knowledge in order to pierce the mighty elephants that war for Sin (that roar in battle), a jewel of ascetics (strong-voiced and jewelled),¹ a great Elephant-Bull.

(13) When this flood of glory, spotless as the conch, the jasmine, Hara's necklace, the lotus' root, or the waters of Ganges, swells forth bestirred by Spring, the hermitage-forests assume a verdant splendour.²

(14) On his head sports the dust from the lotus-feet of the Buddha; in his throat as stage sports the Blessed One's word as songstress; in his heart as stage sports the dancer meditation; about his feet as stage sports the line of the world's diadems.

(15) Even as threads of pearl-necklaces (as indeed void of unworth), his virtues (threads) are precious, allowing not of sloth (being not loosely strung) and being practised without fault (rounded without gaps); though he be of nature like the moon, he is not harsh of hand (though he shine as the moon, his beams are not frosty); he carries no trident in his hand (his hand deals not pain), he bears no skull (he is no foe of the bowl-bearers).³

¹ This is interesting as presenting one of the roots which Western Orientalists in their wisdom call 'artificial,' but in fact had a real, if obscure, life outside the Dhātupāṭhas. In its secondary sense *samaṇa* is analysed by our poet as *sa-maṇa*, 'with noise.'

² Nāgasena, having been in v. 12 compared by a pun upon his name to an elephant, is now likened to a "flood of glory." The verse means that the hermitages in which at the end of the Spring he spends the *vassa* or rainy season (July-August) are blessed by his presence.

³ Nāgasena is contrasted with Śiva. The Sinh. explains *sūlapāṇi* as secondarily meaning 'torturing the body.' *Kapāladhāri* is to be analysed secondarily as *kapāladha-ari*.

(16) As wealth through the favour of the public, as the moon's rays in being bedewed with ambrosia, as rows of lotuses with their lines of pistils, his virtues are enhanced by devotion to virtue.

(17) Neither the streams oozing from the *candrakānta* jewel, nor moonbeams, nor sandal-paste, nor necklaces can be applied [with such effect] as the series of his virtues.

(18) An ornament of Lankā, a shelter of throngs of virtues, an archway in the home of the Law, restraining men from evil paths, pure in his ways is this extraordinary man, cleaving the banks of Desire, shattering the efforts of him that roars in the strife,¹ sporting in the celestial river of delight in the Law like the elephant Airāvata.

(19) Under the guise of the monk's robe brilliant qualities encompass as it were his body, whereby this prince of ascetics is proof against the assaults of Māra, though he be accompanied by his host and hard to subdue.

(20) Brightly gladdening with dalliance as of the cool-rayed [moon] saintly men as lotuses wherever he be awaited,² this Nāgasena, prince of ascetics, is a flood of the radiance of glory making white the spacious vault of the sky.

(21) Even with hosts of elephants,³ he will delight the people; though intensely attached to the folk (to offspring), he is unselfish; though charming by reason of his discipline (though attractive to the Death-God), he is invincible; though of spreading root, he is highly esteemed.

(22) He is the life-breath to the empire of the Lord of his Law; his robes are girded up to chastise sin; he is a home of methods for mortification, and is resplendent with the ornament consisting of his disciples.

(23) In the excellent Jambūdvīpa, which wards off calamity and is a mine of all treasures, guarded by its bulwark of wide waves of the strand-encompassed ocean,

¹ Namely Kāma.

² The Sinh. translates *āsā yato* by *ē ē dikhī yamhoyakin*, taking *āsā* as *dīsā*.

³ I.e. even coming as an enemy. Secondarily to be analysed as *sa nāgaseno*, "this Nāgasena."

a festal house for the Enlightenment of the first Lord of the Law, an ocean to the rivers of knowledge, an excellent home of lotuses consisting of good and noble men, a crown of the Lady Earth,

(24) there is an abode giving repose to folk who delight in the Law; it has the exalted name "Crushing the Foe that is sin" (Arimaddana); it is rich in the presence of treasures, courts, and great families, and is delightful as fully providing for all enjoyments.

(25) Sons of the excellent Conqueror, seats of the trees of virtue, unresting for the welfare of others, heedful of their own weal, adorning righteous conduct and patience by the embellishment of the lotuses of their own feet

(26) dwell in this spot, everlastingly happy, wise, and enlightened, and render it a home of Fortune, even as the immortals sport blissfully in the midst of Nandana.

(27) In this region, which is the chief seat of the pure goddess Fortune, and in which are produced from the ocean a prime treasure of various noble pearls, wealthy, and suggesting a mine from its fostering manifold sorts of folk and wealth, there is a royal city which possesses the [seven] members¹ and nurtures worthy inhabitants.

(28) In this [city] there shines a circle of firm, lofty, and spacious bulwarks skilfully adorned, which is like the mass (panegyric) of the monarch's glory, as it forms in every direction a veil for the quarters of the sky, displays a series of drooping white flags (contains brilliant and long pedigrees) strung out on account of the festival of his union with Fortune, and in its sum turns its form southward (presents its form in an attitude of reverence).

(29) The monarch's chief abode, a palace white as the peak of a snowy mountain, crowded by the presence of balconies accumulated by the succession of storeys, and displaying long lines of gold, cries shame every day upon

¹ The seven *anigas* are enumerated in the *sannaya* as *srāmy amātyās suhṛt kośo rāṣṭradurgabalāni ca*, which slightly diverges from the text of Manu ix, 294, and Yājñavalkya i, 352.

Devendra's elephant Airāvata for sporting in the Nandana-park that delights the gods.

(30) With the tinkling that arises from the throngs of bells fixed on the archways the wind, like one skilled in the sports of the stage, sings as it were the charming glory of the city's lord.

(31) The bees, delighted with drinking streams of ichorous fluid (streams of the waters of largesse), and having their feet sticking on the hot elephants' cheeks muddied with thick ichor, may be known by the noise of the humming which they make.

(32) The horses, having crowds of bells attached to them and moving about with rapid spring, clamour as it were against the Sun's steeds faring through the sky.

(33) Delightful are its lotus-pools, whose flowers are as taverns to swarms of bees, whose water is drunk up as in their hollowed hands by the branches of the trees growing on the banks, which are as stages for various birds' play of sport and song, and possess cool sweet waters.

(34) Sweetly sounding with swarms of cuckoos and bees, ruddied with masses of pollen arising from their blossoms, the mango-trees, messengers of delightful love-dalliance, inspire love like damsels in its grove.

(35) Such is the city Arimaddana, essence of various delightful glories, invincible to foes, in which the blest Dharmarāja, whose footstool is ruddied by the jewels in the diadems of his barons, rules the earth with righteousness.

(36) He has subdued all his sense-organs by present practice of wisdom, mercy, and [other] qualities; he delights also in the Law as though it were his own palace, and wears the lotus-feet of the Church like a diadem.

(37) His sword-blade, longing for war's play, stands in his lotus-hand like a column of thick smoke arising from the hollow which is the heart of hostile warriors.

(38) What wonder, if his flame of irrepressible splendour, burning up forests of hostile warriors, rushes through the bowels of the rivers' waters to the home of the Nāgas, and is not quenched? The wonder is that by this fire, which

is in its nature fierce as a mighty sun gleaming grimly on a Day of Wrath, he does not utterly consume the ocean (store of tears) of his foes' brides.

(39) The panegyrics of his glory, lustrous as autumnal clouds, go forth to the ten quarters of the sky, and at the long wind-sweep of bards' song are scattered abroad like masses of cotton.

(40) This emperor, who is a festival mirror for imperial Fortune and a home of dalliance for prosperity in the three orders,¹ has made a stately, agreeable, excellent Pleasance.

(41) Delightful, white as ambrosia (whitened with skilful craft), encompassed with lustre, is its row of buildings girt by the circle of bulwarks, like a serried billow-crowded line of foam arising from the force of the churning of the Milk-Ocean.

(42) Here on the exceedingly lofty archways banners are strung up and made to flutter, like the warriors of Sin (made to tremble and scattered), by the band of ascetics, which is exalted in qualities such as the practice of spiritual discipline.

(43) At time of dawn the rows of the woods, dripping with drops of rime and noisy with cries uttered by birds, moan in the wind,² as though threatened, I trow, by the fires of the ascetics' mortifications.

(44) The lotus-pool has blossoms black with bees, and is adorned with piping water-fowl and sweet blossoms;³ it is pleasant of taste, allaying the arid sun's heat, and gladdening the recesses of the hermitage-park.

(45) In this Close dwells the famous Elder Friar, an abode of mortifications and home of excellences, hight by name Saṅgharakkhita, whose feet are a diadem to the whole world.

(46) The masses (panegyrics) of his glory, pure as jasmine, like the pearls round poets' throats, spread abroad

¹ Namely *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma*.

² I take *pavanā* as ablative; the Sinh. regards it as adjective, meaning *hamannāvū pavan āti*, 'having uniform wind.'

³ *Sarasa* as referring to the birds is 'noisy,' as referring to the flowers 'sweet.'

with the pomp of the Sky-quarters' robes ; the world, gods and men alike, sing them and make of them ear-jewels.

(47) If a sea of coral and an ocean of milk were to go together round about the world, then the masses of his glory encompassed by fires of mortification which are spread out in the sky-quarters would rival them.

(48) The far-spread column of his splendour, having a radiance allured to it from streams of coral, shines so as to reveal the smearing of saffron-paste upon the full bosoms of the Ladies of the Sky-quarters.

(49) He bedews the three worlds with the enchanted waters of his glory, and causes an anointment of the radiance of the Law to stream upon mankind.

(50) In him, as in a king's palace wherein fortune dwells, reside compassion and the other qualities ; but the series of his glories, going about in the world without fixed abode, are crowded together in it as though in a hut.

(51) I behold not the bound of his excellences ; my hapless Muse faints. A lame man has no control over the mighty tree, though its branches droop with the load of its blossoms.

(52) To this Elder Friar Kassapa, the Elder Friar Nāgasena, who is crowned with excellences, thus speaks with salutation.

(53) May you be protected by that stout one, the peacock of whose mind could not be stirred by the line of King Māra's clouds, which were all quivering with the strokes of irrepressible Love's blasts and bore deep passion for their waters, which were charming with necklaces as showers and had as encompassing rainbows circles of jewel-rays, which possessed the radiance of lightning and had in their own nails gleams of fire.¹

(54) At night sports the full-rayed luminary of chilly ray ; by day sports the beaming [luminary] of endless rays ;

¹ Referring to the temptation of the Buddha by the daughters of Māra, who are compared to clouds, the influence of which upon the peacock is a commonplace. *Ra-kara* is ' fire-ray ' (*aggimhi ro*, says Saddhammakitti in his *Ekakkhara-kosa* ; a Sanskrit *Ekākṣari-kōśa* says *raś ca rāme 'nile vahnau bhūmāṁ api dhano 'pi ca*).

in winter's season smiles the lotus-bed ; but ever triumphant is this excellent ascetic, firm as Meru.

(55) Ever do I rejoice in the crown of the flower-buds of your feet, a festive abode for the dalliance of Fortune, whose hollows are budding with masses of brilliant radiance, and which is illumined by the crest-jewels of gods, Asuras, and Nāgas.

(56) The missive-leaf sent from your Reverence's feet, a leaf from the tree of virtue, which has been brought to me by the minister Nāṇa, is to me as the essence of all completeness.

(57) Seeing your most precious missive and hearing your message, I became exceedingly overjoyed ; the requests of esteemed persons induce delight.

X.

PISACA = 'Ωμοφάγος.

By G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT.

AS a contribution towards solving the question of the origin of the inhabitants of the North - Western Frontier of British India, i.e., of Gilgit, Chitral, and Kāfiristān, I would draw attention to the fact that several legends as to the early customs of these tribes point to cannibalism having once prevailed there. The interpretation of the word *Pisāca* as meaning 'an eater of raw flesh,' 'Ωμοφάγος, is well known. Some of the legends have been printed, and of these I do not propose to give more than a brief sketch, with references to the authorities. Others, hitherto unpublished, I shall give at greater length.

Amongst the Shīns of Gilgit the festival of the Winter solstice occupies an important place. On the second day the *Talēni* or torch festival is celebrated.¹ It is in commemoration of the death of the tyrant Shiribadatt. The legend regarding him is given at length by Leitner,² and, for our present purposes, its outline is as follows:—

Shiribadatt was a descendant of the Yakṣas, and ruled over Gilgit. He was a powerful magician, and terribly oppressed his subjects. One day his cook brought him some mutton broth of superlative excellence. On enquiry it turned out that it was made from the flesh of a sheep that had been suckled in its lambhood by a woman, and was therefore to all intents and purposes the flesh of a human being. The taste for this unnatural food was awakened in Shiribadatt, and he ordered that his kitchen should be regularly provided with children of tender age, whose flesh,

¹ Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, pp. 101 and 109.

² Leitner, *Dardistan in 1866-1886 and 1893*, pp. 9 ff.

when converted into broth, would now alone appease his appetite. At first he was provided with the children and orphans of neighbouring tribes, but when this supply failed he compelled the inhabitants of Gilgit itself to give up their own children for slaughter.

Relief came at the hand of a fairy who had become a human being by eating the kidneys and liver of a calf. He arrived at Gilgit, where the tyrant's daughter fell in love with him. He persuaded her to ask her father the secret of the abiding-place of his soul, and she finally wrested from the latter the information that his soul was in the snows, and that he could only perish by fire. The fairy prince called the inhabitants of the country to surround the castle with lighted torches (*talēn*). Overcome by the heat, the monster leaped over the wall of his fortress, only to fall into a pit which had been dug for him. The villagers ran up, threw their torches into the pit, and thus destroyed Shiribadatt. The fairy prince was then proclaimed king, celebrated his nuptials with the princess, and, as a sole tribute, exacted the offering of one sheep, instead of that of a human child, annually from each of his subjects. The torch festival is in celebration of this deliverance. According to Leitner¹ the Dards of Gilgit had a reputation amongst the Kāśmīrīs for cannibalism so late as the year 1866, and one Dard tribe will accuse another of the practice. They themselves confess to the custom of drinking the blood of a slain enemy.²

Biddulph³ gives an amusing story of a female demon who used to eat up the Gilgit people. A saint turned her into stone, and on going away warned the people to bury him when he died at the foot of the image, otherwise the statue

¹ L.c.

² The story of Shiribadatt has striking points of resemblance with the *Mahā-sutasōma Jātaka*, for a version of which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Francis. In this the hero Brahma Datta (the 'Datta' is a curious coincidence) had been a Yakṣa in a former birth. By an accident of the cook-room he also reacquired the taste for human flesh and became a cannibal. He first ate up the prisoners in the jail. When that supply was exhausted he ate his subjects. He was then expelled from his kingdom. I have to thank Professor Rhys Davids for first drawing my attention to this *Jātaka*.

³ p. 112.

would come to life again. The practically minded Gilgit people, to save themselves the trouble of looking for the corpse of the wandering ascetic, promptly chopped off his head, and buried him there and then. The statue (really an image of the Buddha) is still there to bear witness to the truth of the legend.

Turning to the west of the Pisāca country, we find similar traces of ancient cannibalism in Kāfiristān. In the country of the Bashgal Kāfirs¹ there was an enormous snake which used to eat travellers. The god Imra remonstrated with him, but in vain. Imra then decapitated the snake.

The Wai Kāfirs have an interesting legend of their origin and of why they worship their deity Trasken. Here it is, literally translated from the version as given to me in their own language :—

“Formerly the Wai people dwelt in Jalālābād. Thence they migrated to Narang. They fled from there and dwelt in Caqansarāi. Then they dwelt in Shakurik, which is near the Shigal country. Then they dwelt in Kumaritun and Samalam. Thence they came and dwelt in the Wai valley.

“In the Wai valley there was a devil. Each year he took tribute from the Wai people. They counted houses, and turn and turn about a man was given him (to eat). In one house there were a boy and a girl, orphans. Their turn arrived. First the boy went, then the girl went, but the devil said, ‘They are very small. I will not take them.’ On this account the Wai people rebelled against the devil, and went about searching for the god Trasken. They found Trasken on Bimberi hill. He went with the Wai people, and killed the devil. Since then the Wai people have made their offerings to (i.e. have worshipped) Trasken.”

In the south of the Kāfir country, round about Laghmān, are the Pashai Kāfirs.² They have a remarkable story about a cannibal princess which runs as follows. I translate literally :—

“There was a king. He had one son and one daughter. The daughter was a cannibal (*ādam.khōr*). The brother fled from the

¹ Robinson, *Kāfirs of the Hindu Kush*, p. 388.

² Dr. Hoernle has suggested to me a connexion between ‘Pashai’ and ‘Pisāca.’ The connexion is phonetically quite possible.

sister and lived with a woman in another country. He kept two dogs. Much time passed. He returned to his father's city. There was no one there except his sister. (Apparently the lady had exhausted the entire available supply of her favourite food.) The sister prepared to eat him. She ate up his horse. The brother began to fear for his life. Then the sister said, 'I will eat you.' The brother said, 'Good. Take a sieve. Bring it full of water from the river. Come back when you have made your teeth sharp.' The sister went (with a sieve) to the river, but put a drum by him. She said, 'Keep beating the drum.' He caught a rat, and put it on the top of the drum. The rat jumped about, and so beat the drum. Then the boy ran away. When his sister came back, her brother was not there. She ran after him. When she got near him, he dropped a needle. The needle became a mountain. With much trouble she climbed it. Then he threw down salt. The salt became a mountain. With much trouble she climbed it. Then the brother threw down soap (*sābūn*). The soap became a mountain. She climbed to the top of it also. Her brother climbed a tree. She arrived beneath the tree. Just as she was about to eat her brother, his dogs came. He said to the dogs, 'Eat her in such a way that not one drop of blood fall on the ground.'¹ In that instant the dogs tore her into little pieces."

From the above it appears that legends connected with cannibalism are very widely spread over the modern Piśāca country, and that in some instances they are intimately connected with basal traditions regarding national origin and national religion. This is thoroughly in agreement with the root-meaning of the word *Piśāca*, and supports other arguments based on linguistic considerations which have been elsewhere adduced to show that the Piśācas of Sanskrit literature belonged to this part of India.

¹ Cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i, 355.

XI.

EPIGRAPHIC RESEARCHES IN MYSORE.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH. D., C.I.E.

SOME seventeen years ago, the Government of Mysore inaugurated a new departure in archæology, the results of which have been greatly appreciated by those who are interested in exploring the ancient history of India. They appointed Mr. B. Lewis Rice, then their Secretary and previously their Director of Public Instruction, to be Director of Archæological Researches. And they made provision for the collection and publication by him, in a series of volumes entitled *Epigraphia Carnatica*, of the texts, with abstract translations and historical introductions, of all the inscriptional records of their territory.

An idea shall be given further on, of the heavy nature of the task on which Mr. Rice is still engaged, and of the great value of the records which he has been bringing to notice. Meanwhile, we have to congratulate him upon another substantial advance towards the end of his work by the issue of volume viii,¹ received quite lately, which disposes of the records, 1038 in number, of the Sorab, Sāgar, Nagar, and Tirthahalli tālukas or subdivisions of the Shimoga district. And I propose to glance at some of the chief features of interest in this latest addition to our materials for work.

* * * * *

The earliest records laid before us in this volume are, another copper-plate charter, from Hirē-Śakuna (Sb. 33),²

¹ EPIGRAPHIA CARNATICA, by B. LEWIS RICE, C.I.E., Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore. Vol. VIII; Inscriptions in the Shimoga District, Part ii. Bangalore; Mysore Government Central Press; 1904.

² According to a convenient system of abbreviation, laid out for the whole series, "Sb. 33" means inscription No. 33 of the Sorab tāluka. The records are best referred to in this manner, as is done by Mr. Rice himself in his introductions, except when an actual citation of page and line is necessary. But it is a drawback that the abbreviations have not been placed along the tops of the pages of the texts and translations.

of the Kadamba king Mr̥igēśavarman of Vaijayantī, *i.e.* Banawāsi in the North Kanara district, Bombay Presidency, and a fragmentary stone inscription at Kavadi (Sb. 523) which mentions him and his son Ravivarman.

On page 2 of his Introduction to the volume, Mr. Rice has offered a revised genealogical table of the Kadambas, to take the place of that given by him in vol. vi, introd., p. 4. Unfortunately, even setting aside a few points in respect of which there may fairly be a difference of opinion, this revised table is still not correct. And, for the best table as yet issued of the Kadambas, we have to turn to that given by Professor Kielhorn (EI, 8, 30), in the introduction to his edition of the Tālgund inscription which recites the origin and advancement of the family.

To the same authority we have also to turn for the best opinion as to the period of these Kadamba kings. Mr. Rice would place them in the fourth and fifth centuries (introd., 2). But no help in this matter is really derived from the statements made in certain spurious records of the Gaṅga series, upon which he relies. And Professor Kielhorn's opinion, based upon grounds fully set out by him, that the Tālgund inscription, which is of the time of Kākusthavarman of the fourth generation, may be assigned to about the first half of the sixth century A.D., is to be preferred. This would place the last generation, the eighth, a century or so later, say about A.D. 625-650. And this result fits in exactly with all the local history of that period, and especially with the following item. The Anaji inscription, referred by Mr. Rice to "? about 450 A.D." (EC, 11, Dg. 161, translations, 81), mentions the ruin of the surrounding country (the Chitaldroog district and its neighbourhood), and the shattering of the army of a king Kṛishṇavarman, in "a tumultuous battle" between him and a Pallava king. And the event can hardly have occurred except at the time when the Pallavas invaded Western India at the end of the reign of the Western Chalukya king Pulakēśin II. of Bādāmi in the Bijāpur district, Bombay; that is, at some time between about A.D. 642 and 655: see my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*,

in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, vol. i, part ii, pp. 322 f., 328 f., 358 f. The palæography of the Anaji record exactly suits that period. And there can be little doubt, if any, that the Kṛishṇavarman mentioned in it is the Kadamba king Kṛishṇavarman II., the last of the line according to Professor Kielhorn's table.

It must be observed that there is no basis for the remark "the 5th king," which has been attached by Mr. Rice to the name of the first Kṛishṇavarman, placed in the sixth generation, of his table. It is based upon a curious misunderstanding of the description, not even of that Kṛishṇavarman, but of the second one, as *Kadambānām pañchamō lōkapālah* in the Beṇṇūr plates (EC, 5, Bl. 245, and see translations, 276, and introd., 3). But the expression *pañchamō lōkapālah* does not mean "a fifth (successive) king." It means "a fifth Lōkapāla," a Lōkapāla over and above, in addition to, the four Lōkapālas or regents of the four cardinal points of the compass. And the words applied to Kṛishṇavarman II. have exactly the same purport as if we were to say, in accordance with western ideas, that he was "a Kadamba eighth wonder of the world." The expression is one of constant occurrence, along with others of a similar nature. We have *pañchamō lō[kapā]lah* in the Pahlādpur pillar inscription (F.GI, 250); and we have the full unmistakable wording *lōkapālānām pañchamasya lōkapālasya* in a Pallava record (IA, 5, 51, line 8). So, again, while the Lōkapālas are counted as four for only the cardinal points, they are also counted as eight for those and the intermediate points. And the same idea is used with also the latter enumeration. Thus, verse 96 of chapter 3 of the Kavirājamārga of Kavīśvara,¹ in illustration of "praise," enumerates the eight Lōkapālas, and then says:—"O excellent one! thou art indeed a ninth Lōkapāla among them!" For a case in which this kind of idea is carried out through a whole series of comparisons, see the Sindigere inscription of A.D. 1103 (EC, 6, Cm. 160, texts, 137,

¹ Regarding the author of this work, and the circumstances in which he wrote it, see my article in IA, 1904, 258 ff.

line 18 ff.), in which the Hoysala prince Eṛeyaṅga is said to have been a third Māruti, a fourth (sacred) fire, a fifth ocean, a sixth flower-arrow (of Kāmadēva), a seventh king of the whole world, an eighth mountain-range (of the seven divisions of the earth), a ninth elephant (of the eight points of the compass), and a tenth treasure (of Kubēra).

It must also be observed that, in shewing Kṛishṇavarman I. as a son, instead of as the younger brother, of Śāntivarman, Mr. Rice has acted again upon his misunderstanding of the expression *jyēshṭha-pitṛi* in the Bīrūr plates (EC, 6, Kd. 162). As has been fully explained by Professor Kielhorn (EI, 8, 30, note 3),¹ *jyēshṭha-pitṛi* means, not 'a grandfather,' but 'a father's elder brother.'

* * * * *

The present volume contains four records of the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi in the Bijāpur district, Bombay. One is an inscription of Vinayāditya at Koḍakaṇi (Sb. 15), of the period A.D. 680–696. Another is that contained on the Sorab copper-plates of the same king (Sb. 571), fully dated on a day of which the English equivalent is Saturday, 22nd June, A.D. 692. The third is an inscription of Vijayāditya at Hirē - Māgaḍi (Sb. 411), of the period A.D. 696 to 733–34. And the fourth is a fragmentary inscription at Guḷehalli (Sa. 79), which presents the name of Vikramāditya.

Mr. Rice has attributed this last record to Vikramāditya I., and has placed it "? about 680 A.D." (translations, 106). But, from all that we know about the history of the period, it is much more likely to be a record of the second Vikramāditya, of the period A.D. 733–34 to 746–47.

The Sorab plates have been known for many years. And the record on them has been edited by me in 1890 (IA, 19, 149 ff.). A special point of interest in it, is, that it presents, in the details of the date, the earliest but one known instance of the mention of a week-day in a record of Southern India. The other instance from Southern India, earlier than this

¹ And, earlier, in *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1903, p. 303 f.

one, is contained in the grant that was issued in the second year of the Eastern Chalukya king Vishnuvardhana II., edited by me in IA, 7, 186 ff., and referred by me to A.D. 664 (IA, 20, 8, 98), for which, however, I have since then found reasons for being inclined to prefer A.D. 674.

In this record, and in others of the same series, there is an expression, *trairājya-Pallava* (line 14), instead of which we sometimes have *trairājya-Kāñchīpati* (e.g., IA, 9, 127, line 16), the meaning of which is still misunderstood in some quarters.

Whether I myself started the wrong interpretation, or whether I took it over from someone else, I cannot just now say; and it does not much matter. But, up to as late a date as that of my edition of this Sorab record, I translated the expression by "the Pallavas, whose kingdom consisted of three component dominions" (IA, 19, 152). Mr. Rice, in his translation of this record, has similarly given "Trairājya Pallava (or Pallava who ruled over three kingdoms)." And Mr. Vincent Smith, quoting my similar rendering of the expression on an earlier occasion, has located three seats of Pallava sovereignty, at Veṅgī and Kāñchī in the eastern parts of Southern India, and at Palghaut, Pālghāt (Pālakkātu, Pālakkāḍu) in the Malabar district, in the Western Ghats; see his *Early History of India*, 248 f., 347 ff., and 348, note 2.

I corrected the mistake, but perhaps not with sufficient prominence, in 1896 (F.DKD, 362, note 6). The word *trairājya* is from *tri* + *rājan*; not from *tri* + *rājya*. It means 'a collection or group of three kings;' not 'having three kingdoms or sovereignties.' It is explained by the words *Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya-Kēraḷa-dharaṇīdhara-traya*, "the three kings of Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya, and Kēraḷa," in line 12 of the record.¹ And the expressions *trairājya-Pallava* and *trairājya-Kāñchīpati* mean "the three kings and the Pallava," "the three kings and the lord of Kāñchī."

¹ The word *dharaṇīdhara*, meaning 'king' and 'mountain,' was used for the sake of a play upon words which runs through the whole compound of which this expression forms a part.

Whether any seat of the Pallava power may be located at Pālghāt,— where it would clash with the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa dominions,— or indeed, in early times, anywhere at all in Western India, is a question which must be decided without any regard to the expression *trairājya-Pallava*. And too much weight must not be attached to any real or supposed similarity between the name Pālakkātu, Pālakkāḍu, and the name of a place which is mentioned as Palakkada or Palakkāḍa in an early Pallava record (IA, 5, 51, line 1). Also, there is nothing to mark as a Pallava either the Hastivarman of Veṅgī, or the Ugrasēna of Palakka or Pālakka, of the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta (F.GI, 13). And we really cannot accept the proposed but quite unsupported identification of Palakka, Pālakka, with Pālghāt; the vernacular name of Pālghāt is plainly from the Malayāḷam *pāla + kātu, kāḍu*, “the forest or jungle of milk-plants,” as stated in the Madras Manual of the Administration, vol. iii, p. 646.

* * * * *

Next in point of time, this volume gives us twenty-nine new records of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mālkhēḍ in the Nizam's Dominions, ranging onwards from the time of Gōvinda III., for whom we have elsewhere dates in A.D. 794 and 813. About twenty of them mention governors of the Banavāsi province; and in that and other respects they add some very useful new items of historical and geographical importance. Particularly interesting are those of them which give the names of some members of the as yet but little known Mātūra family. Amongst the others, an inscription at Hunavalli (Sb. 531) gives us the curious name of Garbindara, who in A.D. 967 was governing a division (or ? the division) of the Banavāsi province, under Khoṭṭiga. An inscription (not yet published) at Dēvi-Hosūr in the Karajgi tāluka of the Dhārwar district, Bombay, mentions him as Garvindara, and gives a date for him in A.D. 961; he was then governing the Banavāsi province under Khoṭṭiga's predecessor, Kṛishṇa III.

* * * * *

In the Humcha inscription of A.D. 1077 (Nr. 35), we have the mythical pedigree of the Sāntara or Śāntara princes of Paṭṭi-Pomburchapura (Humcha), which represents them as descended from Rāha, of the Ugravamśa, lord of Uttara-Madhurā (*i.e.*, Mathurā in Northern India), who, the record says, fought and conquered in Kurukshētra in (the) Bhārata (land or war). And by way of an appendix to it, in order to establish an equally high descent for a lady of Gaṅga birth, Kañchaladēvī otherwise named Vīramahādēvī, who became one of the wives of the Sāntara prince Vīradēva, the record presents another recital of the alleged origin and pedigree of the Gaṅga princes of the Gaṅgavāḍi country in Mysore, of which various versions have been given to us in some inscriptions of the same period published in vol. vii.

The quasi-historical part of the fictitious Gaṅga pedigree starts with two brothers Rāma and Lakshmaṇa, *alias* Daḍiga and Mādhava, who are asserted to have been the first Gaṅga kings of Gaṅgavāḍi.

The Humcha inscription and the inscription at Taṭṭekere (EC, 7, Sh. 10) represent these two brothers as sons of Hariśchandra, who was a son of Dhanamjaya king of Kanyakubja.

On the other hand, the Kallūrguḍḍa and Purale inscriptions (EC, 7, Sh. 4, 64) represent them as sons of Padmanābha, king of Vijayapura-Ahichchhattra.¹ They trace back the descent of Padmanābha to Hariśchandra of the Ikshvākuvamśa (that is, of the Solar Race), king of Ayōdhyā, who, they say, was reigning there in the time of the Jain Tīrthamkara Vṛishabha; that is to say, at a fabulous and perhaps inexpressible early date which is to be placed (see SBE, 22, 285) at approximately a *kōṭi* of *kōṭis*

¹ There is something to be cleared up here, if it is ever worth while. The published treatment represents the god Indra as giving the name Vijayapura to Ahichchhattra in the time of Priyabandhu, a predecessor of Padmanābha (EC, 7, translations, 5, and introd., 15); and this might be accepted as intelligible. But both the published texts, Kallūrguḍḍa, line 19, and Purale, line 42 (Kanarese texts, 11, 66, and romanised texts, 9, 46), say exactly the reverse; and that reading can in fact be recognised in the lithograph of the Kallūrguḍḍa record given with its romanised text. There is, however, no preceding mention in these records of a Vijayapura to which the name Ahichchhattra could be given; whereas a previous part of the story is placed at Ahichchhattra.

of *sāgarōpamas* of years, less by 42,000 years, before B.C. 527 as the traditional date of the death of Mahāvīra. I must confess, in respect of this, that I do not know, and do not care to pause in order to try to find out, exactly what a *sāgarōpama* is. But it would seem to be a period of time so vast that each year of it is like a drop of water in the ocean. Anyhow, a *kōṭi* is a crore, ten millions. And that may suffice to give some kind of an idea of the remote period to which these extraordinary records would trace back the ancestry of the Gaṅga princes of Mysore; but, not unnaturally, with an occasional hiatus here and there.

The Kallūrguḍḍa and Purale records of course duly account for the derivation of the family-name, and for the possession by the Gaṅgas of the elephant-crest, the banner of a peacock's tail, and the Jain religion. They explain the circumstances in which Padmanābha changed the names of his sons from Rāma and Lakshmaṇa to Daḍiga and Mādhava; namely, when, attacked by king Mahīpāla of Ujjayinī, he sent them into Southern India, in order to secure the safety of them and of five celestial ornaments which the god Indra had presented to one of his ancestors. And they recite how they obtained the sovereignty of Gaṅgavāḍi with the help of the Jain Āchārya Simhanandin.

As regards, however, the value of the whole story, in addition to the fabulous antiquity and the contradictory assertions as to the parentage of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa, *alias* Daḍiga and Mādhava, there are the following points. These records are not in agreement with each other even as to the asserted details of the pedigree onwards from Daḍiga and Mādhava. Nor do the details presented in any one of them agree with the details of the pedigree set up by the spurious copper-plate charters of the Gaṅga series; see my tables in EI, 3, 161, 177. And still less do they agree with the real pedigree established by the genuine records; see my table in EI, 6, 59.¹ And further, Mr. Rice has made

¹ In this table there should now be inserted the name of Vijayāditya as another son of Śrīpuruṣa-Muttarasa, on the authority of the published reading of the inscription at Āsandi in the Kaḍūr district, EC, 6, Kd. 145; see my remarks in EI, 8, 55.

available to us, from Mysore, an appreciably large number of genuine records of the Gaṅgas of Gaṅgavāḍi themselves, who rose to power about A.D. 750 and passed away about A.D. 1000; but neither in any of those records, nor in any other such record known to me from other parts, is there the slightest allusion to, or hint of, the fictitious pedigrees which are set up by the spurious grants and by the Humcha and other inscriptions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

In these circumstances, we can hardly agree with Mr. Rice that these inscriptions give us "a full and credible outline of the history of the Gangas, who played so important a part in the Mysore country and beyond during the first millennium of the Christian era" (EC, 8, introd., 6). And it must be observed that, in omitting, in his general review of the contents of the Kallūrguḍḍa and Purale inscriptions (EC, 7, introd., 14 ff., and see 15, note 1), not only certain "supernatural details," but also the mention of Vṛishabha in connection with Hariśchandra and of Nēmi and Pārśva in connection with two subsequent names, those of Viṣṇugupta of Ahichchhatra and Priyabandhu of Vijayapura-Ahichchhatra, he has deprived general readers, who might peruse that abstract but would not study the texts themselves or even the translations of them, of some rather significant indications of the nature of the entire account.

The whole story is, of course, nothing but a thoroughly good instance of the kind of stuff that was invented in late times, in order to enable the great families of Southern India to set up claims to descent from the Lunar and the Solar Races; see for the present, on the general subject of the invention of Purāṇic and quasi-historical pedigrees, my remarks in EI, 6, 82 f.

The same remark applies to the introductory portion, anterior to the mention of Vikrama-Sāntara, of the asserted origin and pedigree of the Sāntaras or Śāntaras. But it is not quite so preposterous in its details, and it does not aim at such minute completeness. It asserts that, when various (unnamed) rulers had reigned and passed away after the Rāha who has been mentioned on page 295 above, there was

a certain Sahakāra, who practised cannibalism.¹ His son was Jinadatta, who, disgusted at his father's behaviour, migrated to the South. By slaying a demon named Simharatha, he pleased (the goddess) Jakkiyabbe, and obtained from her the lion-crest. He slew a demon named Andhakāśura, and founded (a city named) Andhāsura. He then came to Kanakapura, and there slew another demon named Kanakāśura. Fighting and putting to flight Kara (*sic*) and Karadūshana (*sic*) who were in the fort named Kundadakōṭe, he pleased the goddess Padmāvatī; and she, establishing herself in the *lokki*-tree of Pomburcha which had come to be called Kanakapura,² and assuming the second name of Lokkiyabbe, founded for him Pomburcha, as his royal city. There, Jinadatta and others (unnamed) ruled and passed away. Then there were Śrīkēsi and Jayakēsi. Śrīkēsi's son was Raṇakēsi. After him, others (unnamed) ruled. Then there was Vikrama-Sāntara,³ otherwise called Kandukāchārya and Dānavinōda, who, amongst other achievements, gave the great gift named Hiranyagarbha,⁴ and fixed the boundaries of the Sāntalige thousand province. He married Lakshmī-dēvī, daughter of Kāmadēva, king of Banavāsi. And to him was born Chāgi-Sāntara; and so on.

Jinadatta, "the founder of the line in the South," has been placed by Mr. Rice in the eighth century (EC, 8, introd., 8). Another version of the story, contained in another inscription at Humcha (Nr. 48), ignores both him and Sahakāra, and assigns to Rāha the exploits attributed above to Jinadatta, and allots the cannibalism to an unnamed younger brother of Rāha. Moreover, if we follow the Kanarese instead of the romanised text, it presents the name as Rāḷa, instead of Rāha. However, as Mr. Rice has

¹ There is another reference to this propensity in connection with the fictitious history of the Kaḷachuryas of Kalyāṇi; see F.DKD, 468.

² Kanakapura, 'gold-town,' is meant to be the Sanskritised name of Pomburcha, Pombulcha (Nr. 60), in which *pom* = *pon*, 'gold.'

³ This seems intended to be the Vikramāditya-Sāntara who was governing in A.D. 902-903 under Kṛishṇa II.; see EC, 7, Sk. 284.

⁴ The translation erroneously treats the Hiranyagarbha as a name of Vikrama-Sāntara. It seems to be that one of the *shōḍaśa mahādānāni*, or 'sixteen great gifts,' which was sometimes called Brahmāṇḍa; see, e.g., JBBRAS, 12, 374, 392.

remarked, those little discrepancies, as also the derivation of the family-name from an exclamation of Rāḷa (Rāha), *sā antinol*, “here she is at last!,”¹—evoked, it is presumed, by the extraordinary appearance of the goddess Padmāvati perched “on the top of the *lokki*-tree,”—“need not be taken seriously” (*loc. cit.*).

It only remains to add a remark in connection with the story about the Gaṅgas. The Jain teacher Simhanandin may be accepted as an actual historical personage. And it is very probable that he did help Śivamāra I., the real founder of this Gaṅga family, about A.D. 755,—who, by the way, is not mentioned in the Kallūrguḍḍa, etc., inscriptions, though he does duly figure in the spurious copper-plate charters,—to establish his authority. But, whereas the chronological requirements of the fictitious narrative would compel us to place Simhanandin, with Rāma and Lakshmaṇa, *alias* Daḍiga and Mādhava, not later than A.D. 200, we can, even irrespective of the date of Śivamāra I., place him with confidence in the period A.D. 750–800. And it is practically certain that it is his epitaph which we have in an inscription at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa (EC, 2, ISB, No. 19).

According to the fictitious narrative, the brothers Rāma and Lakshmaṇa, *alias* Daḍiga and Mādhava, met with Simhanandin at a place which is mentioned as Pērūr and Gaṅga-Hērūr; for instance, in lines 25, 26, respectively, of the Kallūrguḍḍa inscription. Pērūr and Hērūr are one and the same name; the Old-Kanarese *p* has constantly changed into *h*. But there are no substantial reasons for identifying Pērūr, Gaṅga-Hērūr, as has been done by Mr. Rice (*e.g.*, *Mysore*, revised edition, 1, 310, 311, and EC, 8, introd., 16), with a small place in the Cuddapah (Kadapa) district, Madras, which is shewn as ‘Gangapérúr’

¹ I have followed Mr. Rice’s rendering, “she at last” (translations, p. 151). But, if *sā* is the Sanskrit word *sā*, ‘she,’—(and, strange as the combination is, it is difficult to find any other explanation of it),—the words mean, rather, “she in the total,” “she in this manner.” And the exclamation was really uttered by Rāḷa (Rāha) in anger (*mulidu*); which point is overlooked in the translation. The text really says:—“The family came to be called Sāntara in the following way: Rāḷa was angry, and said *sā antinol*; and from that time forth the family was established as being called Sāntara.”

in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 77, N.W. (1899), fourteen miles east-by-south from Cuddapah, and five miles towards the east-south-east from Sidhaut (Siddhavattam). The entries of this place as 'Gungapairoor' in the Atlas sheet No. 77 of 1842, and as 'Gungaperore' in the Madras Manual of the Administration, vol. iii, p. 838, point to the prefix,— which distinguishes it from another small village known as Penna-Pērūr, "the larger or original Pērūr," immediately on the north of it,— being the word Gaṅgā, rather than Gaṅga. And, anyhow, the village is quite small and insignificant, and far distant from any of the early possessions of the Gaṅgas of Gaṅgavāḍi. Nor need we think of even a larger and somewhat nearer place, Pērūr in the Anantapur district, Madras, which is shewn as 'Pairoor' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 59 (1828), twenty-five miles towards the west-by-south from Dharmavaram. It can hardly be doubted that the place intended is the better known Pērūr in the Coimbatore district, Madras, only some sixty miles from the southern frontier of Mysore, which is shewn as 'Payrur' in the Atlas sheet No. 61 (1833), between two and three miles west-south-west from Coimbatore; according to the Madras Manual of the Administration, vol. iii, p. 679, its Sanskrit name is Ādipurī, 'the primeval town,' and, so far as Śaivism is concerned, it is famous for containing one of the seven great Śivālayas of the ancient Koṅgu country, the land on the south of Gaṅgavāḍi.

* * * * *

Amongst the remaining records in this new volume now before us, one of special interest is an inscription at Mukti-hariharapura in the Tīrthahallī tāluka (Tl. 129), which gives the date and locality of the death of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara.

The equivalent English date has been announced by Mr. Rice as Sunday, 31st August, A.D. 1404; see introduction, p. 12, and translations, p. 188. But that is the result of an unfortunate confusion of Sauravāra, 'Saturday,' with Sūryavāra, 'Sunday.'

The real day, as far as we can fix it finally from the materials presented to us, was Saturday, 30th August. And the case may be exhibited in full, because, in any circumstances, it gives a typical instance, and in connection with an important date the details of which would, we should think, have been recorded with extreme attention and accuracy, of the carelessness which was often displayed in such matters by the ancient Hindūs.

The record says, in verse, that Harihara II. attained *nirvāṇa* in the year Tāraṇa, in the rainy season, in the month Nabhasya (Bhādrapada), on the tenth *tithi* or lunar day, on Sauravāra (Saturday), when the moon was in the asterism of the Pitṛis. At least, that is what it says according to the romanised text (page 388, and introd., 12, note 1), which is quite complete and grammatical and scans correctly, and according to the translation (page 188), except for the mistake there of "Sunday" instead of "Saturday."

But the case is different with the Kanarese text, which is given thus:— Tāraṇa-varshē varshē māsi Nabhasyē ēkādaś-
imdu-subha-vārē nirvāṇam prāpa Harihar-
ādhiśah. This latter version represents as illegible that line of the verse which in the romanised text runs *vārē Saurē pitribhē*, "on Saturday, in the asterism of the Pitṛis;" and for the *tithau dāsamyaṁ cha*, "and on the tenth *tithi*," of the romanised text, it says, in words which do not scan, "on the eleventh *tithi*, the auspicious day of the moon (Monday)."

Our bases, therefore, are somewhat dubious. However, as will be seen, the eleventh *tithi* was certainly not a Monday; nor was the moon in Maghā on that *tithi*. And working with the romanised text, which at least gives an agreement of the week-day and the *tithi*, and which we assume to be a revised reading based on other materials than those used for the Kanarese text, we have the following results:—

From the prose part of the record, as well as in other ways, we know that the year Tāraṇa in question was the Śaka year 1326 expired, = A.D. 1404–1405. The fortnight of the month Bhādrapada is not specified. But, that it should

be taken to be the dark fortnight, is to be inferred from the mention of the asterism of the Pitris, *i.e.* Maghā, in which the moon can never stand on any day in the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada. And the civil day of the tenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada in the given year was Saturday, 30th August, A.D. 1404, on which day the *tithi* ended at 8 hrs. 47 min. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain).

The moon, however, did not enter Maghā until, at the earliest, 1 hr. 58 min. after mean sunrise on Monday, 1st September, the civil day of the twelfth *tithi*, which ended thereon at 11 hrs. 8 min., having begun, when the eleventh *tithi* ended, at 9 hrs. 55 min. on Sunday, 31st August. And in respect of this item the date is, thus, unsatisfactory; it is an irregular date, or one which was recorded inaccurately. Here, however, as in other instances, we may, no doubt, accept without further question, against the *nakshatra* or asterism, the *tithi* and the week-day and the result which is determined by them. And we thus arrive at Saturday, 30th August, A.D. 1404, as the date of the death of Harihara II.

There is another record of the date of the death of Harihara II., which would appear to be not exactly in accordance with the present one, and to have been inaccurately expressed in another direction. It has been published in Mr. Rice's *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, EC, 2, No. 126. And, judged by the reading of it given there, it runs thus:— Tāraṇa-sainvatsarada Bhādrapada-bahula-daśamiyū Sōmavāradal[ū] Harihararāyanu svaḥsthan=ādanu.

This record specifies the tenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight. It apparently names the week-day as Monday. And Professor Kielhorn, who has already examined this Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa date, but at a time when it was not known whether it was intended to apply to the first or to the second king Harihara, has marked it as irregular both for the Śaka year 1266 and for the year 1326; adding that, for the latter year, the result (for the *tithi*) would be Saturday, 30th August, A.D. 1404,—the day at which we have arrived above: see EI, 7, Appendix, Inscriptions of Southern India, 81, note 7.

In view, however, of the close similarity of the Old-Kanarese superscript *o*, *ō*, and *au*, and of the frequent occurrence of a form of *m* which very closely resembles *r*, it is not impossible that the *Sōmavāra* of the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa inscription is a misreading of *Sauravāra*, and that that record may be thus reconciled with the Muktihariharapura record.

There are two passages further on in the Muktihariharapura inscription, which run thus; line 27:—*śrī-vīra-Hariharamahārāyaru muktar=ādalli Muktihariharapurav=āgi biṭṭa agrahāra*; and lines 79, 80:—*Hariharamahārāyara hesara Muktihariharapurada agrahāra*. These two passages, with the contexts of the first of them, tell us, not only that an *agrahāra* or grant to Brāhmaṇs was constituted, and was assigned as such, by the minister Viṭṭhaṇṇa-Vodeya, and was named Muktihariharapura, in commemoration of the death of Harihara II., but also that Harihara died in that neighbourhood. The words *muktar=ādalli* mean, not “on his becoming *mukta* (or released from existence),” i.e. “at the time when he died,” but “at the place where he died.” And we must understand that he died either at Tīrthahallī, which town seems to have been a great place of pilgrimage,¹ or else at a camp, in the vicinity of that town, somewhere on the site which was made into an *agrahāra*.

From line 28 of the record, we gather that the *agrahāra* was formed of lands which were a portion of a village named Belūr or Bēlūr, in the Maduvaṅka *nāḍ* of the Āraga *reṇṭheya*. Āraga is the ‘Arga’ of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 42, S.E. (1894), five miles towards the north-west-by-north from ‘Tirathalli,’ which is in lat. 13° 41′, long. 75° 18′, on the left bank of the Tuṅgā. Muktihariharapura is not shewn in that map, or in the maps given in Mr. Rice’s *Mysore*, revised edition, 1897, vol. ii. But it is duly shewn in the Mysore Topographical Survey sheet No. 20 (1887), as a small place about four and a half miles north-west-by-west from Tīrthahallī, one mile and a half on the south-west of Āraga, and about the same distance towards the north-by-east from ‘Belur.’

* * * * *

¹ See *Mysore*, revised edition, vol. ii, p. 485.

So much as regards the most noticeable special features of interest in the new volume now before us. Some idea of the magnitude of the task on which Mr. Rice has been engaged may now be given, by the statement that the published volumes of his series, including the present one, have presented to us no fewer than five thousand eight hundred records, ranging from the third century B.C. to A.D. 1885.

The earliest of these records are the Śiddāpura, Brahmagiri, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara versions (vol. 11, Mk. 14, 21, 34) of that edict of Aśoka of which we have versions in Northern India at Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, and Bairāt. The edict was issued 38 years after the *abhishēka* or anointment of Aśoka to the sovereignty, and (see JRAS, 1904, 1 ff.) 256 years after the death of Buddha, which event it thus places in a year lying between B.C. 487 and 477 according to the exact year, still to be determined, of the *abhishēka* of Aśoka. Particular interest attaches to the Mysore versions of the edict because the Brahmagiri text discloses the fact that it was framed on the anniversary of Aśoka's abdication, and when he was living in religious retirement on the hill Suvarṇagiri, still known as Sōṅgir, which was one of the hills surrounding the ancient city Girivraja, in Magadha (*loc. cit.*, 355).

Next comes the Prākṛit inscription on a pillar at Maḷavaḷḷi (vol. 7, Sk. 263), of Hāritiputta-Sātakaṇṇi, of the Mānavya *gōtra* and the Viṇhukaḍḍachuṭu family, king of Vaijayantī, that is Banawāsi in the North Kanara district, Bombay, who may be referred to any time in or about the first or second century A.D. It records that he granted a group of villages named Sahalāṭavī, to be enjoyed on behalf of the god Maṭṭapaṭṭi, to Koṇḍamāṇa, a [Hāri]tiputta of the Koṇḍinya *gōtra*. From Banawāsi itself we have a Prākṛit record of apparently the same king (IA, 14, 333), which is dated in his twelfth regnal year, and on the anniversary of either his accession or his coronation. In this latter record, the word *rasa-satāya* evidently represents, not *raśa-sattāyāḥ* as has been supposed, but *varsha-sattāyāḥ*. It means 'of the year-existence;' that is "of the continuance for one year

more.” And the record thus marks the specified day of the act registered in it, the first day of the seventh fortnight of the season Hēmanta, as the accession-day or the coronation-day of Hāritiputa - Sātakaṇṇi. Similarly, by the same expression, the inscription from China in the Kistna district, Madras (EI, 1, 96), marks the fifth day of the fourth fortnight of Hēmanta as either the accession-day or the coronation-day of Siri-Yaṇa-Sātakaṇṇi.

Next comes a Prākṛit inscription (vol. 7, Sk. 264), on the same pillar and below the above-mentioned record, of apparently a Kadamba king of Vaijayantī named Siva[khada]vamma, that is Śiva-Skandavarman.¹ It indicates that some necessity had arisen— (quite possibly a change of dynasty, with an investigation into the titles to existing alienations)— for confirming or renewing the grant registered in the previous record. For, it recites that, “having heard that they had been formerly granted by the Hāritiputta, of the [Mānavya] *gōtra*, the lord of Vaijayantī,”² the present king granted, with a very glad mind, for the second time, to Siri-Nāgadatta— (perhaps described as a maternal uncle of the king)— of the Koṇḍinya *gōtra*, a Kōsikīputta, “an ornament of the Koṇḍamāṇa family,” Sahalā and twelve other villages, all specified by name, again for enjoyment on behalf of the god, “the great refuge,” Maṭṭapaṭṭi.

Next come the Sanskrit records of the Kadambas of Vaijayantī (Banawāsi), ranging about A.D. 450–650 (see page 290 above), who were first brought to notice, and have been known for many years, from their records obtained in the Bombay Presidency (see IA, 6, 22 ff., and 7, 33 ff.). Of their records obtained in Mysore, the earliest is the Tālgund pillar inscription (vol. 7, Sk. 176), which recites

¹ This part of the record is not legible in the lithograph.

² The meaning of this clause has been misunderstood by the author of the published translation. And the point is worth noticing, because the result is that there is nothing to shew that the Kadambas— (if this is really a Kadamba record)— had at this time assumed the appellation Hāritiputra and set up a claim to be of the Mānavya *gōtra*.

A short way further on, the published texts give *parityakthēna* by mistake for *paritupphēna*.

the foundation of the family by Mayūraśarman, about A.D. 450–475; it has recently been critically edited by Professor Kielhorn in EI, 8, 24 ff. The latest is the Anaji inscription of the time of Kṛishṇavarman II. (vol. 11, Dg. 161), which has been mentioned on page 290 above.

Then come a few records of some of the later members of the dynasty of the Western Chalukya kings of Vātāpi, *i.e.* Bādāmi in the Bijāpur district, Bombay,— (about A.D. 550–757); and, in larger numbers, some records of the Rāshtrakūṭa kings of Mālkhēḍ in the Nizam's Dominions,— (about A.D. 750–973). These two dynasties, however, are much better known from their records obtained in the Bombay Presidency. In Mysore, their power was mostly limited to the more northern parts. But, in the time of Gōvinda III. (A.D. 794 and 813), the Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy extended at any rate as far as Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa in the Hassan district, in the very heart of the province.

Concurrently with these, come the records of the Gaṅga family of the Gaṅgavāḍi territory, in the southern and eastern parts of Mysore, ranging about A.D. 750–1000. And from some time about the beginning of this period we have the inscription at Śravaṇa - Belgoḷa (vol. 2, ISB, No. 1; edited by me in EI, 4, 22 ff.), which, written in order to record the death of a Jain Āchārya named Prabhāchandra who seems to be the well known Digambara writer of that name, recites, for earlier times, the migration of the Jain community from Ujjain to the South, and its arrival at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa, which events it would apparently place in the time of the pontiff Bhadrabāhu II.

After these, we have, in greater or less abundance according to the extent to which the dynasties and families belonged exclusively or not so to Mysore, records of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, the Hoysaḷas of Dōra-samudra, the Kaḷachuryas of Kalyāṇi, the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, the Nolamba - Pallavas of the Nolambavāḍi country, the later Kādambas of Hāngal, the Sāntaras or Śāntaras of Humcha, the local Pāṇḍyas of Uchchaṅgi, the kings of Vijayanagara, and the later Rājas of Mysore up

to almost the present day, and various other families of more or less importance. Here again, however, what we know about the Chālukyas, Kaḷachuryas, and Yādavas, is derived chiefly from the records of the Bombay Presidency and the Nizam's Dominions.

Among the late records, a noticeable one is the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa inscription No. 141, of A.D. 1830, which presents the only known instance of the expression of the date of an epigraphic record according to the number of years elapsed since the death of the Jain Tīrthaṃkara Vīra-Mahāvīra-Vardhamāna. And it states that number wrongly! It gives a date in the Śaka year 1752 (expired), of which the equivalent is Monday, 9th August, A.D. 1830; see the result given by Professor Kielhorn in IA, 25, 346, and EI, 7, Appendix, Inscriptions of Southern India, 161, No. 1013. With the specification of the Śaka year, it couples the year 1888 of the Vikrama era, which itself is of extremely exceptional use in Southern India, and an assertion that 2493 years had elapsed since the death of Vardhamāna. And thus it would place that event B.C. 663; whereas the Śvētāmbaras and the Digambaras both agree in placing it B.C. 527 (or more absolutely 528),—the former putting it 470 years before the Vikrama era; and the latter, 605 years before the Śaka era. As indicated by Professor Kielhorn (IA, 25, 346), the explanation is that the figures 2493 were obtained by mistakenly adding 605 years to the Vikrama instead of the Śaka year. And no genuine varying tradition is represented by the statement in the present record.

With this curiosity of South-Indian epigraphy, we may compare, from Northern India, the Gayā inscription of apparently A.D. 1176 (see EI, 7, Appendix, 79, No. 575), which purports to have been written 1813 years after the death of Buddha, and so would place that event B.C. 638,—ninety-five years before the traditional date of B.C. 543, which, set up in Ceylon at some time about A.D. 1200, spread thence in various directions, and is the only specific date really asserted by Buddhist tradition. The explanation of

this latter curiosity, the apparent date in B.C. 638, has not yet been arrived at.

* * * * *

As will readily be understood, the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* contain an enormous amount of most varied information about political history, geography, religion, literature, administrative and fiscal arrangements, social customs, and other subjects of inquiry. But so great has the mass of materials become, that it is now very difficult to handle the records chronologically, and to follow up conveniently any particular line of research, even with the help of the introductions and classified lists of the separate volumes.

It is to be hoped that, when the volumes of texts and translations have all been completed, there will be taken in hand an additional volume which shall assume the form of an index to the others ; giving us at least a general arrangement of all the records according to the consecutive order of their recorded or deducible dates, and a second arrangement of them according to the dynasties and families to which they belong, and an index of at any rate all proper names and names of territories and places, on lines similar to those of Professor Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Southern India, EI, 7, Appendix.

* * * * *

And there is another point which requires attention. Many of the earlier records, in particular, deserve more careful and critical treatment than they have received, and than can be given to them from the published readings of them, which, we learn from the preface to vol. iii, have been largely prepared from copies made by Munshis and School Inspectors and Teachers. Even the published texts, romanised and in Kanarese characters, sometimes differ from each other. The cases in which reproductions of the original records have been given, are very limited in number. And, unfortunately, the instances in which the reproductions are of a reliable and utilisable nature, as purely mechanical presentments prepared without any touching up by hand of the materials

which are the bases of them or of proofs from those materials, are still fewer.

In the present volume, which deals with 1038 records, we have only thirteen reproductions.

Amongst these, we may class as reliable facsimiles, prepared from satisfactory ink-impressions, little if at all touched up by hand in any stage of the process, and giving good results as far as the originals are capable of yielding such, the Kadamba inscription at Kavadi (Sb. 523), the record on the *virgal* or monumental tablet of a local hero at Hunavalli (Sb. 531), and the extracts from the Kuppatūr, Gōvardhanagiri, and Humcha inscriptions (Sb. 263; Sa. 55; Nr. 35).

And commendation may be bestowed, though not to quite the same extent, on the reproductions of the record on the *virgal* at Māvali and the Kumsi inscription (Sb. 10, 85).

The same, however, cannot exactly be said of the reproductions of the Kadamba copper-plate charter from Hirē-Śakuna (Sb. 33) and the Bhīmankattē - Maṭha spurious plates (Tl. 157). For a faithful reproduction of the last-mentioned record, we have still to turn to Colonel Dixon's photograph, No. 10 in his collection published in 1865, reproduced as No. 30 in my *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese Inscriptions* issued in 1878.

The reproductions of two other *virgals* at Māvali (Sb. 1, 9) may, to a certain extent, represent sufficiently well the sculptures on the stones. But the treatments of the inscriptions on them are useless for any critical purposes.

The reproduction of the Bardavalli *virgal* (Sa. 45) fails to render legible any part at all of the inscription on it.

And the nature of the reproduction of the charter contained on the Sorab plates (Sb. 571) is such as to fairly give that record the crude appearance of a rather badly done spurious document. Fortunately, however, we can form a better opinion of it from Colonel Dixon's photograph No. 5, reproduced in my PSOCI, No. 16.

The time has long gone by for the publication of reproductions of epigraphic records such as those mentioned in at

any rate the last four paragraphs. They are of no use for critical work.

For such work, the best materials, of course, when the originals themselves are not accessible, are carefully made ink-impressions and inked or uninked estampages, the latter of which, if properly beaten in, will shew the letters in reverse on the back. And, in fact, in many cases such materials are better than even the originals.

But we can hardly expect such materials for study as those to be obtained and distributed to anyone who may ask for them. And we naturally look more to materials which can be multiplied to any desirable extent, in the shape of thoroughly reliable reduced facsimiles, prepared mechanically from impressions and estampages by collotype or photolithographic processes, without any touching up by hand at any stage of the proceedings. Without one or the other of such bases for work, we are helpless; except in so far as we may happen to arrive by chance at any sound results through the process, generally unsatisfactory and always to be avoided if possible, of conjectural speculation.

The enlightened and liberal Government of Mysore have done much to make us acquainted with the ancient records of their province. Is it too much to hope that they will crown their work, by giving us eventually a final volume which shall be devoted to actual facsimile reproductions of all the more important records anterior to, say, A.D. 1000, with a selection from the later ones? That such facsimiles can be prepared in Mysore, is shewn by the instances which I have quoted from the volume which now chiefly is under notice, and by a conspicuous instance in an earlier volume; namely, the reproduction of the Tālgund Kadamba inscription (vol. 7, Sk. 176), which compares favourably with even the reproduction of the same record recently given from other materials in EI, 8, 32.

* * * * *

We are looking forward with considerable interest to the

appearance of the remaining three volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, which are to contain the records of the Bangalore, Kōlār, and Tumkūr districts. In them, if anywhere, there should be found information which may help to settle some of the questions regarding the Gaṅgas of Gaṅgavādi in respect of which Mr. Rice and I have been at issue. Meanwhile, the following observation may be made.

On the authority of the spurious records,— which he, of course, maintains to be genuine,— Mr. Rice would place the Gaṅga prince Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa in the period A.D. 727–776. On the other hand, working with the undeniably genuine records, I have, on palæographic and historical grounds, placed him in the period A.D. 765–805, with an intimation of opinion that he may be placed even ten years later (EI, 6, 59, 64). And I have been inclined (*ibid.*, 65) to find in him the Gaṅga prince who was for a second time dethroned and taken into captivity by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III., for whom we have dates in A.D. 794 and 813.

The son of Gōvinda III. was Amōghavarsha I., who reigned from A.D. 814 or 815 to about A.D. 877–78. And of the time of this king we have in the present volume the Kumsi inscription (Sb. 85), dated A.D. 869–70, which mentions, as the seller of the land the assignment of which is registered by that record, a certain Dēvāti, *i.e.* Dēvāditya, son of Siripurusha, *i.e.* Śrīpurusha.

It would be rash, to assume off-hand that this Śrīpurusha is the Gaṅga prince of that name. But the appellation is extremely rare, if not actually unique. And there is nothing impossible in the supposition that Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, living in captivity in the Rāshtrakūṭa territory, there begat a son who was alive in A.D. 869–70. In illustration,— in fact, in exaggerated illustration,— of this possibility, let me quote a case which has come to my knowledge after writing the above remarks. It is that of Signor Manuel Garcia, the famous teacher of operatic singers, now in his hundredth year; and I am indebted for it to the *Strand Magazine*, March, 1905. He was “born in Madrid in the year 1805,

when George III. was on the throne of England" (p. 257*b*). His "father, the elder Manuel Garcia, was born at Seville in 1775, a hundred and thirty years ago" (p. 259*a*). And his "singing master, Giovanni Anzani, was born some hundred and fifty years ago, when Bach was still alive and Handel but a short time dead" (p. 257*a*).

XII.

NASIR-I-KHUSRAW,

POET, TRAVELLER, AND PROPAGANDIST.

By EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S., F.B.A.

EVERY Persian scholar must, I suppose, have meditated at some time or other on the extraordinary disproportion between the vast number of Persian poets whose names are familiar to him, and whose lives are enshrined in the Biographies of 'Awfí, Dawlatsháh, Taqiyyu'd-Dín Káshí, Lutf 'Alí Beg, and other *tadhkira*-writers, and the small number whose works are read, even in the East, save by the very curious or diligent student. So far as the West is concerned, it may be said, I think, that of only four, Firdawsí, Sa'dí, 'Umar Khayyám, and Háfídh, does any clear and definite idea exist amongst educated Europeans not specially interested in Oriental literature. Of these four, thanks primarily to Edward FitzGerald, 'Umar Khayyám is certainly the most popular in the West, especially in Europe and America; though 'Awfí, writing exactly a century after his death, totally ignores him, and Dawlatsháh only mentions him incidentally in the course of another biography; while even his personal friend and admirer, Nidhámí-i-'Arúdí of Samarqand, places him in his *Chahár Maqála* not in the section which he devotes to poets, but in that which deals with astronomers. Háfídh, accessible to non-Orientalists in England in at least three good metrical translations, those of Hermann Bicknell, Miss Gertrude Bell, and Mr. Walter Leaf, and in Germany in the complete versified translation of Rosenzweig-Schwannau, certainly comes next in point of popularity. Sa'dí, whose *Gulistán* was probably the first Persian classic edited and translated in Europe (since a fine edition with Latin rendering was

published in Holland in the seventeenth century), probably comes next, though of his poetry little beyond the *Bústán* is read by the ordinary Persian student outside the confines of Persia, where his fame rests rather on his lyrical verse. Firdawsí, in spite of his immense reputation, is in reality little known to the average European man of letters, save through one or two episodes of his *Book of Kings*—notably that of Rustam and Suhráb—which have afforded material for distinguished Western poets. To these four poets we might perhaps add Jámí, whose *Salámán* and *Absál* FitzGerald attempted, but failed, to render popular; and Nidhámí of Ganja, whose name at least is tolerably familiar, but of whose “Five Treasures” or “Quintet” only one, the *Iskandar-náma*, has, I think, been translated into English, and that in a form which can hardly be described as attractive to the general reader.

There are, however, other Persian poets who rank far higher in the estimation of their countrymen than ‘Umar Khayyám, yet whose very names are hardly known in Europe, save to such as make a special study of Persian, almost all of whom must be familiar with the two following pieces of doggerel criticism :—

در شعر سه تن پیمبرانند قولیست که جملگی بر آنند
فردوسی و انوری و سعدی هر چند که لائبی بَعْدِی

“ *The Sphere Poetic has its prophets three*
(This is a dogma on which all agree),
Firdawsí first, Sa’dí, and Anvarí,
Though Ahmad said, ‘No Prophet after me!’ ”

And again :

دیوانِ ظهیرِ فاریابی در کعبه بدزد اگر بیابی

“ *Steal the Diván of Dhahír of Faryáb, even if you find it in the Ka’ba.* ”

Here, then, are two poets, Anwarí and Dhahír, whose eminent merits are proverbial amongst their countrymen,

yet whose works are not much more familiar in the East than are their names in the West. Naturally one wishes to know why this is the case, and whether, given another FitzGerald, these poets might, like 'Umar Khayyám (whom neither of them would, in all probability, have reckoned as a fellow-artist at all), become household names throughout Europe and America. Curiosity on this point has led me so far as to read through the greater part of Anwari's poems, and the whole of those of Dhahír of Fáryáb; and I am bound to admit that, especially in the case of the latter, the time spent in so doing might have been both more pleasantly and more profitably employed. Both are masters of their craft, but their craft is not what we understand by poetry.

Poetry, as understood in Western Asia, is to a large extent a question of forms rather than of ideas. The common definition lays down three qualifications which it must possess, viz., metre, rhyme, and intention on the part of the composer to produce verse. The last clause of this definition must be regarded as inspired by theological influences; for prose may be simple, metrical, or rhymed, and rhymed prose (of which, to a large extent, the Qur'án consists) may easily fall, here and there, into metre, as in verses 78–79 of the second *súra* of the Qur'án:—

ثُمَّ أَقْرَرْتُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ تَسْهَدُونَ ' ثُمَّ أَنْتُمْ هَؤُلَاءِ تَقْتُلُونَ

which falls into the metre called *ar-Ramal al-musaddasu'l-mahdhuf*, or the "apocopated hexameter Ramal." Now the Prophet's enemies were wont to describe him as a "mad poet," and in refutation of this assertion was revealed verse 69 of *súra xxxvi*:—"And We have not taught him (i.e. the Prophet) poetry, neither is it necessary for him: this is naught else than a Reminder, and a perspicuous Qur'án" (or Lektion). Therefore since, on Divine authority, the Qur'án is not poetry, the definition of poetry must be so framed as to exclude the Qur'án or any part thereof; hence the addition, at first sight strange enough, of the final clause concerning 'intention.'

But Ibn Khaldún, that greatest philosophical historian of Islám (born in Tunis, A.D. 1332, died in Cairo, March, A.D. 1406), goes much further than this in his definition of Arabic poetry (for he expressly says that he does not enter into the question as to whether there exists in other languages anything which can properly be called poetry, or not). Having criticised the current definition of poetry, and declared a new one to be necessary, he says¹: "Poetry is eloquent discourse based on metaphor and description, articulated into portions agreeing in metre and rime, each portion being independent, in respect to its object and purpose, of what precedes and follows it, and being cast in the moulds of the Arabs." On this last point he is very decisive: poetry, according to his view, can only be produced by one who has committed to memory an enormous quantity of classical Arabian verses, until the 'moulds' or 'models' (*asálíb*, pl. of *uslúb*) which underlie them become firmly fixed in his mind, and he is able to cast his thoughts in these moulds. Nor does he shrink from the obvious deduction from these premises, namely, that originality, especially as regards form, is a defect. "Such discourse as is versified," he says, "but not according to these models, is not poetry; and in view of this many of our masters in this branch of letters whom we have met consider that the verse of al-Mutanabbí and al-Ma'arrí is not poetry in any sense of the word" Yet these two, who flourished respectively in the tenth and eleventh centuries of our era, are unquestionably amongst the greatest, if not the greatest, of the post-classical Arabic poets. To this day al-Mutanabbí remains the most popular poet in literary circles in Egypt and Western Asia, while von Kremer, perhaps the greatest European authority on the Arabian civilisation in all its aspects, regards al-Ma'arrí as one of the greatest and most original literary geniuses whom the world has produced.

As regards Persian poetry the matter is not so clearly stated by any authority whom I have consulted, but that

¹ Beyrout (vocalized) edition of A.D. 1900, p. 573.

this idea of conformity to fixed standards is present is shown, not only by actual observation, but by the existence of such works as Sharafu'd-Dín Rámí's *Anísu'l-'Ushsháq*, or "Lovers' Companion,"¹ wherein the comparisons permitted to the writer of amatory verse are enumerated and classified with the utmost detail, and he is informed, for example, that he may compare the curving eyebrows of his mistress (1) to the crescent moon, (2) to a bow, (3) to the rainbow, (4) to a vaulted arch, (5) to the *mihráb* or niche in a mosque, (6) to the letter *nún* (ن), (7) to a polo-stick, (8) to the *tughrá*, or royal monogram, imprinted on imperial rescripts and *farmáns*, and so forth. All this apparatus of simile and metaphor was taken over bodily by the Turks, who have never shown much originality in literary matters, but who, alone amongst Muhammadan nations, broke away some half-century ago from the old tradition, and, turning their backs on Persia, became the devoted disciples of the French. Yet these same similes, hackneyed as they now are, were once fresh and original. Many of them I have met with for the first time in the verses of Mu'izzí, the Poet-Laureate of Sanjar (died A.D. 1147), and it is for this reason, probably, that 'Awfí (vol. ii, p. 69 of my edition) remarks that "with him the child of Rhetoric reached maturity." In judging the work of these early poets we must bear in mind, if we are tempted to consider that they were overrated by their contemporaries, that though to us, who read our Sa'dí and our Háfídh before ever we glanced at their verses, they may seem devoid of novelty, "the merit," as the Arabs say, "belongs to the pioneer" (الْفَضْلُ لِلْمَتَقَدِّمِ), and that what appears stale enough now was once fresh and striking. Often, however, the later and more celebrated poet gets the credit. We are all familiar with 'Umar Khayyám's lines:—

*" I often wonder what the vintners buy
One half so precious as the stuff they sell " ;*

¹ Translated by M. Cl. Huart, Paris, 1875.

but few, even amongst Persian scholars, are aware that a century earlier Kisá'í had expressed nearly the same idea in the following verse :—

گل نعمتی است هدیه فرستاده از بهشت
 مردم کریمتر شود اندر نعیم گل
 ای گل فروش گل چه فروشی برای سیم
 وز گل عزیزتر چه ستانی بسیم گل

*“ A heaven-sent gift and blessing is the rose,
 Its grace inspireth aspirations high.
 O flower-girl, why the rose for silver sell,
 For what more precious with its price can'st buy ? ”*

We must not, however, at present pursue further these general considerations on the Art of Poetry as cultivated in the Nearer East, but must, before proceeding to speak of Násir-i-Khusraw, make a few observations on the *qaṣída*, which is that form of verse which he, like Anwarí and Dhahír of Fáryáb, cultivated almost exclusively. I do not propose to discuss here the classical *qaṣída* of the Arabs, which was closely imitated by some of the earlier Persian poets, notably Minúchihrí, but the *qaṣída* in the forms which it quickly assumed in the hands of the Persians. It is always, as its name implies, a poem with a purpose; and according as its purpose is to praise an actual or prospective patron, to revile an enemy or rival, or one who, having been praised, did not respond with a liberality proportionate to the poet's expectations, or to enunciate the ethical, theological, or philosophical views of the writer, it is further classified as panegyric (*madḥ*), satire (*ḥajw*), doxology (*na't*), devotional (*munájját*), admonition (*naṣíḥat*), philosophical (*ḥikamiyya*), and so forth; while its panegyric forms are further subdivided, according to the nature of the *tashbíḥ*, or introductory portion, into 'vernal' (when they open with a description of the beauties of Spring),

‘autumnal’ (when they describe the Autumn season), and so forth. We have also the autobiographical *qaṣida*, or *tarjuma-i-hál*, under which must be classed the various *ḥabsiyyát*, or poems written in prison by poets who had been unfortunate enough to incur the wrath of their patrons (an event of pretty frequent occurrence), or, still worse, of those who had smarted under the shafts of their satire.

Here I must call attention to one rather curious fact, namely, that it is extremely rare for a Persian poet to excel in more than one form of verse. Thus, the three poets whom we have just mentioned, Anwari, Dhahír of Fáryáb, and Násir-i-Khusraw were *par excellence* *qaṣida*-writers, and the few *ghazals* or odes produced by the first and second (for the last-named poet seems entirely to have avoided the ode) are of very mediocre quality. Firdawsí and Nidhámí, again, are essentially *mathnawí* poets, though the former, choosing the pure epic as his special province, is the more entirely objective in his treatment of his material. Many others besides ‘Umar Khayyám wrote nothing but quatrains; while the reputation of Háfídh rests exclusively on his odes, though his *Díván* contains also a few quatrains, *qaṣidas*, and *mathnawís*. Of the great Persian poets Jámí alone, perhaps, can be said to have really excelled in more than one variety of verse, his allegorical *mathnawís* being as conspicuous for beauty as his lyrical poetry.

To return to the *qaṣida*-writers. For practical purposes these may be divided into two classes, the Court-poets, who were alternately panegyrists and satirists, and the Thought-poets, who were either religious enthusiasts, ethical teachers, or philosophers after their kind, or a combination in different proportions of all these things. These two great classes are utterly distinct, save when a disgusted and disappointed panegyrist renounced the pomps and vanities of courts, and retired in later life to the recluse’s cell.

Let us first consider briefly the Court-poets, of whom Anwari and Dhahír of Fáryáb may be regarded as typical. A careful study of their works is required to enable us to understand their craft (for it may be more properly described

as a craft than an art), and the light in which they themselves regarded it. These poets, in their occasional moments of frankness (which generally supervened on some rebuff or disappointment sustained at the hands of their patrons) are almost incredibly cynical as to their profession. Anwarí, it is said,¹ when a poor student at the Mansúriyya College of Tús, was first led to devote his attention to poetry by seeing a gorgeously appparelled personage, mounted on a fine horse, pass by the gate of his college. Having enquired who this splendid creature might be, and being informed that he was one of the poets attached to Sanjar's Court, "What!" he exclaimed, "am I so poor when learning ranks so high, and is he so rich when the Art of Poetry is so base? By Heaven, from this day forth I will devote myself to Poetry, which is the least and lowest of my accomplishments!" Nor did his opinion of the poet's vocation improve as time went on, and he himself took rank as the first *qasida*-writer of his time. Thus he says (ed. Lucknow, A.D. 1880, p. 730):—

انوری شعر و حرص دانی چیست ' آن یکی طفل و آن دگر دایه '

" *O Anwarí, dost thou know what poetry and covetousness are?
The former is the child and the latter the nurse.*"

And again, in another outburst of disgust at the life of flattery and insincerity which his profession involved, he says (ed. Lucknow, p. 711):—

نشاید بهر آداب ندیمی ' دگر بر جان و دل زحمت نهادن '
 زبان کردن بنظم و نشر جاری ' ز خاطر نکته های بکر زادن '
 که باز آید همه نار ندیمی ' بسیلی خوردن و دشنام دادن '

" *It is not fitting, in order to conform to the courtier's code,
Again to expose my heart and soul to vexation ;*

¹ Dawlatsháh, pp. 83–86 of my edition.

*To wag my tongue in prose or verse,
And bring forth virgin fancies from my mind ;
For the whole business of courtiers comes to this—
To take blows and give abuse."*

He is equally frank as to the motives which prompt him to praise this one or satirize that one. Thus he says (p. 629) :—

‘چو آبروی بیفزایدم بـمـدح و غزل
چرا بآتشِ فکرَت همی بکاهم روح
بیاد بوئ و مگر بیست سال بردادم
مرا خدای ندادست زندگانی نوح
عنانِ طبع ازین پس کشیده خواهم داشت
اگر کشاده به بینم دَرِ قبول و فتوح
وگر عطا ندهندم بر آرم از پسِ مدح
بلفظِ هَجَو دمار از سرِ چنین ممدوح

*"Since my consideration can be increased by panegyric and ode,
Why should I waste my soul in the fire of thought ?
I have thrown away twenty years in 'perhaps' and 'it may be' ;
God hath not granted me the life of Noah !
Henceforth I will rein in my natural disposition,
If I see the door of acceptance and success open before me ;
And if they vouchsafe me no gift, I will, after essaying praise,
Crush with words of satire the head of such a patron !"*

Dhahír is, if possible, more outspoken ; for in one of his poems, after declaring, like Anwarí, that his poetic talent is his least claim to distinction, and that the ode, though a nobler form of verse than the *qasida* which he affects, "is not a stock-in-trade from which much gain can be hoped,"¹

¹ ز شعر جنس غزل بهترست آن هم نیست
بصاعتی که بر آن ساختن توان بُیاد

concludes thus :—

بدین بسنده کن از حالِ مدح هیچ مگوی
 که شرح دردِ دلِ آن نمی توانم داد
 بهین گلی که مرا بشگفتد ازو اینست
 که بنده خوانم خود را و سرورا آزاد
 گهی لقب نهم آشفته زنگئی را حور
 گهی خطاب کنم مست سفله را آزاد

*“Be content with this much, and say naught concerning the
 nature of panegyric,
 For I cannot describe the heartburnings to which it gives rise !
 The finest flower which it yields to me is this,
 That I call myself a ‘slave’ and the cypress-tree ‘free’ ;
 Now I describe as a Houri of Paradise some fractious negro,
 And now style ‘noble’ some miserable drunkard !”*

And again, addressing a patron who had disappointed his expectations, he says :—

مباش غرّه اگرچه من از شمایلِ خویش
 حکیم سیرت و نیکو نهاد و خاموشم
 بکامِ نظم چو من بر سخن سوار شوم
 گشتند غاشیه اقران ز فخرِ بر دوشم
 بمدح همچو همه کس گو شکایت و شکر
 چو آفتاب بتابم چو بحر بخروشم
 من ار ز هجّو تو بیتی دو بر کسی خوانم
 نهند تخته دُنیا همی در آغوشم
 بزرّ سُرخ چو از من هجای تو بخرند
 روا بُود که بنرخ تمام بفروشم

*“ Be not misled if, in consequence of my virtues,
 I remain philosophically calm, silent, and good-tempered.
 When I mount my Pegasus, intent on the production of verse,
 My colleagues are proud to carry my horse-cloths on their backs.
 In praise, like all the rest of them, on occasions of complaint
 or thanksgiving,
 I shine like the sun or rage like the sea.
 If I should recite to a certain person a verse or two of satire
 on thee,
 He would place in my embrace the whole expanse of earth.
 Since, then, they are ready to buy satire of me for red gold,
 Is it right that I should not sell at the best market price ? ”*

And, to conclude this topic, while Anwarí declares (p. 41) that “ begging is the poet’s law,” Dhahír exclaims :—

شعر در نفس خویشتن بد نیست ‘ ناله من ز خست شرگاست ‘

*“ Poetry is not bad in itself ; my complaint is of the vileness
 of my colleagues ! ”*

In a word, the Persian panegyrists, who constitute the bulk of the *qasída*-writers, if not of the whole Parnassus of Persian poets, were deliberately and consciously insincere, and never pretended to be anything else, taking, as it were, as their motto the cynical Arabic proverb : “ The best poetry is that which contains most lies.” They manufactured their poetry, as carpets or jewelry are manufactured, according to the most popular and fashionable patterns, in order to sell it in the best market at the highest price, and they cared no more who the buyer might be than does the carpet-maker or the jeweller. So Farrukhí aptly compares the laudatory poems which he composed in praise of the Amír Abu’l-Mudhaffar of Chagháníyán before he set out to visit his court to “ fabrics spun within the brain and woven in the heart ” ¹ —

¹ See my translation of the *Chahár Maqála*, pp. 59–60 of the *tirage-d-part*.

‘ با کاروان حله برفتم ز سیستان ’ با حله تنیده ز دل بافته ز جان

while Dhahír says:—

من نه دهقانم نه بازرگان که باشد مرمرا
خانه‌ها پُر گندم و چو کیسه‌ها پُر سیم و زر

*“ I am not a landowner nor a merchant, that I should have
Granaries full of corn or purses filled with gold and silver.”*

Now all this is remote from our conception of poetry; for I suppose we should all agree that, presupposing a certain dignity and elegance of form, and some conformity to the laws of metre and rime, the essential quality of good poetry is sincerity. Whether the poet reflects our own views is a minor consideration; and we may equally admire the Anarchism of Shelley, the Cynicism of Byron, the Mysticism of Wordsworth, the Nationalism of Thomas Moore, or the Imperialism of Kipling, because all these sang as they believed, primarily to satisfy their own aspirations, and only in a secondary degree to please their audience. And because Anwari, Dhahír of Fáryáb, and the whole class of Persian poets whom they represent, down to Qá’ání in our own age, are utterly and deliberately insincere, and never pretend to be anything else, it is, in my opinion, inconceivable that any translator, no matter how skilful, could ever render their poems (with a few such brilliant exceptions as Anwari’s “Tears of Khurásán”) even tolerable to the European reader, seeing that their whole beauty lies in a technical skill and verbal artifice which it requires long study to appreciate, and which it is hardly possible to reproduce in a translation.

It has been my fortune (or misfortune) to edit two large *Tadhkiras* or Biographies of Persian poets, one, that of ‘Awfí, the most ancient, and another, that of Dawlatsháh, the most popular, which have come down to our time. I have transcribed and collated these from end to end, read through in proof each portion time after time, and consulted, for

critical purposes, a mass of cognate literature ; so that I may claim to have a fair general knowledge of the character of the work produced by most of the more notable Persian poets ; and though here and there, in the work of many of them, gems of beauty may be found (for not even a Court-poet can be always consistently insincere), I am bound to admit that there are comparatively few, beyond the five or six mentioned in the beginning of this paper, whose poems, save in exceptional instances, could be rendered popular in Europe, even by the most skilful translator. One of these few, as I believe, is the poet of whom I am now about to speak.

Násir-i-Khusraw, the poet in question, presents himself to us under three different aspects : as a traveller, who has left us a most valuable account of his extensive journeys through Persia, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, and Bahrayn ; as one of the most active and devoted *dá'is*, propagandists or missionaries of the Isma'ílí sect ; and as a poet equally remarkable for sincerity, power, and eloquence. Ignored by most historians and biographers on account of his heretical doctrines, and credited with all manner of magical powers and strange adventures by a fearful and credulous posterity, a mass of legend has grown up around him, and obscured a personality of extraordinary interest and originality, which only his own works, to wit, his *Safar-náma*, or Book of Travel, and his *Dúcán* of poems and other poetical works, really reveal. Already in al-Qazwíní's *Átháru'l-Bilád*, or "Monuments of the Lands" (ed. Wüstenfeld, pp. 338-9), composed in the first half of the thirteenth century, only about a hundred and fifty years after Násir-i-Khusraw's death, he is represented as a King of Balkh, driven by his rebellious subjects to take refuge in the strongly fortified town of Yumgán (the place where, as repeated allusions in his own poems show, he actually spent in religious retirement the latter days of his life), and there surrounding himself with marvellous buildings, strange automata which it was dangerous to look on for fear of losing one's reason, and all manner of awful talismans and

magical contrivances. Two or three centuries later, so far as can be judged, was produced the still more wonderful pseudo-autobiography, which in the East still passes current as the most authentic account of Násir-i-Khusraw. This pseudo-autobiography, which has been analysed and criticised by Schefer, Ethé, and other eminent Persian scholars, occurs in at least three different recensions of varying length and wealth of detail, one of which is prefixed to the Tabríz edition of the *Diwán*, while the greater part of it is given in a French translation in M. Schefer's Introduction (pp. viii–xvii) to his edition of the *Safar-náma*. In it, besides the wildest anachronisms and confusion of persons, we find yet more extraordinary legends, in which astrology and demonology play a large part; and the pseudo-autobiography does not even stop at Násir's death, but describes how his funeral obsequies are conducted by the *jinnís*. Some of the incidents narrated are evidently garbled accounts, greatly embellished by legends and fairy-tales, of events which really happened to other persons, with whom, on account of a similarity in names, or for some other reason, Násir-i-Khusraw has been confused. One episode, for instance, describes how he was detained by the "King of the Heretics" in Mázandarán on account of his reputation as a philosopher and man of learning; how, utterly against his will, he was compelled to write a Commentary on the Qur'án, explaining it in a sense favourable to the opinions of the 'Heretics'; and how this Commentary, penetrating to other parts of Persia, was the source of much further trouble to him, after he had effected his escape from the unwelcome hospitality of the 'Heretics' by thaumaturgical means, involving the destruction of their army. I have no doubt that this legend is a distorted recollection of what really happened to the philosopher and astronomer Naṣíru'd-Dín Túsí, who was actually detained as an unwilling guest by the 'Heretics' or Assassins,¹ and who actually dedicated to their last Grand

¹ The term *Maláḥida* ('Heretics') is, so far as I know, only employed to denote the Assassins, not the parent sect of the Isma'ílís from which they were evolved by the genius of Ḥasan-i-Šabbāḥ, who was the *Dá'í'd-Du'át*, or Chief

Master, Ruknu'd-Dín Khúrsháh (subsequently betrayed by him to the Mongols), his celebrated Treatise on Ethics, the *Akhláq-i-Násirí*; a fact for which he apologizes in the later edition. It would even be possible, I think, with some trouble, to trace out the origins of most of the garbled narratives which, jumbled together, make up the Pseudo-Autobiography.

Though historically worthless, the Pseudo-Autobiography has a certain literary merit which has secured and maintained its popularity, and has rendered the imaginary Násir-i-Khusraw a much more familiar figure than the real one. Some of its incidents are delightful, even fraught with a certain grim humour. Amongst others, it is narrated that Násir-i-Khusraw and his brother, after escaping from Mázandarán as described above, came in the course of their further travels to Níshápúr, on arriving at which city they sent a young disciple who accompanied them to buy provisions in the market, while they went to a cobbler's shop to get their shoes repaired. While they were waiting there, a loud clamour and outcry arose from a neighbouring quarter, and the cobbler, still holding his awl in his hand, ran off to see what was the cause of the disturbance. After a while he returned, carrying on the point of his awl a piece of flesh. "What," enquired Násir-i-Khusraw, who was still patiently waiting for his shoes, "was the cause of the disturbance, and what is that piece of flesh?" "Well," replied the cobbler, "it appears that one of the disciples of that arch-heretic Násir-i-Khusraw appeared in this city, and fell into discussion on matters of religion with certain of our doctors. When they brought against him verses of the Qur'án, traditions of the Prophet, and sayings of godly divines, he opposed them with the infidel opinions and blasphemous poems of his master, until, perceiving his obstinacy to be incurable, the people tore him limb from limb, and I too, for the sake of earning merit, tore from his

of the Propaganda, in North and North-East Persia, next but one after Násir-i-Khusraw. To connect the older Isma'ílís, to whom Násir-i-Khusraw belonged, with the *Maláhida* properly so called, is, therefore, an anachronism.

body this piece of flesh which you see on my awl." Then Násir-i-Khusraw rose up and said, "Give me my shoes as they are, for it is not good to tarry, even for an hour, in a city where even the name of Násir-i-Khusraw is mentioned!"

Now the collected poems of Násir-i-Khusraw are remarkable not only for their sincerity but for their devoutness, though their devoutness is that of a heretical Isma'ílí, not of an orthodox Sunní Muhammadan. Yet these poems are little read, and nine out of ten more or less well-read Persians, if asked to repeat some of his verses, will cite one or other of three scraps of poetry, all more or less blasphemous, in that they scoff at the Resurrection of the Body in the coarsest fashion, and reproach the Creator with having exposed man to temptations without giving him the power to resist them, and having created a Devil without any sufficient reason. These three poems are absent from the only edition of Násir-i-Khusraw's poetical works which I possess, and, though I have found them in one of the British Museum manuscripts, their authenticity must, I think, be regarded as doubtful. At any rate, if genuine, we must suppose that they were composed before the poet's conversion, that is, during the first forty years of his life, while all the poems contained in the lithographed edition of the *Díwán* appear to have been written after his return from Egypt, that is, after his fiftieth year.

So much for the legendary Násir-i-Khusraw: now for the real one. The first authentic mention I find of him by any Persian historian of repute occurs in the *Jámi'u't-Tawárikh* of Rashídu'd-Dín Fadlu'llah (British Museum MS. Add. 7628, ff. 286^a and 290^a), composed about the beginning of the fourteenth century.

"Násir-i-Khusraw," says this great historian of the Mongols, "attracted by the fame of al-Mustansir, came from Khurásán to Egypt, where he abode seven years, performing the Pilgrimage and returning to Egypt each year. Eventually, after performing his [final] pilgrimage, he came to Basra, and so returned to Khurásán, where he carried on a Propaganda for the 'Alawí (or Fátimid) Caliphs

of Egypt in Balkh. His enemies attempted to destroy him, and he became a fugitive in the highlands of Simingán, where he remained for twenty years, content to subsist on water and herbs." And immediately afterwards the historian proceeds to speak of the notorious Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáh, who also visited the Anti-Caliph al-Mustansir in Cairo at a somewhat later date.

In another passage in the same work, Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáh, according to a statement with which he himself is credited, was converted from the "Sect of the Twelve," or ordinary Shí'ite doctrine, to the "Sect of the Seven," or 'Esoteric' doctrine of the Isma'ilis, through the influence of an Isma'ilí propagandist named Amír Ḍarráb, "and before him," adds the historian, "Násir-i-Khusraw, 'the Proof' (*Hujjat*) of Khurásán."

At this point I must allude briefly to a theory maintained by several very eminent Orientalists, notably by my most learned predecessor, the late Professor Rieu, that there were two Násir-i-Khusraws, having the same name and the same *kunya* or cognomen, Abú Mu'in, and whose fathers were also homonymous; of whom one was the poet, philosopher, and magician, and the other the traveller. This view, quite disproved, as I think, by Schefer and Ethé, was maintained by Pertsch and Fagnan, but is most forcibly and clearly enunciated by Professor Rieu in the following words:—

"A few facts," says this great scholar,¹ "will show that we have to do with two distinct persons. Ḥakím Násir, as the poet is generally called, was born in Isfahán, traced his pedigree to the great Imám 'Alí b. Músá ar-Ridá, and was known as a poet before the composition of the present work [i.e. the *Book of Travel* or *Safar-náma*]; his poem, the *Rawshaná'i-náma*, is dated A.H. 420 (= A.D. 1029; see Pertsch, *Gotha Catalogue*, p. 13; the date A.H. 343 = A.D. 954–5, assigned to the same work in the Leyden copy, *Catalogue*, vol. ii, p. 108, is probably erroneous). Our author, on the contrary, designates himself by two *nisbas* which

¹ *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, pp. 379–381.

point to Qúbádiyán, a town near Balkh, and to Merv, as the places of his birth and of his usual residence, and lays no claim either to noble extraction or to any fame but that of a skilled accountant. Ḥakím Násir was born, according to the *Ḥabibu's-siyar* (Bombay ed., vol. ii, *jus'* 4, p. 67), in A.H. 358 (= A.D. 969), or, as stated in the *Dabistán* (vol. ii, p. 419), in A.H. 359 (= A.D. 970), while our author appears, from his own statement, to have been forty years old in A.H. 437 (= A.D. 1045-6)."

Other difficulties have been raised as to the identification of the poet and traveller, but nearly all of them arise from the inaccuracies of late writers, and are speedily resolved by an attentive perusal of the *Safar-náma* and the *Dicán* side by side. Thus the traveller, as well as the poet, seems to have been entitled *Ḥakím* ('the sage'), for the voice from the unseen which reproaches him in his dream for his hitherto heedless and ungodly life (*Safar-náma*, p. 3) says to him, when he defends his indulgence in wine, "Insensibility and intoxication are not refreshment; one cannot call him 'the sage' (*Ḥakím*) who encourages men to lose their senses." Dawlatsháh,¹ who is notoriously inaccurate, is responsible for the statement that the poet was a native of Isfahán (one of Professor Rieu's points of differentiation), but this statement is conclusively disproved by the poet's own words (*Dicán*, ed. Tabríz, A.H. 1280, p. 241):—

گرچه مرا اصل خراسانیست ' از پس بیز و مہی و سری
دوستی عترت و خانہ رسول ' کرد مرا یمگی و مارندری

"Although I am originally a native of Khurásán, after
[enjoying] spiritual leadership, authority, and supremacy,
Love for the Family and House of the Prophet have made me
a dweller in Yumgán and Mázandarán."

¹ p. 61, l. 6 of my edition.

And lastly, as regards the date of the poet's birth, we have, against the assertions of late works like the *Habibu's-siyar* and the fantastic *Dabistán*, the poet's own explicit statement (to which Dr. Ethé, I think, first directed attention) that he was born in A.H. 394 = A.D. 1003-4 (*Diván*, p. 110):—

بگذشت ز هجرت پس سید نود و چار

بنهاد مرا مادر بر مرکز اغمر

while, four lines lower down, he says that he was 42 years of age (given in a round number as 40 in the *Book of Travel*) when his conversion took place, or, as he puts it, "when his reasonable soul began to seek after wisdom":—

پیموده شد از گنبد بر من چهل و دو

جویان خرد گشت مرا نفس سخنور¹

The agreement, in short, between the data derived from the *Diván* and those given in the *Book of Travel* is absolute; only the various wrong dates occurring in some manuscripts of the *Rawshaná'í-náma*, which Dr. Ethé has most carefully examined, criticised, and explained, raise any further difficulty, and the identity of Násir-i-Khusraw the poet, Násir-i-Khusraw the Isma'ílí missionary, and Násir-i-Khusraw the traveller may be regarded as established with as much certainty as any fact in Persian history of that period.

Briefly, his life may be said to fall quite clearly into three periods. Of the first, the period of forty years which preceded his travels, we know little, save that, as already mentioned, he was born in A.H. 394 (= A.D. 1003-4) at Qúbádiyán by the Oxus, and that in A.H. 437 (= A.D. 1045), being then in the service of the recently established Seljúq government as a secretary and auditor of some considerable repute, and aged about 42 or 43 years, he was moved by

¹ Evidently سخنور is here used as the equivalent of the Arabic ناطق, i.e. 'logical.'

a somewhat startling and vivid dream to resign his post, and set off on the seven years' wanderings which he describes in his *Book of Travel*. The chief result of this journey was his conversion to the Isma'ílí doctrine at Cairo, where al-Mustansir, the spiritual and temporal Pontiff of the 'Esoterics,' or "Sect of the Seven," was then ruling with a justice, mildness, and benevolence which filled our poet with such admiration and devotion as never left him during the remainder of his long life (in two of his poems, *Diwán*, pp. 166, 171, he alludes to his age as being 62 at the time of writing), and served to inspire much of the finest of his verse.

The second period of the poet's life, that of his travels, lasted seven years, viz., from December 19, A.D. 1045, until October 23, A.D. 1052 (6 Jumáda II, A.H. 437, until 26 Jumáda II, A.H. 444). The greater part of this time was spent in Egypt, but inasmuch as his journey thither and his return thence were both leisurely and circuitous, the above-mentioned assertion in the *Jámi'u't-Tawárikh*, that he actually spent seven years in that country, and performed the pilgrimage to Mecca thence every year, is incorrect. As a matter of fact, in his *Safar-náma* he only describes five pilgrimages, the first on his way to Egypt from Syria in the Spring of A.D. 1047, and the fifth on his homeward journey in A.D. 1052. He therefore remained in Egypt only for the inside of this period of four years.

Time does not permit me to describe this journey of our poet, and it is unnecessary to do so, since the late M. Schefer's French translation of the *Book of Travel* is readily accessible to all. He was an intelligent and observant traveller, and the value of his Travels, not merely from the geographical point of view, but also as throwing light on many interesting persons and customs of that time, has long been recognized. At Ma'arratu'n - Nu'mán, in Syria, for example, he visited the great poet-pessimist-philosopher of the Arabs, Abu'l-'Alá al-Ma'arrí, of whom he has left us a well-considered eulogy. At Tabríz, again, somewhat earlier in his journey, he made the acquaintance of the Persian poet Qatrán, of whose knowledge of the older

Persian literature he apparently thought somewhat meanly. At Samnán he attended one of the lectures on Mathematics and Natural Science of a certain Ustád 'Alí Nasá'í, who aroused his contempt by the manner in which he strove to mask the exiguity of his attainments by repeated references to the fact that he had once been a pupil of the great Avicenna. And lastly we owe to him one of the most sympathetic and appreciative notices of the just and tolerant rule of the Fátimids in Egypt which has been preserved to us. He was especially impressed by the discipline of the army, some 215,000 strong, which comprised troops from all parts of North Africa, Bedouins from the Hijáz, Turks, Persians, a slave-regiment, and a mercenary Foreign Legion. The wealth of the *bázars* filled him with astonishment, still more the high degree of public security, which, he says, was such that the merchants and tradesmen did not deem it necessary to lock up their shops and warehouses. "All feel secure in the justice of the King," he says (p. 53 of the text), "neither have they any fear of myrmidons or spies, by reason of their confidence that he will oppress no one and covet no one's wealth"; and from an anecdote which follows this observation, it appears that Christians had equal confidence with Muslims in the justice of the Fátimid Government.

It was, of course, during his stay in Egypt that Násir-i-Khusraw was initiated into the esoteric doctrines of the Isma'ílís (so graphically described by de Sacy in the Introduction to his *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, and so well illustrated by Stanislas Guyard in his *Fragments relatifs à la Doctrine des Ismaélites*), and that he was commissioned, under the title of "the Proof of Khurásán" (*Hujjat-i-Khurásán*), to carry on their propaganda in Persia. It is by this title, *Hujjat*, that he commonly refers to himself in his poems, but it is not a mere *takhalluṣ* or *nom de guerre*, since it denotes a real and definite rank, comparable to that of a bishop, in the Isma'ílí hierarchy.

Násir-i-Khusraw's works were numerous, as he himself says in his *Dicán* :—

اندیشه مرا شجرِ خوبِ برورست
 پرهیز و علم ریزد ازو برگ و بر مرا
 گر بایدت همی که به بینی مرا تمام
 چون عاقلان بچشم بصیرت نگر مرا
 منگر بدین ضعیف تنم ز آنکه در سخن
 زین چرخ پر ستاره فروز است اثر مرا

*“ My mind with its meditations is a fair and fruitful tree,
 Which yieldeth its fruit and blossom of knowledge and chastity.
 Would'st thou see me complete and whole ? Then look, as
 beseems the wise,
 At my essence and not my seeming, with keen and discerning
 eyes.
 This feeble frame regard not ; remember rather that I
 Am the author of works which outnumber and outshine the
 stars in the sky.”*

Of these works, besides the *Safar-náma* and the *Dicán*, the *Raushaná'i-náma*, or “Book of Light,” has been edited in the original Persian and translated into German by Dr. Ethé (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879-1880, vol. xxxiii, pp. 645-665, and vol. xxxiv, pp. 428-468 and 617-642), while the *Sa'adat-náma*, or “Book of Felicity,” has been edited with a French translation by M. Fagnan (*Z.D.M.G.*, vol. xxxiii, pp. 643-674), and the *Zádu'l-Musáfirín*, or “Pilgrims' Provision,” exists in manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale. These five books, so far as I know, are all of our poet's works which have survived to our days. To the *Dicán* I have devoted the most careful attention, having read it attentively from cover to cover ; and I append to this article verse-translations of a hundred couplets, selected from the first five *qasidas* (i.e. the first ten pages of the Tabriz edition), which, however much they may fall short of the original, will, I think, suffice to convince anyone who is at all familiar with Persian poetry, and especially Persian *qasidas*, how unique is Násir-i-

Khusraw in his sincerity, his directness, his boldness, his simplicity of language, his freedom from the verbal conceits so dear to most Persian poets, his contempt for flattery and time-serving, and his complete devotion to the Esoteric Doctrines which he had embraced with such fervour. These doctrines are apparent everywhere, and are wholly and typically Isma'ilian, especially as regards the exaltation of the practice of allegorical interpretation of Scripture (*ta'wil*) which is so characteristic of the *Báṭini* or Esoteric sect. Without this, says Násir-i-Khusraw, the letter of scripture is bitter as brine (p. 3 of the Tabríz edition) and misleading as water running under straw. Heaven, Hell, the Resurrection, the Torment of the Tomb, the Rising of the Sun from the West, and the appearance of Antichrist are all allegorically explained, and such explanation is declared to be of the very essence of true spiritual religion (p. 33), but the key to it has been committed by God only to His chosen representative, the Imám of the Prophet's Family (pp. 12, 30, 60, 64, 124, 142), who is its sole custodian (p. 4), and the only channel whereby access can be obtained to this hidden science. Revelation is necessary (p. 29), but the nobility of the Arabic language is solely due to the fact that it was the medium of this Revelation (p. 249); and mere parrot-like reading of the Qur'án is useless (p. 214). Piety, without knowledge and understanding, avails nothing (p. 37), but Knowledge, great as is its honour, is but the handmaid of Religion (pp. 150, 235), which is the fragrance of the world (p. 188). There exists naught but God (p. 193), who can neither be described as Eternal nor Temporal (p. 166), since He is above all description. Phenomena are but an illusory reflection of Him (p. 106), yet are full of significance (p. 197), because the Universal Intelligence is immanent in them (p. 14), while Man is the Microcosm (p. 232). Space and Time are infinite and unbounded, and the Heavens will not perish (p. 4), yet is the World not eternal (pp. 12, 39, 40).

The Doctrine of Free-Will is strongly enunciated by Násir-i-Khusraw. Thus he says, amongst many similar passages (p. 56):—

گرچه یزدان آفریند مادر و پستان و شیر
 کودکان را شیر مادر خود همی باید مکید

*"Though God creates the mother, and the breast, and the milk,
 The children must draw for themselves the mother's milk."*

And again (p. 149):—

ترا جائت نامه است کردار خط ' بجان بر مکن جز به نیکی رقم
 بنامه درون جمله نیکی نویس ' که در دست تست ای برادر قلم

*"Thy soul is a book, thy deeds are like the writing : write not
 on thy soul aught else but a fair inscription :
 Write what is wholly good in the book, O brother, for the pen
 is in thine own hand !"*

The Fátimid Caliphs, or Anti-Caliphs of Cairo, are throughout regarded as the only legitimate rulers, and the keepers of the Garden of God, but a gate (*Báb*) to the Imám is to be found in every country. Allusions to the mystic number Seven are frequent, and also to the characteristic Isma'ílí doctrine of the *Asás*.

Lastly, we may notice Násir-i-Khusraw's profound contempt for courts (p. 6), courtiers (pp. 151, 230), panegyrists (pp. 7, 11, 80, 141, 144), elegant writers and literary triflers (p. 228), and writers of *ghazals* and erotic poetry (pp. 108, 141, 145, 171).

TEXT AND VERSE TRANSLATION OF A HUNDRED COUPLETS
TAKEN FROM THE FIRST FIVE POEMS OF
NĀSIR-I-KHUSRAW'S DÍWĀN.

(1)

دریای سخنها سخنِ خوبِ خداست
پرگوهر و یاقوتِ پُراز لؤلؤ لالا
شورست چو دریا بمثلِ ظاهرِ تنزیل
تأویل چو لؤلؤست سوی مردم دانا
اندر بُنِ دریاست همه گوهر و لؤلؤ
غَوَاصِ طلبِ کن چه دویِ بر لبِ دریا
اندر بُنِ شورابِ ز بهر چه نهادست
چندین گهر و لؤلؤ ارزنده زیبا
از بهر پیمبر که بدین صُنعِ ورا گفت
تأویل بدانان ده و تنزیل بغوغا
غَوَاصِ ترا جز گِلِ شورابه ندادست
زیراک ندیدست از تو جز که مُعَادَا
معنی طلب از ظاهرِ تنزیل چو مردم
خورسند مشو همچو خرا از قولِ بآوا

* * * * *

دارا که هزاران خدم و خیل و حشم داشت
بگذاشت همه پاک و بشد با تن تنها

بازیست رُباینده زمانه که نیابد،
 زو خلق رها هیچ نه مولا و نه مولا،
 ۱۰ آن روز بیابند همه خلق مکافات،
 هم ظالم و هم عادل بی هیچ مُحابا،
 آن روز در آن حول و فزع بر سر آن جمع،
 پیش شَهِدَا دستِ من و دامنِ زهرا،
 تا دادِ من از دشمنِ اولادِ پیمبر،
 بدهد بتمام ایزدِ دادارِ تعالی،

(۲)

چگونه کند با قرار آسمانت،
 چو خود نیست از بُن قرار آسمان را،
 سر آن جهان نردبان این جهانست،
 بسر بُر شدت باید این نردبان را،
 ۱۵ درین بامِ گردان و آن بامِ ساکن،
 ببین صنعت و حکمتِ غیبِ دان را،
 نگه کن که چون کرد بی هیچ حاجت،
 بجانِ سَبْکِ جُفَّتِ جسمِ گران را،
 که آویختست اندرین سبز گنبد،
 مر این تیره گوی درشت کلان را،
 چه گوئی که فرساید این چرخِ گردان،
 چو بیجَد و مر بشمرد سالیان را،

نه فرسودنی ساختست این فلک‌ترا
 نه آب روان و نه بادِ بزان‌را

* * * * *

۲۰ مکان و زمان هر دو از بهر صنع است
 ازین نیست حدی زمین و زمان‌را
 اگر گوئی این در قران نیست گویم
 همانا نکو می ندانی قران‌را
 قران را یکی خازنی هست کایزد

حوالت بدو کرد مرانس و جان‌را

* * * * *

تو بر آن گزیده خدا و پیمبر
 گزیدی فلان و فلان و فلان‌را

* * * * *

بمردم شود آب و نان تو مردم
 نه بینی که سگ سگ کند آب و نان‌را

(۳)

۲۵ گر بر قیاس فضل بگشتی مدارِ چرخ
 مجز بر مقررِ ماه نبودی مقررِ مرا
 نی فی که چرخ و دهر ندانند قدرِ فضل
 این گفته بود گاه جوانی پدرِ مرا
 دانش به از ضیاع و به از جاه و مال و ملک
 این خاطر خطیر چنین گفت مرِ مرا

با خاطرِ منوّر و روشنتر از قمر،
 نآید بکار هیچ مقترِ قمر مرا،
 با لشکرِ زمانه و با تیغِ تیزِ قهر،
 دین و خرد بس است سپاه و سپر مرا،

* * * * *

۳۰ اندیشه مر مرا شجرِ خوب برورست،
 پرهیز و علم ریزد ازو برگ و بر مرا،
 گر بایدت همی که به بینی مرا تمام،
 چون عاقلان بچشمِ بصیرت نگر مرا،
 منگر بدین ضعیف تنم ز آنکه در سخن،
 زین چرخ پرستاره فزون است اثر مرا،

* * * * *

از هر چه حاجت است بدو مر مرا خدای،
 کردست بی نیاز درین رهگذر مرا،
 شکر آن خدای را که سوی علم و دین خویش،
 ره داد سوی رحمت و بکشاد در مرا،
 ۳۵ اندر جهان بدوستی خاندان حق،
 چون آفتاب کرد چنین مُشکّر مرا،

* * * * *

ای ناکسِ نفایه تن من درین جهان،
 همسایه نبود کس از تو بتر مرا،
 من دوستدار خویش گمان بُردمت همی،
 جز تو نبود یار بیاخرو به بر مرا،

بر من تو گینه ور شدی و دام ساختی
 وز دام تو نبود اثر نه خبر مرا
 تا مر مرا تو غافل و ایمن بیافتی
 از مکر و غدیر خویش گرفتی سحر مرا
 ۴۰ گر رحمت خدای نبودی و فضل او
 افکنده بود مکر تو در جوی و جر مرا
 اکنون که شد دُرُست که تو دشمن منی
 نیز از دو دست تو نگارد شکر مرا
 خواب و خورست کار تو ای بیخرد جسد
 لیکن خرد به است ز خواب و ز خور مرا
 کار خورست سوي خردمند خواب و خور
 ننگ است ننگ با خرد از کار خرم را
 من با تو ای جسد ننشینم درین سرای
 کایزد همی بخواند بجای دگر مرا
 ۴۵ آنجا هنر بکار و فضائل نه خواب و خور
 پس خواب و خور ترا و خرد با هنر مرا
 چون پیش من خلائق رفتند بشمار
 گرچه دراز مانم رفته شمر مرا
 روزی بپتر طاعت ازین گنبد بلند
 بیرون پریده گیر چو مرغ پیر مرا
 هنر کس همی حذر ز قضا و قدر کند
 وین هر دور هبند قضا و قدر مرا

نامِ قضا خرد کن و نامِ قَدَر سخن،
 یادست این سخن ز یکی نامور مرا،
 ۵۰ و اکنون که عقل و نفسِ سخنگوی خود منم،
 از خویشتن چه باید کردن حذر مرا،
 ای گشته خوش دلت ز قضا و قدر بنام،
 چون خویشتن ستور گمانی مبر مرا،
 قَوْلِ رسولِ حق چو درختی است بازور،
 برگش ترا که گاوی توئی و ثمر مرا،
 چون برگِ خوار گشتی اگر گاو نیستی،
 انصاف ده مگوی جفا و مخور مرا،
 ای آنکه دینِ تو بخیریدم بجان خویش،
 از جورِ این گروهِ خران باز خر مرا،

(۱۴)

۵۵ سلام کن ز من ای بادِ مر خراسان را،
 مرا اهلِ فضل و خرد را نه عام و نادان را،
 خبر بیاور از ایشان بمن چو داده بُوی،
 ز حالِ من بحقیقت خبر مرا ایشان را،
 بگویشان که جهان سَرِو من چو چنبر کرد،
 بمرِ خویش خود اینست کار گیهان را،
 نگر که تان نکند غتره عهد و پیمانِش،
 که او وفا نکند هیچ عهد و پیمان را،

* * * * *

نگه کنند که در دستِ این و آن چو خراس
 بچند گونه بدیدند مر خراسان را
 ۶۰ بملکِ ترک چرا غره اید یاد کنید
 جلال و دولتِ محمودِ زاولستان را
 کجاست آنکه فریغونیان ز هیبتِ او
 ز دستِ خویش بدادند گوزگانان را^۱
 چو هندرا بسمِ اسپ ترک ویران کرد
 بیای پیلان بسپرد خاکِ ختلان را

* * * * *

شما فریفتگان پیش او همی گفتید
 هزار سال فزون باد عمر سلطان را
 بفر دولت او هر که قصدِ سندان کرد
 بزیر دندان چون موم یافت سندان را
 ۶۵ پریر قبله احرار زاولستان بود
 چنانکه کعبه است امروز اهل ایمان را
 کجاست اکنون آن مرد و آن جلالت و جاه
 که زیر خویش همی دید بُرجِ سرطان را
 بریخت چنگش و فرسوده گشت دندانش
 چو تیز کرد برو مرگِ چنگ و دندان را

^۱ Text کورگانان را, but 'Utbí speaks of Júzján as more particularly the appanage of these kings, and I imagine that we have here the Persian form of this name.

بترس سخت ز سختی چو کار آسان شد،
 که چرخ زود کند سخت کار آسان را،
 برون کند چو در آمد بچشم گشت زمان،
 ز قصر قیصر را وز خان و مان خان را،
 ۷۰ بر آسمان ز کسوفِ سیّه رهایش نیست،
 مر آفتابِ درفشان و ماهِ تابان را،
 ز چیزهای جهان هرچه خوار و ارزان شد،
 گران شده شمر آن چیز خوار و ارزان را،
 میانه کاری باش ای پسر کمال مجوی،
 که مه تمام نشد جز ز بهر نقصان را،

* * * * *

اگر شرابِ جهان خلق را چو مستان کرد،
 توشان رها کن چون هوشیار مستان را،
 نگاه کن که بحیلت همی هلاک کنند،
 ز بهر پترِ نکو طاوسانِ پَران را^۱،

* * * * *

¹ Compare a very similar passage in Book i of the *Mathnawī* of Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī (ed. 'Alā'u'd-Dawla, lith. Tih-rān, A.H. 1299, p. 6, ll. 21-23):—

خون دوید از چشم همچون جوی او، دشمن جان وی آمد روی او،
 دشمن طاؤس آمد پَر او، ای بسا شه را بگشته فتر او،
 گفت من آن آهَوَم کز ناف من، ریخت آن صیّاد خون عاف من،
 ای من آن روباه صحرا کز کمین، سر بریدندم برای پوستین،
 ای من آن پیلی که زخم پیلان، ریخت خونم از برای استخوان،

۷۵ ترا تن تو چو بندست و این جهان زندان

مقر خویشت مپندار بند و زندان را

ز علم و طاعت جانت ضعیف و عریان است

بعلم کوش و بپوش این ضعیف عریان را

* * * * *

جهان زمین و سخن تخم و جانت دهقانست

بکشت باید مشغول بود دهقان را

* * * * *

ترا کنون که بهارست جهد آن کنی

که نانکی بکف آری مگر زمستان را

* * * * *

ز عمر بهره همین گشت مرا که بشعر

برشته میکشم این زرو دژ و مرجان را

(۵)

۸۰ شاید اگر نیست بر درملکی جز بدر کردگار بار مرا

بار نخواهم سوی کسی که کند مت او پشت زیر بار مرا

* * * * *

خواندن قرآن و زهد و علم و عمل مونس جانند هر چهار مرا

چشم و دل و گوش هر یکی همه شب پند دهد با تن نزار مرا

چشم همی گوید از حرام و حرم بسته همی دار زینهار مرا

۸۵ گوش همی گوید از محال و دروغ ' راه بکن سخت و استوار مرا '
 دل چه کند گویدم همی ز هوا ' سخت نگه دار مژدوار مرا '
 عقل همی گویدم موکل کرد ' بر تن و بر جائت کردگار مرا '
 نیست ز بهر تو با سپاه هوا ' کار مگر حرب و کارزار مرا '
 سر ز کمند خرد چگونه کشم ' فضل خرد داد بر حمار مرا '
 ۹۰ دیو همی بست بر قطار سرم ' عقل برون کرد از آن قطار مرا '
 گر نه خرد بستدی مهارم ازو ' دیو کشان کرده بُد مهار مرا '
 غار جهان گرچه تنگ و تار شدست ' عقل بسنده است یار غار مرا '
 هیچ مکن ای پسر ز دهر گله ' کزوی شکرست صد هزار مرا '
 هست بدو گشتم و زبان و سخن ' هر دو بدین گشت پیشکار مرا '
 ۹۵ دهر همی گویدت که بر سفرم ' تنگ بکش سخت در کنار مرا '

* * * * *

پیشروم عقل بود تا جهان ' کرد بحکمت چنین مُشار مرا '
 بر سر من تاج دین نهاده خرد ' دین هُتری کرد و بردبار مرا '

* * * * *

چون نکنم جان فدای آنکه بحشر ' آسان گردد بدو شمار مرا '
 لا جرم اکنون جهان شکار منست ' گرچه همی داشت او شکار مرا '
 } گرچه همی خلق را فگار کند ' کرد نیارد جهان فگار مرا '
 } جان من از روزگار برتر شد ' بیم نیاید ز روزگار مرا '

No. 1 (pp. 2–4 of Tabríz ed.).

1. God's gracious Word in truth is an Ocean of Words, I ween,
Teeming with gems and jewels and pearls of luminous sheen ;
Bitter to outward seeming, like the sea, is the Scripture's page,
But precious as pearls of price is the Inward Sense to the sage.
Down in the depths of the Ocean are gems and pearls galore ;
Seek, then, a skilful diver, and bid farewell to the shore.
Wherefore hath God bestowed in the depths of the Ocean's brine
All these pearls of price and jewels so rare and fine ?
 5. Wherefore if not for the Prophet, who made the Inward Sense
The portion of Wisdom's children, but the Letter a Rock of Offence ?
A handful of salt-stained clay hath the diver offered to thee
Because in thy heart he beheld but envy and enmity.
Strive from the Outward Form to the Inward Sense to win
Like a man, nor rest content like an ass with a senseless din.
- * * * * *
- Darius, for all his thousands of servants and thanes, alone
Had to depart and abandon the chattels he deemed his own.
For the World is a thievish game, from which no man may save
Himself, be he Sultan or subject, his goods, be he master or slave.
10. That is the day when all men the guerdon they 've earned shall win ;
The just the fruits of his justice, the tyrant his wage of sin.
In the sight of the holy martyrs, in the midst of that fierce dismay,
'Will I grasp the garment of Zahrá' on that fearful Judgment Day,
And God, the Judge Almighty, shall avenge to the full the woes
I have suffered so long at the hands of the House of the Prophet's foes.

No. 2 (pp. 4–5).

- How can the Heavens rest on thee bestow
When they themselves nor pause nor rest can know ?
This world's the ladder to that world, O friend ;
To mount, thou needs must climb it to the end.
15. In these two roofs, one whirling and one still,
Behold that Secret-knowing Power and Skill ;
How, unconstrained, in one harmonious whole
He blended Matter gross and subtle Soul ;

¹ "The Most Bright One," i.e. Fátima, the daughter of the Prophet, wife of 'Alí and mother of the Imáms.

- How He did poise this dark stupendous sphere
 In Heaven's hollow dome of emerald clear.
 What say'st thou? "Endlessly recurring day
 And month at last shall wear that dome away!"
 Nay, for He hath exempted from such wear
 The circling sky, the water and the air.
20. The Canvass of His Art is Time and Place;
 Hence Time is infinite, and boundless Space.
 Should'st thou object, "Not thus the Scriptures tell,"
 I answer that thou hast not conned them well.
 And o'er the Scriptures is a Guardian set
 From whom both men and *jinn* must knowledge get.
 God and His Prophet thus decreed: but no!
 You "much prefer the views of So-and-so."
 Thy meat in man begetteth human power;
 To dog-flesh turns the meat that dogs devour.

No. 3 (pp. 5-7).

25. Were the turns of the Wheel of Fortune proportioned to worth alone,
 O'er the Vault of the Lunar Heaven would have been my abode and throne.
 But no! For the worth of Wisdom is lightly esteemed, in sooth,
 By fickle Fate and Fortune, as my father warned me in youth.
 Yet knowledge is more than farms, and estates, and rank and gold;
 Thus my dauntless spirit whispering me consoled:
 "With a heart more brightly illumined than ever the Moon can be
 What were a throne of glory o'er the sphere of the Moon to thee?"
 'Gainst the foeman's gleaming falchion and Fate's close-serried field
 Enough for me are Wisdom and Faith as defence and shield.
- * * * * *
30. My mind with its meditations is a fair and fruitful tree,
 Which yieldeth its fruit and blossom of knowledge and chastity.
 Would'st thou see me complete and whole? Then look, as beseems
 the wise,
 At my essence and not my seeming, with keen and discerning eyes.
 This feeble frame regard not; remember rather that I
 Am the author of works which outnumber and outshine the stars in
 the sky.
 God, to whose Name be Glory! me hath exempt and freed
 In this troubled life of transit from the things that most men need.
 I thank the Lord Almighty, who plainly for me did trace
 The way to Faith and Wisdom, and opened the Door of Grace,

35. And who in His limitless Mercy in this world hath made me one
Whose love for the Holy Household is clear as the noonday sun !

* * * * *

O dark and ignoble body, never on earth have I seen
A fellow-lodger so hurtful as thee, or a mate so mean !
Once on a time my lover and friend I accounted thee,
And thou wert my chosen comrade in travel by land and sea.
But fellest of foes I found thee, spreading thy deadly snare
To entrap me, whilst I of thy scheming was heedless and unaware,
Till, finding me all unguarded, and free from all fear of guile,
You strove to take me captive by treachery base and vile.

40. And surely but for the Mercy of God, and His Gracious Will,
Thy rascally schemes had wrought me a great and enduring ill.
But not the sweetest nectar could tempt me now, for I know
What to expect at the hands of so fierce and deadly a foe.
Sleep, O senseless body, and food are thy only care,
But to me than these is Wisdom better beyond compare !
'Tis the life of a brute, say the sages, to dream but of water and grass,
And shall I, who am dowered with reason, live the life of a soulless ass ?
I will not dwell, O Body, with thee in this world of sense ;
To another abode God calls me, and bids me arise from hence.

45. There are talent and virtue esteemed, not food and sleep ;
Then enjoy thy food and slumber, and let me my virtue keep !
Ere me from their earthly casings uncounted spirits have fled,
And I, though long I linger, may be counted already dead.
Through the lofty vault of Ether with the wings of obedience I
One day shall soar to the heavens as the skylark soars to the sky.
Fearful of God's Fore-knowledge, quaking at God's Decree,
Is the mass of my fellow-creatures, yet these are as guides to me :
" Speak of the first as ' Reason,' call the latter ' the Word ' "—
Such was the explanation that I from a wise man heard.

50. So being myself in essence a rational, logical Soul,
Why should I fear myself ? Shall the Part be in fear of the Whole ?
O man who dost rest contented to claim the Determinist's view,
Though you lack a brute's discernment must I lack discernment too ?
The words of God's Apostle resemble a fruitful tree :
Mine be its fruits of wisdom, and its leaves for cows like thee !
Thou art not a cow, thou sayest ? Then wherefore, Eater of Leaves,
Dost thou utter taunts and revilings whereat my spirit grieves ?
O Thou for whose Holy Doctrine my life I freely gave,
Me from this herd of asses, I pray thee, redeem and save !

No. 4 (pp. 7-8).

55. Bear from me to Khurásán, Zephyr, a kindly word,
To its scholars and men of learning, not to the witless herd,
And having faithfully carried the message I bid thee bear,
Bring me news of their doings, and tell me how they fare.
I, who was once as the cypress, now upon Fortune's wheel
Am broken and bent, you may tell them: for thus doth Fortune deal.
Let not her specious promise you to destruction lure:
Ne'er was her covenant faithful; ne'er was her pact secure.

* * * * *

- Look at Khurásán only: she is crushed and trodden still
By this one, and then by that one, as corn is crushed in the mill.
60. You boast of your Turkish rulers¹: remember the power and sway
Of the Záwulí Sultán Maḥmúd² were greater far in their day.
The Royal House of Faríghún³ before his might did bow,
And abandon the land of Júzján⁴: but where is Maḥmúd now?
'Neath the hoofs of his Turkish squadrons the glory of India lay,
While his elephants proudly trampled the deserts of far Cathay.

* * * * *

- And ye, deceived and deluded, before his throne did sing:
"More than a thousand summers be the life of our lord the King!
"Who, on his might relying, an anvil of steel attacks,
"Findeth the anvil crumble under his teeth like wax!"
65. The goal of the best was Záwul, as it seems, but yesterday,
Whither they turned, as the faithful turn to Mecca to pray.
Where is the power and empire of that King who had deemed it meet
If the heavenly Sign of Cancer had served as a stool for his feet?

¹ I.e. the Seljúqs.

² I.e. Sultán Maḥmúd of Zábulistán, or Záwulistán, generally called "of Ghazna." He reigned A.D. 998-1030.

³ I.e. the first dynasty of Khwárazmsháhs. "Faríghún," says Ridá-qulí Khán in his Persian lexicon entitled *Farhang-i-anjuman-ará-yi-Nápirí*, "rhyming with Farídún, was the name of a man who attained to the rule of Khwárazm, and whose children and grandchildren are called 'the House of Faríghún' or 'Afríghún.' These were the absolute rulers of Khwárazm, such as 'Alí b. Ma'mún Faríghúní, who was the contemporary of Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna (to whom he was related by marriage), and who was murdered by his own slaves. Sultán Maḥmúd came to Khwárazm and put the murderers to death." See also vol. ii, pp. 101-105 of the Cairo ed. (A.H. 1286) of al-'Utbí's monograph on Sultán Maḥmúd, entitled *at-Ta'rikhu'l-Yamíní*.

⁴ The text has *Gúrgánán* (or *Kúrkánán*): the emendation is based on al-'Utbí (loc. cit.). Compare n. 1 on p. 343 *supra*.

Alas! grim Death did sharpen against him tooth and claw,
And his talons are fallen from him, and his teeth devour no more!

* * * *

Be ever fearful of trouble when all seems fair and clear,
For the easy is soon made grievous by the swift-transforming sphere.
Forth will it drive, remorseless, when it deemeth the time at hand,
The king from his court and castle, the lord from his house and land.

70. Ne'er was exemption granted, since the spheres began to run,
From the shadow of dark eclipses to the radiant Moon and Sun.
Whate'er seems cheap and humble and low of the things of earth
Reckon it dear and precious, for Time shall lend it worth.
Seek for the mean in all things, nor strive to fulfil your gain,
For the Moon when the full it reacheth is already about to wane.

* * * *

Though the heady wine of success should all men drug and deceive,
Pass thou by and leave them, as the sober the drunkards leave.
For the sake of the gaudy plumage which the flying peacocks wear,
See how their death is compassed by many a springe and snare!

* * * *

75. Thy body to thee is a fetter, and the world a prison-cell:
To reckon as home this prison and chains do you deem it well?
Thy soul is weak in wisdom, and naked of works beside:
Seek for the strength of wisdom; thy nakedness strive to hide.

* * * *

Thy words are the seed; thy soul is the farmer; the world thy field:
Let the farmer look to the sowing, that the soil may abundance yield.

* * * *

Yet dost thou not endeavour, now that the Spring is here,
To garner a little loaflet for the Winter which creepeth near.

* * * *

The only use and profit which life for me doth hold
Is to weave a metrical chaplet of coral and pearls and gold!

No. 5 (pp. 8-10).

80. Though the courts of earthly rulers have shut their doors in my face,
Shall I grieve, when I still have access to the Court of the Lord of Grace?
In truth I desire no longer to deal with the mighty and proud,
Beneath whose burden of favour my back would be bent and bowed.

* * * *

To con the Holy Scriptures, to renounce, to strive, to know—
These are the Four Companions who ever beside me go.

- The Eye, the Heart, and the Ear through the long night-watches speak,
And with their counsels strengthen my body so frail and weak.
“Guard me well, I pray thee, and prison me close,” saith the Eye,
“From gazing on things forbidden, and the lust that comes thereby.”
85. “Close the road against me, and close it well,” saith the Ear,
“To every lying slander, to gossip and spiteful sneer.”
What saith the Heart within me? “From Passion’s curse and ban
“Keep me pure and unspotted, as befits an upright man.”
Then crieth the voice of Reason, “To me was the watch and ward
“Over thy soul and body given by God the Lord.
“Hold thou nor speech nor commerce with the armies of Hate and Lust,
“For I am there to confront them, and to fight them if fight they must.”
Against the commands of Reason can I rebel and revolt,
When I am preferred through Reason alone to the veriest dolt?
90. For the Fiend had caught and constrained me to walk in his captives’
train,
And ’t was Reason who came and saved me, and gave me freedom again.
’T was Reason who seized my halter and forced me out of the road
Whereby the Fiend would have led me at last to his own abode.
Though this Cave of the World is truly a tenement dark and dire,
If my “Friend of the Cave” be Reason what more can my heart desire?
Deem not the world, O my son, a thing but to hate and to flee,
For a hundred thousand blessings it hath yielded even to me.
Therein is my walk and achievement, my tongue and my gift of speech;
It yields me a ground of action, and offers me scope for each :
95. And ever it cries in warning, “I am hastening fast away,
“So clasp me close to your bosom, and cherish me while you may.”
- * * * * *
- Reason was ever my leader, leading me on by the hand,
Till it made me famed for Wisdom through the length and breadth of
the land.
- Reason it was which gave me the Crown of Faith, I say,
And Faith hath given me Virtue, and strength to endure and obey.
- * * * * *
- Since Faith at the Last Great Judgment can make my reckoning light,
Shall I fear, if Faith require it, to lose my life outright?
So the world is now my quarry, and the hunter who hunts am I,
Though I was once the quarry in the days that are now gone by.
100. Though others it hunt and capture, I stand from its dangers clear :
My soul is higher than Fortune : then why should I Fortune fear ?
-

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

SAMSKṚTA.

Twenty years ago, when I was engaged in a disquisition on the *visarga upācarita*, I was led to the same hypothesis regarding the etymology of *sam̐skṛta* as has been expressed by Mr. Thomas (J.R.A.S. 1904, p. 748), and I suppose the coincidence will prove of some value. I came to the opinion that *kṛ* meant originally 'to cook,' and *sam̐skṛ* 'to cook well, to do enough,' in French *cuire à point*. Indeed, the German word *gar*, which has the same meaning, has been identified by Bopp ("Glossarium comparativum," p. 73) with *kṛ*, and he as well as Noreen (Abriss d. urgerm. Lautlehre, Strassburg, 1894, p. 132, note 3) compares, moreover, the Icelandic *ger-*, to which corresponds the Anglo-Saxon *gearo*, with that Skr. root. There is a number of Sanskrit nouns which might very conveniently be derived from *skṛ* having the sense of 'cooking,' but for the interference of the root *kṛ̐* 'to scatter,' which eventually shows likewise an initial *s*. Thus *avaskara*, 'dirt, sweepings, dunghill,' is derived by the *kāśikā* on Pāṇini vi, 1, 148, from *kṛ̐*, but the collateral form *avaskāra*, found in Sāyaṇa's commentary of the Ait. Brāhmaṇa, iii, 26, 3, is drawn by the *Ṛktantra-vyākaraṇa*, Sūtra 193 (ed. Burnell, Mangalore, 1879), from *kṛ*, and the same disagreement may be observed with respect to *upaskāra*: cf. *Ṛkt. S.* 192, Pāṇ. vi, 1, 140, and the Petersburg Dictionary. Should we perhaps acknowledge two words *avaskāra*, the one connected with *kṛ* and meaning 'remains of cooking,' the other connected with *kṛ̐* and meaning 'rubbish'? Be that as it may, *sam̐skāra* seems, at all events, to come from

the root *kr*, and, therefore, if our explanation holds good, must have had originally nearly the same meaning as *pākayañña*, inasmuch as food destined for a sacrifice is always 'well cooked.' In fact, the fifth meaning given by Apte in his larger Sanskrit-English Dictionary to this word is 'cooking, dressing (as of food, etc.),' whereas this sense is left out by the authors of the Petersburg Dictionary. Unfortunately I am unable to quote a passage in which this meaning is the only suitable one, but perhaps some other scholar may know better.

J. KIRSTE.

CEYLON EPIGRAPHY.

In his interesting review of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. i, part 1, which appeared in the January number of the R.A.S. Journal, Professor E. Müller has offered some suggestions as to the reading and meaning of the following words in the Vessagiri Slab Inscription (Ep. Zeyl., i, p. 23).

He says *mehesana* ought to be read *mehesun*, and should mean 'queen.' The former reading, I am assured, is quite clear on the stone. It is certainly so on the ink-estampage before me of a similarly worded inscription near the Stone Canopy at Anurādhapura, which I have prepared for the second number of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*. Besides, if we read it as *mehesun*, the phrase *Lak-div-poḷo-mehesun-parapuren himi*, "lord by hereditary succession of Queens of the soil of the Island of Laṅkā," would hardly give sense.

Rājāna (*rājna*, *rājñā*, or *rādna*), Skt. *rājñī*, is the title borne by the wives of a king other than the anointed queen. We see this clearly from Kassapa's inscription at the Stone Canopy referred to above. According to it Siri Saṅgboy Abahay's *bisev-rājñā* (anointed queen) was Saṅg Baṇḍay. And we already know from the Vessagiri slab that one of his sub-queens was Devā-rājna. (See Ep. Zeyl., p. 23.) The head queen is always referred to as *bisev* in inscriptions.

I have derived *sanahay* from Skt. $\sqrt{\text{snih}}$, see *ibid.*, p. 27, note 1. But in the verse—

“dävaṭukā kī pera
 sanahā gihi-suvaṇḍa hāra
 mal dum geṇa pavara
 pudā teruvan nāmaṇḍa bātikara”

in Śrī Rāhula Sthavira's Kāvyaśekhara (ix, 57), the same word *sanahā* clearly has the meaning of Skt. *snātvā*, 'having bathed.' Whether the former has any connection with the intensive or frequentative stem of *snā* or not, I cannot at present say. Jayatilaka in his "Eḷu Akārādiya" gives *sānahum*, *sānasima* as synonyms of *snāna*; and *sanaha*, *sanahas*, *sanā* as those of *sneha*. Compare also Geiger's "Etymologie des Singhalesischen," No. 681, *nānavā* (the preterite, by the way, should be *nārā*, not *nāvrā*), and No. 1450, *sanaha*.

The identification of Siri Saṅgbo Abhā Mihindu mentioned in the second slab with Mahinda IV is correct according to Wijesesiṅha's list. Turnour's table which Dr. Goldschmidt has followed makes him Mahinda III.

M. DE WICKREMASINGHE.

Indian Institute, Oxford.

January 30th, 1905.

VINDHYAVĀSIN.

Our hearty thanks are due to Dr. Takakusu for his lucid article on Vasubandhu, and I am specially grateful for the light which he has also thrown on the hitherto extremely shadowy personage Vindhyavāsin. The identification of him with Īśvarakṛiṣṇa, the author of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, is extremely interesting, and seems highly probable.

In his supplementary note on page 162, Dr. Takakusu quotes a passage from the *Ślokarārtika*, in which mention is made of Vindhyavāsin. To this I would add an earlier one on page 393 of the same work, namely :

“Sandihyamānasadbhāvavastubodhāt pramāṇatā |
 Viśeṣadṛiṣṭam etac ca likhitam Vindhyavāsinā” ||

Also the following from *Syādvādamanjari*, page 119 (in Chaukhambā Sanskrit Series) : — “ Vindhyavāsī tvevaṃ bhogam ācaṣṭe |

Puruṣo 'vikṛitātmaiva svanirbhāsam acetanam |
Manah karoti sānnidhyād upādhiḥ sphaṭikam yathā ” ||

Another writer, of whom we know very little, is Vārṣaganya. Dr. Takakusu conjecturally identifies him with Vṛṣagaṇa, the *guru* of Vindhyavāsin. Would it be too much to suggest that the latter, as *the follower* of Vṛṣagaṇa, is *himself* Vārṣaganya? I have met with the following additional references to this worthy. In Vyāsa's bhāṣya on *Yogasūtra* iv, 13, we find the verse—

“ Guṇānāṃ paramaṃ rūpaṃ na dṛṣṭipatham ṛicchatī |
Yat tu dṛṣṭipatham prāptaṃ tan māyaiva sutucchakam ” ||

No clue to its author is given us there, but in *Bhāmātī*, 2. 1. 3, where the verse is again quoted, it is ascribed to Bhagavān Vārṣaganya. In *Nyāyavārtika*, i, 4, in the discussion on *pratyakṣa*, the author rejects as incorrect certain definitions of it given by other writers; and in *Tātparyatīkā*, page 103, line 10, Vācaspatimiśra tells us that the words “ *Tathā śrotrādirṛittir iti*,” on page 45, line 14, of the *Vārtika*, have reference to the definition of Vārṣaganya.

G. A. JACOB.

Feb. 1st, 1905.

“THROWING THE STONE.”

In the R.A.S. Journal for January I notice on page 170 a paragraph entitled “Throwing the Stone.” If anyone wishes for a further and more detailed account of this and other forms of oaths in use among the Western Somali tribes I would refer them to an article published by me in the Folk-lore Journal for 1887, p. 322. The particulars there given were furnished to me by certain reliable ‘Aquila of

the 'Isā and Gadabūrsī tribes, who showed me exactly how the oaths are administered, and I noted the information on the spot.

J. STUART KING (Major)

(Formerly British Agent and Vice-Consul, Zayla).

15, Clarendon Road, Southsea.

February 2nd, 1905.

VASASHKA ; VASUSHKA.

In this Journal, 1903, p. 325 ff., I have read as the year 28, = B.C. 31-30, the date of the Sāñchi inscription (EI, 2, 369 f.) which mentions a king Vās[a]shka, and have placed that king between Kanishka and Huvishka.

Mr. Vincent Smith has recently suggested that the real date of the record may be the year 68; see his *Early History of India*, p. 238.

The date is, at any rate, certainly not 78. But it is not at all impossible that it is 68, = A.D. 10-11. And that reading would fit in exactly with Professor Lüders' conclusion that the name Vāsushka, and not Vāsudēva, must be found in the record of the year 74 at Mathurā (IA, 1904, 106, No. 20), and with Dr. Führer's statement (Progress Report, 1895-96, para. 1) that at Mathurā there is also an inscription of Vāsushka of the year 76.

Also, it would account at once, and in the easiest way, on the following lines, for the eventual succession of Vāsudēva, for whom we have dates ranging onwards from the year 80 (EI, 1, 392, No. 24). Vāsushka succeeded Huvishka. He was kept out of Mathurā by Rajula-Rājuvūla and his son Śudasa-Śodāsa, for the latter of whom we have a date in the year 72 in an inscription at Mathurā itself (EI, 2, 199, No. 2, and see 4, 55, and note 2); these two persons were governors at Mathurā under a power which had conquered and annexed the north-west, and which for a time held also some of the southern territories of Kanishka and Huvishka. But he retained the sovereignty in Central India. He recovered Mathurā between the years 72 and

74; but he did not recover the north-west. And, so far as Mathurā with its territories was concerned, he handed on the succession, which thus remained unbroken, to Vāsudēva.

The difficulty is that, if anything in the shape of a straight-edge is held above the bottom line of the writing of the Mathurā inscription of the year 28 (IA, 6, 218, plate, No. 1), the mark which precedes the *shka* of *shkasya* resembles so pointedly the lower part of an *s*; from which I deduced the name Vās[a]shka here also. We should have to understand that the breakage of the stone has by pure chance resulted in that suggestive appearance.

Against my recognition of Vāsashka-Vāsushka as a separate king, Mr. Vincent Smith has laid much stress upon the fact that no coins struck by him have been found and recognised (*loc. cit.*, note). Irrespective of the question of the exact date of the Sāñchi record, that position has to be faced; it is not practicable to believe that Vāsushka was Vāsudēva, and that he changed his name from its foreign to a Hindū form. By way of a start towards tracing out some of his coins, a closer examination might be made, if the original is available, of the coin figured by Sir Alexander Cunningham in his *Mahabodhi*, plate 22, No. 17. It resembles the later coins much more than it does those of Huvishka.

J. F. FLEET.

February 10th, 1905.

A COMMENT ON "SOME PROBLEMS OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY."

It would be impossible, without writing at very great length, to criticise the views, and the details advanced in support of them, which Dr. Hoernle has presented to us in his articles entitled "Some Problems of Ancient Indian History." I confine myself to indicating that in his last instalment, on pages 1 to 32 above, he has, in some respects at least, started with bases which he ought to have ignored. In passing indeed, it must be observed, in respect of a mistake in detail which ought not to figure in such writings, that

the name of a well known country, mentioned prominently in various passages, is Lāṭa, with the long *ā*; not Lata, with the short *a*. But it is not to incidental mistakes of this kind, that I desire to draw attention.

A suggestion, quoted from me on page 13, that the Chalukyas may have been originally feudatories of the Gurjaras, but, in the person of Pulakēśin I., threw off that yoke, and, migrating to the south, established an independent sovereignty of their own, was put forward by me twenty-eight years ago, at a time when we were often advancing speculations about the early history which could hardly even occur now to anyone taking a practical part in the actual editing of the epigraphic records. Moreover, that particular speculation was largely based on views of the dates of the records of the Gurjara princes, now known to be quite wrong, which antedated them by at least a century and a half. It is of no value now. And it seems to me to have been quite plainly, though only tacitly, cancelled by the remarks about Jayasimha I., Raṇarāga, and Pulakēśin I., in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, vol. i, part ii, 1896, p. 343.

Of just as little value is a statement, quoted from me on page 12, that "it is an undoubted fact that the Chālukyas did come originally from the north." This observation was first made by me on the same occasion, in 1876 (IA, 7, 246); and it was repeated even as late as 1885 (*id.* 14, 49). But it, with anything that might be based upon it, seems to me to have been with equal plainness, though only tacitly, cancelled in 1896 by the remarks in my *Dynasties* to which I have just referred.

With regard to certain legendary statements about the Chalukyas, which are cited on pages 26, 27, and are there quoted partly from my same writings of 1876, I would point out that they, and the gradual evolution of them, have been fully set out in my *Dynasties*, pages 338 to 342. And I have there stamped the whole story as what it really is; namely, "a mere *farrago*, of vague legend and Purāṇic myths, of no authority." It was simply concocted in a late period

when, probably in imitation of an example set by the Pallavas in the seventh century A.D., all the great families of Southern India began to apply themselves to devising pedigrees with a view to establishing claims to descent from the Lunar and Solar Races of Northern India. For further remarks on this last point, see, for the present, what I have said in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. vi, p. 82, and compare page 296 f. above.

A suggestion made by me in 1888, and mentioned on page 4, that the Maitrakas were the particular family or clan, among the Hūṇas, to which Tōramāṇa and Mihirakula belonged, was based on an erroneous interpretation, which I had adopted against my own judgment, of a passage in the Valabhī records. As originally and correctly treated by me in 1879 (IA, 8, 303), the passage shews that the Maitrakas were the *Sēnāpati* Bhaṭārka and his ancestors and descendants. I have not had occasion to edit a Valabhī record since 1888. But Professor Hultzsch has, in 1895 (EI, 3, 319 f., 322), formally reinvested the passage with its proper meaning on that point; and, by establishing the correct reading *sapatna* instead of *saṁpanna*, he has removed the detail which, as much as anything else, had led to the abandonment of it.

There is probably no line of research, in which the advance towards correct knowledge has been more marked and rapid than in our acquaintance, as extended during the last ten years or so, with the contents, meaning, and bearing, of the epigraphic records of India. But we who have been working at the exploration of the records and the editing of some of them, have not had leisure to write up all the improved results, and to cancel explicitly, if it is necessary to do so, early errors. Till we can do that, we can only suggest an use of our later writings, in preference to the early ones, as furnishing the starting-points for those who are seeking to utilise the materials that we have placed before them. And I would submit that, in citing from anyone such antiquated assertions as some of my own which I have indicated above, it is hardly safe to take them as representing present

views; and it is scarcely doing justice to the authors of them, to exhibit them in that light by such expressions as "he *holds*," "his theory *is*" (page 12).

In another direction,— we certainly may fairly use genuine tradition, when it is forthcoming, to explain and supplement the epigraphic records in matters in which it is not opposed to them. But we must do even that with great caution. And, surely, the time has quite gone by, for taking as reliable sources of detailed early history, local legends (whether plainly stamped as such or whether dignified by the name of tradition), late chronicles and poems, and the songs of bards. As regards the last-mentioned, we have before us the notorious case of the bards of Kāthiāwād: their story about the rise of Valabhī was brought forward and accepted as "an old-world tale," which had a historical basis, though it might not be altogether accurate; but it was subsequently made known that the story only sprang into existence in or about 1870 to 1888, and owed its origin simply to certain speculations, advanced by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, which found their way to the bards through an educational treatise (see F.GI, *Introd.*, 49 f.).

J. F. FLEET.

February 15th, 1905.

NOTE ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF NYĀYABINDU.

In 1889 Professor P. Peterson brought out an edition of this long-lost Buddhist work on Logic, together with Dharmottara's commentary on the same. The authorship of the former was unknown, but the Professor suggested the possibility of its having been written by Buddha himself.

In an excellent paper read before the Bombay Branch of our Society in November, 1894, however, Mr. K. B. Pāṭhak proved conclusively that that view was untenable, and, at the same time, gave satisfactory reasons for attributing the authorship to Dharmakīrti, whom he regarded as the composer of the *vārtika* on Dignāga's treatise on the same subject. This is borne out, I am told, by Thibetan MSS. of

the *Nyāyabindu*. I have just noticed a passage in Vācaspati-miśra's *Nyāyakanikā* (a commentary on Sureśvara's *Vidhiviveka*, together with which it is now being edited for the first time in the Paṇḍit) which further confirms it. On p. 192, l. 8 from bottom, we read thus:—"Na khalu 'Pratyakṣam kalpanāpodham anyanirdiṣṭa-lakṣaṇam' iti pranayato Dīn-nāgasyaiva kalpanāpodhamatram pratyakṣalakṣaṇam, api tu tadevābhrāntatvasahitam pratyakṣalakṣaṇam iti manyate sma Kīrtiḥ. Yathāha, 'Pratyakṣam kalpanāpodham abhrāntam' iti." Kīrti is a common abbreviation of Dharmakīrti, and the definition of *pratyakṣa* with which this passage concludes is that which we find in the *Nyāyabindu*.

On p. 102 (l. 10 from bottom) of the *Tātparyatīkā*, also, Kīrti and Dignāga are mentioned together in connection with this same definition.

G. A. JACOB.

February 22nd, 1905.

THE TEMPLE OF MUZAZIR IN ARMENIA.

In 714 B.C. the famous Sargon, King of Assyria, raided Armenia and captured both the town and temple of Muzazir. His feat of arms was portrayed on a bas-relief which once adorned Sargon's palace at Khorsabad, and now lies in the bed of the Tigris. The bas-relief, however, had fortunately been copied by Botta (pl. 141), and a woodcut of it is given in Bonomi's "Nineveh" (sec. iv, ch. 1, fig. 68). The temple is represented in the bas-relief as having a triangular gable roof and a portico supported by six piers; the slope of the roof, which must have been either of wood or stone, is slight, and soldiers are shown walking on it. This bas-relief has suggested to Mr. K. J. Basmadjian, editor of the "*Banasir*," and a member of the Société Asiatique, the idea that the Armenians supplied the Greeks with this prototype of their temples. In a note addressed to the Society he says: "My strongest argument is the similarity of the pediment of both the Parthenon and that of the temple of Muzazir. In both cases exactly the same triangle is preserved. The oldest monument in the world

having this triangular pediment is the temple of Muzazir. Neither Assyria nor Babylonia, the two great powers which have always been in touch with the Urardhians, have ever had this triangular form. From Urardhu it was evidently transmitted to Phrygia and Lydia, and through these countries it was introduced to Athens, and afterwards back to Persia." He adds that the temple at Muzazir "was probably constructed during the reign of Ishbuinish, king of Urardhu (828-784 B.C.), for this was the first king who marched upon Muzazir and conquered it." Mr. Basmadjian is right in saying that sloping roofs were unknown in Mesopotamia and Babylonia, timber being scarce in these districts. But he is mistaken if he thinks that sloping roofs were unknown from the earliest times in Asia Minor and Greece. It is true that the earliest existing remains of Greek temples do not go back beyond the seventh century B.C., but some of them, like the Heræum at Olympia, are restorations of buildings which had existed for centuries, and the restorations probably followed the older forms. Greek architecture was developed—as was the architecture of Asia Minor—from wooden originals, and sloping roofs are the most natural in such a style, and are suggested by the climate. The Phrygian rock façade, known as the monument of Midas, a work usually attributed to the eighth century B.C., has exactly the same triangular gable, and it is also preserved in various Lycian tombs, the date of which, however, is uncertain. Traces of sloping roofs have been found at Cnossus, so that such roofs must have been common in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries B.C. As to the portico, that, of course, was usual in Mycenæan and Homeric times. What the temple of Muzazir does show is that Armenian architecture in the eighth century B.C. had affinities with the architecture of Asia Minor and of Greece—a notable fact, since Armenia was entirely subject at a later date to Mesopotamian influence. Nor is the temple at Muzazir the solitary instance in point, since another bas-relief of Sargon's shows the existence of something like Ionic pillars in an Armenian kiosk (Botta, pl. 114).

SATI.

As it may escape the notice of Indianists, I desire to call attention to a valuable and comprehensive essay on widow-burning by Professor Theodor Zachariae of Halle, which has appeared in Parts 2, 3, and 4 for 1904 and Part 1 for 1905 of the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde in Berlin*. The great strength of the paper lies in its copious references to books of European travel. The symbolical use of a lemon or other fruit, held in the widow's hand, is forcibly brought out.

WM. IRVINE.

February 22nd, 1905.

DESCRIPTION OF PERSIA AND MESOPOTAMIA IN THE YEAR
1340 A.D.

Mr. Guy Le Strange, the author of the Monograph entitled "Description of Persia and Mesopotamia in the year 1340 A.D., from the *Nuzhat-al-Kulūb* of Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfī," is engaged in a large work on the same subject, which will shortly be published by the Trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial." The forthcoming volume will contain the Persian text, with an English translation.

JAUNPUR INSCRIPTIONS.

Major Vost, in his very interesting paper on Jaunpur and Zafarabad inscriptions in the January number of the Journal, observes, p. 134, that none of the Musalman historians mentions that Shāham Beg was buried at Jaunpur. I beg leave to point out that Abul Fazl states (*Akbarnāma*, Bib. Ind., 2nd ed., 84, five lines from foot) that 'Alī Qulī brought Shāham Beg's body to Jaunpur, and had it buried on the bank of a tank, and put up a lofty monument over it. There can, therefore, be no doubt that the inscription given by Major Vost belongs to the Shāham Beg who was once a favourite of Humāyūn.

H. BEVERIDGE.

NOTE ON AN ILLUMINATED PERSIAN MANUSCRIPT.

I should like to draw the attention of members to a remarkable series of illustrations to the Akbarnāma in the Oriental section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. They belong to a manuscript which was brought from India by Major-General John Clarke, formerly a Commissioner in Oudh. They were purchased by the authorities of the Museum from Mrs. Frances R. Clarke, the general's widow, in 1896. Mrs. Clarke stated in her letter offering the illustrations for sale that the collection was believed to be unique, and it seems to me that this is the case. The illustrations are about 110 in number, and they were all executed in Akbar's lifetime. In every case almost, the artist's name is at the foot of the picture, and in very many the names of two and even three artists are given. The general formula is *tarḥ* Tulsī (or other name), '*amal* Banwālī (or other name), as if one artist drew the design and another executed the details. When Akbar's or other distinguished person's portrait appears, there is generally a third artist named as having executed it, e.g. *chahra nāmī* Mādhū.

Abul Fazl mentions in the *Ā'in Akbarī*, Blochmann's translation, p. 108, that among the famous artists at Akbar's Court were Kēsū, Lāl, Mukund, Mushkīn, Farrukh, Mādhū, Jagan, Mohesh, Khemkaran, Tārā, Sanwalah, Harībans, and Rām. Every one of these, except Harībans, is represented in the Clarke manuscript. In the same place Abul Fazl mentions with special praise the name of Basāwan, saying that "in back-grounding (?) (*tarāḥī*), drawing of features, distribution of colours, and several other branches, he is most excellent." Many of the illustrations in the Clarke manuscript bear his name. In my opinion the book must be the very one which Abul Fazl mentions on the same page as having been illustrated under Akbar's orders. A fly-leaf to the MS. has the inscription in Jahāngīr's handwriting that the book was placed in his library—"Entered on 5 Āzar of the first year in the Library of this suppliant of the

Divine throne, Nūru-dīn Jahāngīr bin Akbar Bādshāh." Akbar died early in the previous month, Ābān, and so Jahāngīr must have written this in less than a month after his accession. The MS. bears the seal of a former owner, 'Alī Aḥmad Khān, with the date 1208, and there is entered in Persian the statement that the price of the MS. was Rs. 7,000. The illustrations are very beautiful, and have been well preserved. Nowhere have I seen another MS. with so many and so good illustrations. The British Museum possesses a fine copy of the Bābarnāma, the illustrations to which are in some instances by the same artists as those of the Clarke MS., but they are inferior, I think, in execution. Only one of these bears the name of Basāwan. Unfortunately, the Clarke MS. is only a fragment. The illustrations begin with the fifth year and end with the twenty-second year of the reign. The first of these is numbered 32, and represents the catching in pits of *chītas*, or hunting leopards. Among the most interesting are pictures of the death of Bairām Khān, and of his widow and infant son being conveyed to Aḥmadabad, of Akbar's causing Adham Khān to be flung down the steps of his palace, of the births of Jahāngīr (Selīm) and Murād, of Akbar's pilgrimage on foot to Ajmere, and a remarkable one of Akbar sitting exhausted and speechless from thirst. He had gone off hunting wild asses, and became separated from his attendants. I have made a catalogue of the illustrations and hope to publish it some day.

H. BEVERIDGE.

March 1st, 1905.

INSCRIPTION IN THE ATĀLA MOSQUE.

The explanation given by Major Vost, in his paper on the Jaunpur and Zafarabad inscriptions in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for January, 1905 (pp. 138-139), of the reading of the third hemistich of the Persian inscription in the Atāla Mosque, seems to be entirely erroneous. The

metre (Ramal Octameter Catalectic) shows clearly that the words which lie on the left margin are a part of the third hemistich. Secondly, Bingari is not a Persian or Arabic name, nor is it an actual or conceivable Indian name. Thirdly, the name of the composer of an inscription is never given at the side of it in the manner suggested. It is rarely given at all, but, if occurring, would be found either in the actual body of the inscription or in a colophon at the end. Finally, it seems probable that the words are really *ار بنگری* ('if you reflect,' or 'if you observe') if Major Vost is right in reading the first word as beginning with an alif, though on metrical grounds *گر بنگری* would be preferable, the sense remaining unchanged.

R. P. DEWHURST, I.C.S.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

MĀNĀSA-PATRIKĀ. A monthly paper edited by MAHĀ-MAHŌPĀDHYĀYA SUDHĀKARA DVIVĒDĪ and SĀHITYŌ-PĀDHYĀYA PAṆḌIT SŪRYA PRASĀDA MIŚRA. Price, each part (including postage), six annas. (Benares, Candraprabhā Press.)

This promises to be quite the most important work dealing with the famous *Rāma-carita-mānasa*, commonly called the *Rāmāyaṇa*, of Tulasī Dāsa, which has appeared for many years. The editors are both well known as first-rate authorities on Old Eastern Hindī literature, and have already produced several excellent books dealing with the subject. I myself have been closely associated with Professor Sudhākara Dvivēdī in more than one literary undertaking, and can add the testimony of my personal experience as to his ripe learning and accurate scholarship.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Tulasī Dāsa is generally written in a flowing, simple style, which, once the grammatical system of Old Eastern Hindī has been mastered, can be read with pleasure by any student of Indo-Aryan languages; but, as in every great work, there are difficult passages, whether owing to a corrupt text or to obscure allusions. The poem has attracted numerous commentators, some of whose productions are of huge prolixity, though few of them are satisfactory. There is most chance of getting help from the most profuse of these writers, but each grain of wheat has to be sought for with wearisome diligence through bushels of chaff.

In the *Mānasa-pattrikā* this is all remedied. Each line of the epic is taken and is first translated into Sanskrit by

Sudhākara Dvivēdī. Next come notes on the meaning of unusual words, and a translation of the verse into ordinary literary Hindī. We then have the most valuable part of the edition, an abstract of the opinions of each of the best-known commentators, wound up, in the case of differences, by the opinion of Sudhākara Dvivēdī on the conflicting views which have been advanced. It is this last summing up which is the special feature of the work. There have been two or three editions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* published with the views of several commentators brought together in their own words, but the mass of unarranged, undigested matter repelled anyone who was not prepared to spend twenty-three hours out of the twenty-four in looking for help which he was not certain of finding.

The system of the double translation into Sanskrit and into literary Hindī which is adopted in the *Mānasa-pāṭṭrikā* has the advantage of prohibiting the slurring over of difficulties. Every difficulty *has* to be attacked, and some solution *has* to be proposed. Readers of other Indian commentaries are painfully aware how often this duty is evaded in native explanations. Passages which are perfectly easy are dealt with at great length, while really hard knots are ignored and left to the reader to untie. So far as it has been published, the *Mānasa-pāṭṭrikā* shows no signs of this.

Up to the date of writing, three numbers of the work have been published, and I can cordially recommend every student of Hindī poetry to subscribe to it.

Camberley.

G. A. GRIERSON.

Jan. 7th, 1905.

A HISTORY OF INDIA. By Dr. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, C.I.E., and H. A. STARK, Inspector of Schools, Orissa. pp. 210. (Cuttack : Orissa Mission Press, 1904. Oxford : Blackwell & Co., Broad Street.)

The general aspect of this little illustrated school history of India suggests that it was designed by Mr. Stark as a rival to Mr. E. Marsden's "History of India for Junior

Classes" (Macmillan), of which the first edition was published in 1900. As a school-book Mr. Marsden's compilation has been a great success, and has attained, I understand, a circulation of more than 30,000 copies. It is beautifully printed and illustrated, and in these respects is naturally much superior to its competitor issued at a Mission Press.

The "History of India" under consideration consists of two distinct parts. The second part, comprising the history from the reign of Bābar to the present day, has been compiled by Mr. Stark from the ordinary authorities, and differs little from other similar books. The first part, contributed by Dr. Hoernle, is of a very distinct kind, and is an original work of much merit and considerable importance. I gladly take this opportunity of acknowledging publicly that Dr. Hoernle is entitled to the credit of having produced the first history of ancient India in continuous narrative form, his chapters having been published at Cuttack some months before my "Early History" appeared in London. But I did not see them until they were sent to me recently for review. It is a pity that the learned author should have hidden his light by printing the results of his independent researches in a school-book which cannot be expected to reach a very large or appreciative public. I fear that Dr. Hoernle will prove to be a little too learned for Indian boys and schoolmasters, but that probability does not affect the value of his work to serious students, and in these pages it claims notice only as an original contribution to the task of reconstructing the long-lost history of ancient India.

I feel honoured by the fact that my views on many points, such as Kushān chronology, the site of Kapilavastu, and other matters, have won Dr. Hoernle's approval; and, if in this review stress is laid rather upon topics concerning which we differ in opinion, I trust that a desire for fault-finding will not be imputed to me.

I cannot agree that Sangala, the Kathæan capital destroyed by Alexander, was "probably not far from Amritsar."

It must have been situated much farther north, and presumably in the Gurdāspur District. The fortified capital of the Malloi quite certainly was not "the modern Multān."

According to the *Mahāvamsa*, Asoka sent missionaries to Suvannabhūmi, that is to say, the Pegu territory on the shores of the Gulf of Martaban; and in my book "Asoka" I accepted the statement as true. But there are weighty reasons for regarding it as fiction, which will be explained at length in the *Indian Antiquary*, and I note that Dr. Hoernle omits Pegu from the list of foreign kingdoms evangelized by Asoka's emissaries.

King Khāravēla, of Orissa, is rightly described as "a devoted adherent of the Jains," but when the author adds that "this may have induced him, as we know from a rock-inscription of his, to go with a large army to the assistance of Satakarni," it is impossible to agree. On the contrary, the Śātakarni, or Andhra, king (*abhitayitā Śātakarni pacimadisam*) went with a force of all arms to aid Khāravēla.

On p. 41, the mention of "Shodasa, the Satrap of Multan," is, of course, due merely to a slip of the pen. Śodāsa was, as Dr. Hoernle well knows, satrap of Mathurā. By a similar slip (p. 74) Somnāth has been located in Kacch instead of Kāthiāwār.

The proposition that, "as to mere geographical limits, the Gupta Empire exceeded that of the Mauryas in extent" cannot be accepted. Dr. Hoernle bases this statement on an account of Samudragupta's conquests. But the southern countries to which the raid of that brilliant monarch extended were never at any time incorporated in the Gupta empire, which was bounded by the Narmadā. The allusion to the "Lichhavis of Nepal" (p. 52) rests upon an erroneous theory corrected by Bühler, who also proved that the inscription of Samudragupta on the Allāhābād pillar is not posthumous. The pillar is, of course, one of Asoka's monuments, and the statement that Samudragupta's son, "Chandra Gupta II., set up a pillar, now standing in Allahabad, on which he engraved a record of his father's conquests," is therefore not quite accurate.

Dr. Hoernle has rightly incorporated in his narrative the results of Mr. Bhandarkar's researches on the Gurjara kingdom, which open up a new chapter in the history of India, and are inadequately noticed in my volume. The investigation has been carried further by Dr. Hoernle's recent articles in this *Journal*, which there has not been time to digest. I have not seen Mr. A. M. T. Jackson's earlier papers on the subject, mentioned in our last number (p. 163).

As a general criticism, I venture to think that Dr. Hoernle lays too much stress on "the assumption of the imperial titles." The title used by an ancient Rāja was determined more by his vanity than by anything else, and Mr. Bhandarkar is fully justified in the remark that "the high-sounding titles borne by kings are often found empty."

Dr. Hoernle has succeeded in compressing a wonderful amount of matter into his ninety-two small pages, and anybody who masters them will attain a satisfactory knowledge in outline of the early history of India, subject to correction in certain details, and the amount of uncertainty which is inseparable from results based upon evidence often of a very fragmentary nature.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA FROM 600 B.C. TO THE MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST, INCLUDING THE INVASION OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT. By VINCENT A. SMITH. pp. vi, 389; with 9 Plates and 6 Maps. (Oxford, 1904.)

The first scholar who attempted to compile a history of ancient India from original documents was Christian Lassen. Thirty years have now passed since the publication of the unfinished second edition of his learned work. During this period a number of antiquarians have added considerably to the materials which were available to Lassen, and Mr. Smith deserves warm thanks for carrying out his self-imposed task to draw up an up-to-date account of Hindu history. He has patiently sifted a vast mass of evidence, scattered in different monographs and periodicals, and has

condensed it into a connected summary of moderate dimensions, referring to footnotes and appendices whatever is not of immediate interest to the general reader. His style is lucid and elegant. His intimate acquaintance with modern India gives a special zest and an authoritative value to his statements and conclusions.

The only absolutely safe dates in the ancient history of India are Alexander's conquest and the reigns of the Mauryas, the Guptas, and King Harsha. These four periods are treated by Mr. Smith most fully and in a very fascinating manner. Before and between them the other early dynasties have to be accommodated, and every individual date, as Mr. Smith repeatedly reminds his readers, is more or less conjectural or dependent on other hypothetical dates. We can only hope that by some lucky discovery the initial point of the eras of Kanishka and of the Western Kshatrapas will be settled as definitely as that of the Gupta era.

Every critic of a new book is bound and entitled to find fault with some portion of it, though he may not be able himself to turn out a better version. As regards Mr. Smith's three last chapters, on mediæval history, I would recommend that in a fresh edition he will expand them considerably. Thus his account of the important Chalukya and Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasties and of their relations to and wars with other powers is far too meagre and sketchy. Of this period so many epigraphical records have been preserved and published that a detailed political history can be written, which will command general interest.

In the transliteration of Oriental words Mr. Smith follows the system hitherto used in India, and everybody will agree with his view that the use of *c* for *ch* would only puzzle the English and Indian reader, and, I may add, the Continental reader as well, unless he happens to be an Italian and the *c* is followed by an *e* or *i*. The book is illustrated by photographs of typical monuments, a plate of Indian coins, and several useful maps and plans.

Halle.
February 11th, 1905.

E. HULTZSCH.

MATÉRIAUX POUR UN CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM ARABICARUM,
première partie Égypte: par MAX VAN BERCHEM.
Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française au
Caire, tome xix, fascicule iv. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1903.)

With this fasciculus M. van Berchem brings the first part of his great work on Arabic inscriptions to a close. This volume (of 900 and odd pages 4to) treats of the epigraphy of Cairo, and the latter portion of the fasciculus is devoted to an *Index Général*, which makes all the treasures of this laborious work easily and quickly available to the historical student. To the French Government, indeed, is due no stinted thanks for bearing the expense entailed by this publication, with its numerous photographic plates in facsimile of the inscriptions; but M. van Berchem, on the other hand, has worked hard to justify the patronage given to his book by the Ministre de l'Instruction Publique—545 inscriptions, in the present volume, having been copied, translated, and annotated, with full reference to the chronicles or other printed sources. These inscriptions, engraved on stone or the like, come from mosques, tombs, private houses, and other edifices; engraved on wood or metal they are found on divers articles of furniture, domestic or from the mosques; they deal with every conceivable subject known in Islam, and refer to all sorts and conditions of men. Further, being as a rule contemporary with the persons and events alluded to, the names are not liable to the clerical errors which abound in manuscripts.

To summarise the contents of the present great quarto is impossible in the space at command. But to deal with one point only, M. van Berchem tells us that he has spent a couple of years making his index. We can easily believe it. It is also almost an encyclopædic dictionary. Besides registering every proper name, surname, and title of office occurring in the inscriptions, all the laudatory and maledictory formulæ are given in order, and every Arabic word of historical or archæological importance is cited with full references. The system adopted in the index is lucidly

explained by M. van Berchem in his prefatory remarks, and the student will do well to glance through pages 777 to 785, which deal with this matter. In conclusion, it is sincerely to be hoped that M. van Berchem may continue his labours in a field in which he has no rivals; further, that the beneficent patronage of the French Government in the matter of printing this great work may in no wise be checked; though we in England must continue to deplore the almost complete indifference which our Government invariably shows in the works of English Oriental scholars.

G. LE STRANGE.

INDIA. By Colonel Sir THOMAS HUNGERFORD HOLDICH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., R.E. (London, no date.)

The editor of this series, "The Regions of the World," is to be congratulated on having secured for the volume on India a writer who has spent the best part of a lifetime in the study of Indian geography.

The work is divided into twelve chapters. The first six deal with (1) Early India, (2) the geography of Balūchistān, (3) of Afghānistān, (4) of Kashmīr and the Himālayas, (5) of Peninsular India, (6) of Assam, Burma, and Ceylon. We then come to (7) the People of India, (8) Political Geography, (9) Agriculture and Revenue, (10) Railways, (11) Minerals, (12) Climate. We are given eight coloured maps and 106 other maps and diagrams.

Fortunately, thirty years of official reporting and letter-writing have not quenched Colonel Holdich's natural gift of an easy and flowing style; while his descriptive passages, for instance that on pp. 82, 83, demonstrate that he possesses the keen eye of the artist. He is at his best, I think, in the more purely geographical chapters, above all in those on Balūchistān and Afghānistān, where his personal knowledge places him beyond the reach of any rival. The strongest point in the book is, perhaps, the large number of admirable maps and diagrams, a series far in advance of anything hitherto provided in works on India. The only criticism I can make is that in some cases the scale is so

small as to make it hard to disentangle the details; at any rate, to a reader who cannot, by means of some previous knowledge, read into the diagram more than is altogether clear by mere inspection. The map I more particularly refer to is that on p. 284, devoted to the railway system.

The author tells us his editor warned him against details and statistics. I admit the Anglo-Indian failing; we are too prone to drown our writings in technical details, to the bewilderment and despair of the non-expert reader. But, to make a personal confession, fed as I have been for forty years on tabular statements, I should have learnt more and remembered more from the stern simplicity of figured statements and percentages than I have from the most brilliant of Sir Thomas Holdich's paragraphs. But the editor, Mr. Mackinder, I have no doubt knows his business thoroughly well, and is right in thinking statistics "caviare to the general." Internal evidence shows that some at least of the book was written so long ago as 1898, and occasionally some revision of the text would have been advisable. Probably want of the necessary leisure is the reason; for, as we all know, the author has in the interval been busily engaged in serving his country elsewhere, leaving him no time to think of India and its affairs.

Some trifling points here and there have been noted by me in my progress through the book. These I will submit *seriatim* for the author's consideration. According to the best authorities the conqueror of Sind (pp. 16, 48) was not M. Qāsim, but Muḥammad-i-Qāsim, that is, Muḥammad the son of Qāsim. In the Balūchistān chapter there is much interesting and original matter; but in the bibliography (p. 55) I see no mention of Mr. Longworth Dames' most valuable and enlightening essay on the Bilūch races. I would commend it to Colonel Holdich's notice; it is published by our Society. As for the late Dr. Bellew, on whom much reliance is placed (p. 99 and elsewhere), he is, of course, a great authority; but not one to be unreservedly accepted. Both his ethnology and his philology have been subjected to much damaging criticism.

On p. 234 I notice a curious use of the term "Regulation Provinces," where it is made to include the Panjab and Burma, both of which, as I was taught, are emphatically "Non-regulation." Again, at the top of p. 235 the provincial secretariats seem to be ignored, the staff of a Lieutenant-Governor being restricted to a [private?] secretary and an A.D.C. Another slip in nomenclature is also found on the same page; the heads of the Government in Assam and the Central Provinces are styled Commissioners, instead of "Chief" Commissioners.

Having had a good deal of official connection with the country at the head of the Ganges Canal, I hesitate over the statement on p. 262, that "twenty miles below Hardwār, where the Ganges has again developed into a river, it is again diverted into a second great canal." If this refers to the Fathgarh branch, that canal is taken out of the main canal, and not out of the Ganges itself; while, if it refers to the head-works farther down the Dūābah in the 'Aligarh district, they are probably 120 rather than 20 miles from Hardwār.

The author must excuse the expression, but his history of Bombay on p. 308 can only be adequately described as 'shaky.' His words are: "The Portuguese have not been there since the early part of the eighteenth century, when they were ejected by the Mahrattas." This must be a slip, for Sir Thomas Holdich must know quite well that England acquired Bombay in the seventeenth century (1661), as part of the dowry given with Catherine of Braganza, queen of Charles II. It was transferred to the East India Company in 1669. So far as I know, it was never held by the Mahrattas, or even submitted itself to them in any way.

On p. 327, when speaking of the Customs hedge across India, there is a phrase beginning thus: "There was a time (Lord Lytton's time)" This interjection of Lord Lytton's name in this connection is at least quaint, seeing that this system of inland dues and salt taxation, and the consequent barrier, had existed time out of mind, certainly from long before Lord Lytton was born. This

salt duty, levied in transit, was the last relic of the almost universal customs duties and road taxes of the Mogul period.

Some of the small points that I have noticed seem worthy of attention; and might possibly be worth amending if a second edition is called for.

WILLIAM IRVINE.

February 17th, 1905.

ANNALI DELL' ISLĀM, compilati da LEONE CAETANI,
PRINCIPE DI TEANO. Vol. I: Introduzione dell' anno
1 al 6 H. 4to; pp. xvi and 740. (Milano: Hoepli,
1905.)

This book represents the first instalment of a Thesaurus of Moslim tradition and history from the earliest beginnings of Arab culture to the year 922 H. (1516). The whole work is to consist of twelve volumes, of which the last three will contain the indices. Since Hammer v. Purgstall's large work on Arab literature nothing so gigantic has been planned by one European scholar, but the comparison ends here, because to judge from the first volume Prince Caetani's work promises to be much more reliable than the other. He has studied and utilised not only the original sources, but also taken account of every important monograph bearing on the subject. His work is, therefore, a critical summary of the best labours of modern European scholarship. Whilst those interested in Arab history will read it with pleasure and advantage, it will specially appeal to students of universal history, who will find in it not only material, but also the critical apparatus for dealing with the same.

Nearly half of the first volume is filled with the introduction. It comprises the era immediately preceding Islām, the origin and history of the latter up till the Hijra. Needless to say, this is the most obscure epoch on account of the scantiness and unreliableness of the sources. The author's criticism of the nature of Arab tradition does not, indeed, contain much that is new, yet it forms so intrinsic a part of his work that its omission would have been seriously

felt. His treatment of the matter gives the reader a clear insight into the inner working of Moslim tradition, and the way it is to be dealt with for the purposes of historiography. He explains the intricacies of the Isnād, and shows how by its help one is able to distinguish trustworthy authorities from spurious ones. This is fitly illustrated by the traditional genealogy of Mohammed, the single links of which, up till Adnān, are elaborately discussed, and accompanied by genealogical tables. Now the oldest form of Mohammed's pedigree, viz. that handed down by Ibn Ishāq, gives hardly any clue as to its original compilation, but we derive some assistance in this from a fragment of the T.-S. collection at Cambridge (published in J.Q.R., Jan., 1903), which is not only older than Ibn Ishāq's, but is a reproduction of the compiler's original drafts. This is made clear by the following list of variations between the two. The name Murra (between Ka'b and Kilāb) is not in the fragment, but a later addition probably made in order to count ten generations from Mohammed to Lo'ayy (see Sprenger, iii, p. cxlvi). *Khuzaima* is spelt in the fragment *Khuzāma*. As for the biblical names from Ishmael upwards, their correct spelling stands in such glaring contrast to that used by Ibn Ishāq that the first compiler of the genealogy must undoubtedly have been one of the early Jewish converts to Islām. It was Sprenger (iii, p. cxxxii) who discovered several South Arabian names in the list, and we may therefore credit Ka'b b. Al-Aḥbār with the authorship of the same, which he put together under the patronage of Omar.

Prince Caetani seems to take too severe a view of what nearly all previous critics of the Qorān regard as the "first revelation." Disbelief in all statements of Moslim traditionists on this subject does not mean that one cannot arrive at the same result merely from internal evidence. This is the case with Qor. xcvi, 1-5. No matter whether Mohammed recited this little speech to his family circle and a few intimate friends, privately or in the open street, we must look upon it as his first official utterance in favour of monotheism. We must not overlook the fact how difficult

it was for him to find a convenient form for this utterance. He probably searched for one for many months. At this juncture he was made acquainted with a verse of the Old Testament, from which he gathered how his model Abraham had acted under similar circumstances, and which only required a slight modification to serve his own purposes. As far as my suggestion is concerned, Prince Caetani labours under a misunderstanding in supposing that I accepted materially the statements of Moslim tradition concerning a "first revelation." In the table of contents, as well as in the superscription of ch. ii of my "Researches," and in the Appendix at the end of the book, I purposely used the term *proclamation* (rendition of *iqra'*), which is something quite different. I fully agree with Prince Caetani on the following points:—(1) That one cannot speak of a "first Sūra"; (2) that the first prophetic utterance was preceded by a period of preparation. I cannot, however, agree with him that Mohammed employed this period in composing religious tracts, which were subsequently lost. If Mohammed's literary faculties had been developed to such an extent the Qorān would have had a different appearance, and would not almost everywhere betray its author's inability to survey the whole. I am strongly inclined to believe that he was not an entire stranger to the art of writing, but there is a wide difference between the ability of scrawling letters and the deliberate composition of theological writings. Mohammed was obviously so well versed in the style of his country's poetry that his speeches involuntarily assumed the same style. The almost dramatic and rhymed sentences of the earlier speeches are the result of his struggle to free himself from this form of composition. For this reason I believe that the verses 2–5 of Sūra xcvi cost him scarcely any mental labour, and v. 1 even less, as he had received it ready for use from the Old Testament (Gen. iv, 8). A more prosaic solution of the whole problem of the first proclamation could scarcely be offered, and I am therefore at a loss to understand how Prince Caetani can fancy that I accept the Moslim tradition on the matter.

Modern criticism in dealing with Moslim tradition rejects legends of miraculous character or theological tendency. None of these has any bearing on a question of mere chronology, and if the group of verses in question is stripped of all legendary ornamentation there is no reason to go further and rob it of its first place, which has been accepted by all modern scholars with the exception of Sir W. Muir.

Prince Caetani's real task begins with the Hijra, the events of each year being collected in a special chapter. Each chapter is introduced by comparative chronological tables, giving the dates of the Mohammedan and Christian eras, and the days of the week. The completeness of the work leaves nothing to be desired, both as regards subject-matter and review of sources and modern researches.

Of special interest is the retrospect which concludes the volume, summing up the history of the first five years. In this the author is guided on the whole by sound judgment, although he is inclined to look at this early stage of Islām through somewhat rose-coloured glasses. It appears that most modern historians overestimate the upheaval caused in North Arabia prior to Mohammed's conquest of Mecca. Evidence of this may be found in the small numbers of combatants at the battles of Badr and Uhud. Both were in reality nothing but insignificant skirmishes. The victory of Badr was important because it raised Mohammed's personal influence in Medina and its surroundings, but if the Meccans had understood how to follow up their victory of Uhud matters might have taken a quite different course. The great difficulty in dealing with the subject is to be found in the complete lack of other than Moslim sources, a circumstance which renders it well-nigh impossible to elucidate the real facts. Not even the greatest historical genius is able to advance suggestions without a flaw under such conditions. Now the history of Medina prior to Islām can only be reconstructed from records of Mohammedan origin of not very early date. Prince Caetani, who is otherwise so distrustful of such records, seems inclined to follow them with regard to the affairs in Medina before and immediately after the

Hijra. His view of the power and wealth of the Jews of this town is evidently exaggerated. It is true that the Medinian poet, Ḥassan b. Thābit, to whom we owe a contemporaneous notice on their station, speaks of their walled castles, palm-groves, and camels (Divān, p. 87), but this does not mean very much. Their alleged large numbers also included the numerous converted Arabs whose Judaism was probably very superficial. There is, however, more direct evidence that their political power had been considerably reduced during the fifth century, and was a negligible quantity at the time of the Hijra. In fact, their life in Medina was hardly better than anywhere else in the exile, otherwise they would scarcely have nourished Messianic hopes such as are expressed in the words: "The time is near when a prophet shall arise, whom we shall follow and with whose aid we shall conquer you" (I. Hishām, pp. 286 and 974; see also R.E.J. x, p. 191). These words cannot be referred to Mohammed, because no Jew would have expected the Messiah to come from Arabia. The spiritual superiority of the Jews was quite sufficient for Mohammed to desire their friendship and to fear their opposition, less because it made him despair of winning them over than for the discouraging effect it had on their pagan or wavering countrymen. In order to arrive at a just appreciation of the relation between Mohammed and the Medinian Jews one must place oneself in their position and see him as they did. It is here where Prince Caetani fails. It was not an error on their part that they did not accept the hand outstretched to them. His early endeavours to inoculate Islām with Jewish regulations betrayed so superficial a knowledge of their Jewish law that they could not but look askance at his doings. To quote an instance, the fast of the '*Ashūrā*' and the Qibla towards Jerusalem rest on regulations of widely different scope and gravity, but were treated on a par by Mohammed. It was therefore quite natural that their attitude was sceptical and retiring. The more they watched his conduct the less could they agree with him. All compromise was out of the question. Nothing could

save them but unconditional surrender and adoption of Islām. The conclusion at which Prince Caetani arrives, that they initiated a policy of calumnies and intrigues, is quite unjustified, and it is rather surprising that on this point he adopts the Moslim traditions without questioning. The expulsion of one Jewish tribe after another and the slaughter of the Banu Koreiza tell a different tale. To elucidate the truth in a subject concerning which one must rely solely on records strongly influenced by national spirit and theological zeal is a little short of impossible. Prince Caetani's work marks quite an epoch in the research on early Islām, and the volumes to follow will be awaited by historians of all classes with the keenest interest.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

DIE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ, aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt, mit einer Einleitung über ihre ursprüngliche Gestalt, ihre Lehren und ihr Alter, von RICHARD GARBE. (Leipzig : H. Haessel, 1905.)

Not only the author's name but also the contents of this little volume will excite fresh interest in the great religious New Testament of the Hindus. Sanskrit scholars will study the fresh interpretation herein offered, and students of religion will be attracted anew by the question whether India has given Christianity its emphasis on "loving faith," or whether the work that first sets forth this Hindu doctrine is later than the Christian era. If it cannot be expected that Professor Garbe has answered definitely some of the most perplexing questions in the province of literary historical criticism, it may at least be assumed that he has not touched upon them without throwing light upon the darkness, and such will be found to be the case. But in order to understand the author's chief contention, it is necessary to formulate the usual view in regard to the age and origin of the Bhagavad-gītā, and above all in regard to its original character.

Apart from that native view which is shared by no European scholar of repute, and which teaches that the Gītā

is of an antiquity reaching far back of the Christian era, to be measured only by many centuries, current opinion may be said to regard this tract as one of the older parts of the mediæval Indian epic, and its motif as the inculcation of the divinity, as All-godhead, of Krishna, who is in the epic at one time a man and at another time a god, but who in this part of the epic is identified with Brahman. Further, the Gītā, in thus identifying Krishna with God, changed, in the course of time, its original pantheistic Brahmanism to a personal theism.

Professor Garbe enters the lists against this popular conception. His claim, as here set forth, may be stated in brief in the following words. The Gītā is not originally a pantheistic poem, but a theistic ethical tract, rather pedantic than poetical. The identification of Krishna with the All-soul belongs to a late period, and is due to syncretizing tendencies. The poem is not, therefore, Vedāntic in origin, but in its philosophy it is originally an exponent of the Sāṃkhya-Yoga, and all the Vedāntic portions, sometimes single stanzas, sometimes long passages, are to be excised if the pure primitive Gītā is to be found. The theistic, or rather monotheistic, religion inculcated in this primitive Gītā arose in this way. About two centuries before Buddha, the warrior chief of the Yādava clan, who was also a religious teacher, but not of the Brahmanic schools, founded a moral religion of monotheism, God being in his system called simply Bhagavat. This religiously-minded chieftain was the 'son of Devakī,' and his religion was at first confined to his own clan. But as time went on, the teaching of Krishna extended beyond tribal limits, and at the same time the founder of the religion was himself identified with the God he taught, so that the 'son of Vāsudeva' became God by virtue of the same euhemerism that changed Buddha into God. This was the form of the Vāsudeva religion recognized in the fourth century B.C. by Pāṇini, and the doctrine of *bhakti* belonged to it as early as this time. But for a century or more after this Krishnaism still lay outside the pale of Brahmanism. During this period, till c. 300 B.C., the religion

of Krishna was united with Sāṃkhya-Yoga philosophy. After this, in the second period, from 300 B.C. till the Christian era, Krishna was identified with Vishnu, as the religion became Brahmanized, and in this same period arose the original Gītā. The third and fourth periods are reckoned as extending from the end of the second period to c. 1200, and from that term onwards, respectively. They are characterized by the identification of Krishna-Vishnu with Brahman (the All-soul) and the 'working-over' of the old Gītā into its present shape, as marks of the third period, and the adoption of this religion by Rāmānuja, as mark of the fourth. The first Gītā belongs, in still closer reckoning, to the first half of the second century B.C. The 'working-over' may be referred to the second century A.D.

As to the dates assumed, they coincide closely enough with the results given in the reviewer's recent discussion of the date of the epic, which the author regards as "für mich in der Hauptsache ganz überzeugend"; but in the interpretation of the character of the primitive Gītā, as opposed to that of the 'worked-over' poem, Professor Garbe opposes the view generally held by Sanskrit scholars. As an advocate of the Sāṃkhya-Yoga's priority to the Vedānta he may perhaps be prejudiced in his effort to show that the Vedānta portions of the Gītā are all posterior to the early form of the work; but since he does not argue from any such point of view the critic will be concerned only with the arguments advanced by him as cogent.

When these are carefully weighed, it will be seen that the whole history of the Krishna religion, as distinguished from the literary product embodying that religion as now extant, the Gītā, derives its greatest probability from the assumption that the Vedānta portions of the Gītā are late additions. It is only by excluding these that we can reconstruct an original monotheistic religion based on Krishna as God and not yet a pantheistic All-soul. Krishna has often enough been hesitatingly referred to 'Devakī's son Krishna,' and this and the reference to Pāṇini can be explained without the assumption of a great moral monotheistic teacher. But

these, at best vague references, are incapable of supporting the thesis that there was for three or four hundred years before the Gītā was first composed an essentially ethical religion rivalling Buddhism in its own locality. The note of Megasthenes does nothing to support this claim, for it indicates only that there was a local Krishna worship, of what character we can guess only by comparing the Greek parallel. If, on the other hand, we are obliged by the character of the primitive Gītā to assume that there was an ethical monotheistic religion c. 700–400 B.C. as a background to that Gītā, then what is said of Vāsudeva and Krishna may be expanded into the historical sketch here presented without great violence to inherent probability. In a word, Professor Garbe's case rests on his being able to prove that the Vedāntic portions of the Gītā are extraneous to the primitive poem. Without this proof, the remaining arguments have, in the reviewer's opinion, only questionable weight. At the same time, no one can demand that proof as here used should be more than the strong probability which must constitute all the proof in similar cases.

The notes to the (excellent) translation are to furnish this proof. The author lays especially stress on four passages which seem to him to demonstrate his theory. The passages, iii. 9–18, vi. 27–32, vii. 7–11, viii. 20–ix. 6, if omitted, leave the connection unbroken, and therewith show that they have been interpolated. Such, for example, seems truly to be the case in the first example, though in the second the interruption may as reasonably be regarded as an extension; but in the third example, what reason is there for excluding vii. 7–11 except the reason that the verses set forth Vedāntic opinions? That they 'interrupt' an exposition of Sāṃkhya with a non-Sāṃkhya view can be shown only when it is shown that this 'Vedāntic interpolation' is not compatible (to a Hindu) with the former. But if one were to treat other parts of the epic thus? Is not a great part of epic philosophy a combination of incompatible views, which interrupt each other continually? Also, in the last example, viii. 20–ix. 6, the only objection, apart from the Vedānta

character, to the originality of the passage seems to be its extent and minuteness, though the author claims that ix. 7 resumes the thought of viii. 18–19. The thought thus taken up is that of the day and night of Brahman, which is ‘resumed’ in the statement that all things are loosed in Prakṛti at the end of a Yuga, and are let out again by Krishna without cessation. But although there is here a verbal resumption (of *bhūtagrāma*), and though the metre of viii. 20 may well suggest an interpolation as beginning here, yet the *sarvabhūtāni* of ix. 7 seems as naturally to be connected with *sarvāṇi bhūtāni* in 6, and this, with its *matsthāni*, to be yoked to the *matsthāni bhūtāni* and *matsthāni sarvabhūtāni* in 5 and 4, respectively (which latter Vedāntic verses are rejected by Garbe).

But these are only four examples, the most striking, selected out of over twenty by the author to establish his contention. Several other cases, such as ii. 72, iv. 35, v. 6, 7, 10, 16–22, 24–26, are rejected simply because they are Vedāntic, without any attempt to show that they are otherwise interpolations, save as their presence interrupts the author’s scheme of the primitive work.

It cannot be denied that a division of the Gītā into different philosophical entities produces the effect of clarifying the work, and if that work had been produced anywhere else than in India at the date assumed, the conclusion drawn by Professor Garbe in this case would appeal strongly to every reasonable person. Perhaps even in this case the author’s clear argumentation will have the effect of convincing some scholars. Alluring the thesis certainly is, and could one believe that the logical clearness of the religious authors of the Gītā was ever as great as Professor Garbe’s, one would no longer hesitate to adopt his view. But—the reviewer has worried over the philosophical inconsistencies of the Hindu epic for many years without coming to this conclusion. To him it seems as if, after all, the Gītā were but a part of the epic, alike in philosophical contradictions, and as indivisible as incongruous, except where other criteria than logical continuity can be applied. That the Gītā was

not at first what it is now, may safely be stated; that a prevailingly Vedāntic interpretation of life has left marks upon it, may well be the case; but that it was originally throughout theistic, and was afterwards remodelled by means of intruded Vedāntic stanzas, does not seem to be capable of proof, not through any fault of Professor Garbe, but because the Hindu tolerated inconsistencies in popular presentations even more than in strictly philosophical works, where (in the Upanishads, for example) the same heterogeneous views may be found, though in less striking form, and where, above all, the same tendency appears to monotheize (if the word may be allowed) the colder belief which pleases only the philosopher, but is incapable of affecting the heart. Such a belief, though not pantheistic, was the older Yoga, which both in philosophical and in popular circles demanded ere long a personal God. Buddhism, too, invents a god little dreamed of in the philosophy of Buddha. There is, then, nothing improbable in the current opinion that a pantheistic tract has been made theistic, thus being supplied with that personal object of devotion which no Hindu religious system can afford to disdain if it is to live in the hearts of the people.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.

THE SUN AND THE SERPENT: A contribution to the history of Serpent-worship. By C. F. OLDHAM. 8vo; pp. 207, with 33 illustrations. Price 10s. 6d. (London: Constable, 1905.)

This work, based upon papers contributed to this Journal in 1891, was intended at first, according to the preface, to refer only to Indian serpent-worship. But it was found that this cult was, in fact, a branch of the combined worship of the sun and the serpent, which was once well-nigh universal. The author has therefore set himself to collect evidence of serpent-worship also in other countries. The

book is mainly occupied, however, with the Indian evidence; and the author endeavours to establish, by its means, three main propositions.

These are—(1) that the serpents mentioned in the Rig-Veda refer, not to atmospheric or storm deities, but to the leaders and chiefs of the tribes with whom the Aryans were brought into contact, and by whom their progress was opposed; (2) that the peoples of the districts mentioned in the Veda have not only maintained, from that time down to the present, many of their ancient characteristics, but, by intermarriage and colonisation, have deeply influenced other parts of India throughout the whole of its history; (3) that the present inhabitants of South India, the so-called Dravidians, are direct descendants of the old serpent-worshipping tribes of the north-west frontier.

The author does not pretend to any training in historical criticism, and constantly quotes mediæval authors as good evidence of what occurred in early times.¹ But he has certainly succeeded in bringing together a very considerable body of evidence which historical students would do well to consult; and we think he has quite made out his case for the existence in India, all through the centuries, of Nāga-worshipping tribes. The descriptions and illustrations of modern Nāga-worship are very interesting, and throw light, not only upon the Nāga types represented on the monuments, but also upon the passages quoted from ancient authors, so considerable in number that it is a real contribution to science to have brought them all together. This is so much the case that it is a great pity that the book is not provided with any index. But there is a very elaborate table of contents, occupying twenty pages of print, which will go far to make up for this deficiency.

¹ For instance, the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and Yuan Chwang, on p. 180, as evidence for 500 B.C.

DĪPAVAṂSA UND MAHĀVAṂSA, UND DIE GESCHICHTLICHE
 ÜBERLIEFERUNG IN CEYLON, VON WILHELM GEIGER.
 pp. viii and 146. (Leipzig: Böhme, 1905.)

In this monograph Professor Geiger of Erlangen gives us a further and enlarged discussion of certain points raised in his previous paper, "Dīpavaṃsa und Mahāvamsa," and also of other points of importance in the evolution of historical writing in Ceylon.

He discusses first the outward form of the Dīpavaṃsa, its repetitions, omissions, and general fragmentary character; and the meaning, for the history of the chronicle, of the memorial verses it contains. No stress is laid on the fact that this work has no author. It is the outcome of a fairly large number of previous works, no one of which had any author. And it is the last of the literary works in Ceylon which can be placed in the period during which no books had authors. Every ancient country, at the beginning of its literary activity, has such a period. When that period has once been passed, the custom is for the authorship of each work to be stated; though, of course, occasionally, as now in Europe, a work may be purposely anonymous, or its authorship may be forgotten. It is important for each country to determine the close of this period of universal anonymity. It is especially important in the literary history of India, where the period closed, I think, in the time of Asoka.¹ In Ceylon the period closed with the Dīpavaṃsa. Before that date no book was assigned to any particular author. It was the outcome of the industry of a school. After that date books, as a rule, were written by one man, and the fact that they were so written was openly acknowledged. The point is of considerable interest and suggestiveness.

Professor Geiger then discusses the form of the Mahāvamsa, which is a complete epic poem (with an author); and compares throughout the differences between it and the Dīpavaṃsa. As to the author, the Tīkā tells us that his

¹ "Buddhist India," pp. 179, 180.

name was Mahānāma, and that he lived at the Dighasanda Vihāra, so called after the name of the nobleman who built it. Mahānāma had been the name of the Buddha's cousin, one of his first disciples and principal followers. Like John or Peter among Christians, it had naturally become a common name among the Buddhists. We hear, about the time when the Mahāvamsa must have been written, of two Mahānāmas resident at this particular Vihāra. Turnour confuses the two. Geiger very rightly distinguishes them, pointing out that, if they were the same, the one Mahānāma must certainly have lived nearly a hundred years, and perhaps more. The two, he thinks, were therefore different, and the author of the poem was probably the later of the two, who must have flourished in the last quarter of the fifth century. The difficulties of Turnour's hypothesis have often been pointed out,¹ but Professor Geiger is the first, so far as I know, to have suggested what seems (now that he has suggested it) the obvious solution. Professor Geiger's conclusion will now, no doubt, be accepted by everybody.

The next question is the date of the commentary, the Vamsatthappakāsinī (which the author of this monograph assigns to the period 1000–1250), and the information it gives as to the sources from which Mahānāma drew. After setting out the admitted facts about the lost commentaries in Sinhalese handed down in Ceylon, the author concludes that Mahānāma drew, not so much from them as from a separate historical compilation, the lost Mahāvamsa in Sinhalese, which had gradually grown up in the schools there. This will also be probably adopted as right; and it would be a great advantage if the author had also considered the relation of this lost Sinhalese commentary, the Mūla- or Mahā-Atṭhakathā, to the Andha-Atṭhakathā, the Mahā Paccari, and the Kurunda and Sankhepa Atṭhakathas. These are not referred to. But the question will not be completely

¹ See especially Snyder, "Der Commentar und die Textüberlieferung des Mahāvamsa," Berlin, 1891.

solved until we know whether Mahānāma did not also make use of one or other of such of these works as were previous to his time.

The later historical works composed in Ceylon are then discussed. On the Mahābodhivaṃsa the author puts forward a new combination. The late Professor Strong, who edited the work for the Pali Text Society, was of opinion that it was of nearly the same date as Buddhaghosa, because a very late treatise says it was written at the instigation of one Dāṭhānāga, and this man could be identified with the Dāṭṭha who is said (in the same treatise) to have instigated Buddhaghosa to write the Sumangala Vilāsinī. Geiger identifies him with the Dāṭhānāga of the Mahāvamsa (chap. 54, line 36), who lived in the tenth century. In this latter identification the names tally better. But the late treatise referred to, the Gandhavaṃsa, may be mistaken. And there may have been yet other Dāṭhānāgas. So the argument is not conclusive. There is, however, it seems to me, a very strong support to it.

For does not Upatissa, in the Mahābodhivaṃsa, sometimes use Pali words in their Sanskrit sense? Does he not sometimes use Sanskrit words not found elsewhere at all in the old Pali literature, and possibly derived from an acquaintance with Sanskrit kāvyas? Does not the whole tone and manner of his work betray such an acquaintance, so much so that he may be said to use a Sanskritised Pali? If these questions be answered in the affirmative—and I think they must be—the further question arises: when, and in what degree, the knowledge of Sanskrit began thus to influence literary usage in Ceylon? We find few, if any, traces of it in the Mahāvamsa, or even in Buddhaghosa. It would follow that the Mahābodhivaṃsa must be later, and probably at least as late as the Dāṭhānāga whom Geiger has discovered in the later part of the Mahāvamsa.

Another point on which we should be very glad of Professor Geiger's further opinion. He devotes also a most interesting and careful discussion to the extant historical books written in Ceylon, not in Pali, but in Sinhalese; showing

their dates, the degree in which they followed the previous authorities and the degree in which they are independent, and the sources they used. It would be interesting to know the relation between these books and the Narendracaritāwalokanapradīpikāwa, the 66th chapter of which was translated into English in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* for 1872. Is this title merely the title of a portion of one of the Sinhalese books here discussed by the author, or is it a separate work? The MS. from which I made the translation would seem, if the work be independent, to be either unique or nearly so.

Throughout his monograph the author emphasizes the distinction between the 'church tradition' as he calls it — that is, tradition handed down in the Order — and the 'popular tradition' or 'worldly tradition,' as handed down among the people. Some of the most important and suggestive passages in his essay are those in which he shows how some one or other of the numerous works he discusses has added to, or varied from, the statements in some previous work by incorporating or using such popular material. He supposes that the use of such material was certainly a distinguishing feature of the Pali Mahāvamsa, and probably also of the lost Sinhalese Mahāvamsa. It is one of the points in which the latter will have differed from the lost commentary in Sinhalese (p. 72). The suggestion is distinctly good. At the same time, it may be a question whether the gap between the two traditions was, at any time, very broad. The worthy members of the Order, not only in Ceylon but also in India, were themselves very partial indeed to these popular tales. Tales, anecdotes, riddles, legends, *et hoc genus omne*, play a great part in the Sacred Books themselves, and even in the very Suttantas, and that at the precise points where they are also most in earnest.¹ Who was it who preserved for us that immense collection of folklore of all sorts, the Jātakas? The people knew the stories, no doubt, but that we know them is a debt we owe to the

¹ See, for instance, "Dialogues of the Buddha," vol. i, pp. 160–164.

members of the Order. The Jātakas are at one and the same time both 'popular tradition' and 'church tradition'; and the present essay affords abundant proof that a similar state of things existed all through the literary history of Ceylon. There were some hermits among the members of the Order, and a good many industrious scholars. But as a rule, to which the scholars at least formed no exception, the Bhikkhus enjoyed a good joke, or a good story, as much as the laymen did. And they neither formed a separate caste, nor were they shut out of the world, nor out of the hearing of such political traditions and popular lore as were current among the people. I do not suggest that Professor Geiger says, or thinks, they were. On the contrary, he claims not only for Mahānāma, but for the other Bhikkhus who composed the later works, a distinct leaning to such things. But the expressions he uses might sometimes be interpreted that way.

Perhaps what is here written may be open to a similar objection. I have naturally selected those points on which I have a little, something, perhaps, of value, to add to what the reader will find in Professor Geiger's book. This should not be interpreted to mean anything derogatory to its great and permanent value as the most complete work we have on the many important subjects it treats with scholarship so thorough (often, indeed, unique) and with judgment so sober and sound.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

DIE BUDDHISTISCHE PHILOSOPHIE IN IHRER GESCHICHTLICHEN ENTWICKLUNG. ERSTER TEIL: DIE PHILOSOPHISCHE GRUNDLAGE DES ÄLTEREN BUDDHISMUS. VON MAX WALLESEER. pp. 148. (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1904.)

We have here an attempt, at once courageous and wise, of a young writer on philosophy to apply an excellent philosophical training to the solution of historical problems from which too many of his colleagues shrink, pretending

that there is nothing worth the labour involved. Leaving the discussion of modern definitions of the Ego (*Das Problem des Ich*; Heidelberg, 1903), which was his maiden effort in independent criticism, he has boldly and yet, we might say, by logical sequence, struck into the jungle of Indian literature, where lie the earliest beginnings in the evolution of *Ich*-concepts, and sought to know how far, in respect of this or other ultimate generalizations, Buddhism can be said to amount to a 'systematic' philosophy.

Whether he concludes, or not, that anything so relatively modern of import as a philosophic system may be vindicated for the Buddhist Dhamma, is not the most significant feature in his work—at least in this stage of it. Philosophic critics may possibly come to find some principle in that doctrine not unworthy to rank with Plato's theory of ideas or Aristotle's theory of immanence. For that matter the service to truth and knowledge rendered by these thinkers does not rest on these famous speculations, nor (fortunately) do all their scientific judgments and wise utterances flow logically from them. But it is of interest and significance that German philosophic training, followed by a brief period of Oxford Indian studies, should no longer deter a student from being straightway bitten by the interesting problems afforded by Buddhist literature.

It will be noted that the present brief volume is the first instalment of a work which of necessity waits on the further labours of original research. The marvel is that, himself taking no direct part herein and engaged otherwise in academic routine, the author should already have found time and energy to acquire the remarkable erudition he displays in Indian and Indological literature. He is keenly alive to the immense importance of historical perspective in discussing the genesis and evolution of a great movement of thought. More than a third of the volume is devoted to the problem of the history of the Buddhist books. And even in the remainder, he spends himself so generously on discussions of literary history that, sometimes, to pervert a phrase, the trees are less evident than the jungle. But

it follows also, from this fine historical *flair*, that his conclusions evince grasp and sanity and disinterestedness. I should have added, sympathetic insight throughout, had it not been for a few lines which may be intended as a concession to more orthodox Western and Brahmanic traditions. I refer to the passage (p. 136) where Buddhism is said to have failed to soar out of individualistic pessimism and 'miserabilismus' to the higher standpoints of a teleological world-plan. With its "acute analysis of the empirical ego it had actually attained the point whence the transition to a transcendental interpretation of the psychically immanent was easy." For it needs but a slight degree of logical susceptibility to be "instinctively compelled to hypostatize at least a bearer, a subject of our conscious processes."

We seem to hear Hegel and his compeers saying to the founder of Buddhism: "Thou shouldst have been one of us!" Or is it the voice of Schopenhauer and von Hartmann, systematizers, world-planners, and yet pessimists and 'miserabilists'? And as we ponder, there sound from far away other voices—"Serene, pure, radiant lookest thou, Sāriputta, whence comest thou?" "I have been alone, Ānanda, in rapture of thought . . . till I rose above perception of the world without into an infinite sphere of cognition, and this again melted into nothing . . . Insight came, and I discerned with the celestial vision the way of the world, the tendencies of men and their coming to be, past, present, and yet to come. And all this arose in me and passed without one thought of Ego-making or of Mine-making."

It may be questioned whether any ancient teaching amounted to anything more systematic than the series of 'standpoints' implied and expressed in this glimpse of the meditations of a great Buddhist. Dr. Walleser himself judges that the border-line between systematic and unsystematic philosophy must be drawn only at a later epoch. By systematic philosophy he understands such a comprehensive explanation of the world as gives a rational

harmonious connection between particular facts. In other words, where our generalizations about facts touch the confines of what we know, we must go on to hypotheses, whether verifiable or not.

Now for the orthodox Buddhist, as revealed in the Pitakas—and the author accepts these as original and genuine expositions of early Buddhism—the Buddha, even where he withheld information, knew all about everything:—

“He hath discernèd all this life o’ the world, the How
and Thus in all;

Himself detached from all, by all unsway’d.”¹

And the Dhamma was, for that orthodox Buddhist, a rounded-off body of doctrine, adequate to explain and to guide “in this present life.”² The modern critic, seeking to synthesize the widest generalizations in that doctrine, finds, in the first place, the adoption of certain data of current thought and belief, e.g., hosts of intelligent but non-human beings, karma, saṁsāra, nirvāna, the skandhas: in the next place, two negative generalizations respecting these things, viz., (1) the non-existence among those beings of anyone free from saṁsāra, capable of being a First Cause or a Final Cause; and (2) the human being is skandhas, but nothing more, nothing of a permanent nature: and finally, some four main positive theories, to wit, (1) becoming and impermanence is the law of existence; (2) existence, taken quantitatively, *en bloc*, makes for sorrow; sorrow is evil; sorrow may be overcome; (3) cause and effect is a universal law; (4) the perfectibility on this present plane of existence of the human individual.³

To the metaphysical mind the Buddha is no doubt incorrigible as to his anti-ego standpoint. Dr. Walleser, I am glad to see, makes no attempt to help him out of

¹ A., vol. ii, p. 24: Itv., p. 122.

² *Sandīṭṭhiko*.

³ Cf. my review of the Majjhima Nikāya, P.T.S. edition, in this Journal, April, 1902.

it by compromising interpretations. But I doubt if the opposite standpoint is soundly defended, at least for a mind awake to historical considerations, by 'instinctive' logic being called in to vindicate it. And with regard to the other general statements, it may, I think, be claimed that they amount to a *Weltanschauung* fit to rank, for comprehensiveness, intelligibleness, and moral breadth, with any other put forward by ancient philosophy. In the fact that it stopped short where it did, that, relatively speaking, it was inductive, that it analyzed the phenomena of life and consciousness into ultimate data and into universal, eternal and natural causation, and then dared to stop short and build its morals and ideals on this positive, inductive basis—in this fact lies precisely its extraordinary, its unique interest and value for the history of human ideas. The author himself expresses precisely this opinion when dealing with the doctrine of karma (p. 86).

In respect of morals and ideals, Dr. Walleser is disposed to grudge the term 'ethical' as descriptive of the Dhamma, and to substitute 'practical,' in that the Buddha did not seriously consider "that *fundamentum relationis* of ethics, the relation of a man to other men." This definition may be true of modern ethics since Kant, but it hardly holds of the doctrines of such Greek teachers as are generally included in histories of ethical philosophy. The nature of good and hedonistic values were for them far more 'fundamental,' nor did they stay over the question of 'seeking one's own and others' good'¹ more or less than did Gotama.

And again, when we note that the author commences his inquiry into the Buddhist view of objective reality, as "the ground-problem of all philosophy," the question may suggest itself, whether this is a just estimate of ancient thought. Were not thinkers of olden time more occupied with first and final causes, with the One and the Many, with life and death as such?

¹ "Ubhinnam attham carati, attano ca parassa ca" (Samyutta N. i, 162 *and elsewhere*).

Professor O. Franke's able and interesting contribution to the Kant Centenary Album, "Kant und die altindische Philosophie,"¹ however, takes the distinction between phenomena and essence as the one great bond between Indian thought and the sage of Königsberg, showing thereby how we may have to recast our perspective in the history of philosophy, now that we can no longer postpone to take into account the other half of early human thought west of the Ægean. And in any case, the attempt to trace how Buddhism took its turn in groping after a distinction between an external world as existing independently of the perceiver, and as, ultimately, the mental construction of the perceiver, is not only perfectly justifiable, but one of great interest.

The inquiry opens with a courageous plunge into that deep, dark, ancient water,² the Paṭicca-samuppāda, the swimmer, on first coming up, exclaiming at the unique wealth of unintelligibles massed into so small a space! Persisting, he gives us an interesting discussion on *nāma-rūpa* as representing, to early Indian thought in general, not the living individual, but "phenomenal existence (*Sein*) in its totality," "the world as perceptible by sense," or, better still, "being (*Sein*) spread out in the objective sphere." As such, it fits into the Nidāna-chain well, being object and content of consciousness (*viññāṇa*), and the source, through sense (*saḷāyatana*), of contact (*phassa*). This view should prove suggestive of discussion by critics more competent than myself, who here will only add a brief comment. The passages quoted from the earlier Upaniṣads either make rather for the view that *nāmarūpa* refers to a perceptible, distinguishable individual (person or thing), than for any more general notion, or are very ambiguous.³ Then, in the Pali canon—there was no need to go, as our author does, to the commentator for it—*nāma*, in the Suttanta, is defined

¹ *Zur Erinnerung an Immanuel Kant*, No. v; Halle, 1904.

² Buddhaghosa *ap.* Mahā Nid. S.—"black as with exudations of rotten leaves."

³ E.g. *nirvaḥitū* (ch. viii, 14), rendered by *anseinander dehnen* in Deussen.

as *vedanā*, *saññā*, *cetanā*, *phasso*, *manasikāro*,¹ and, in the Abhidhamma, as *vedanā*, *saññā*, *sankhārā*, and *viññāṇa*, except where the last is distinguished as a separate *nidāna*.² Now Dr. Walleser, in a brief footnote only, holds that this definition bears out his view. I am not sure that I follow his meaning, so clearly does the Pitaka definition point to 'an individual' as the import of *nāmarūpa*. Again, the picture-similes to which he refers in the well-known Wheel-of-Life drawings—that of a boat (? or raft) crossing a stream³—is as applicable to an individual on a stream as to the stream itself. I agree with the late Lafcadio Hearn that to understand Buddhist philosophy we need to put away our inveterate habit of referring to a personality, an ego, in our interpretations. And the only way, indeed, in which it seems possible to make *nāmarūpa* mean, not an individual, but the whole phenomenal world, corporeal and mental, is to conceive the *arūpino khandhā*, as well as *rūpa*, existing as potential force, with matter, in the universe, in some millions of cases aggregated into living organisms, but for the most part scattered, potential, till the resultant force of the acts of organisms—their karma—effects new aggregates. Probably the *viññāṇadhātu*, now and then ranked as a sixth *dhatu* with the other elements, may have been conceived as this potential force. Has the author some such explanation as this in his mind? If so, it is in line with that mechanical or atomistic, if he will, but quasi-scientific view of things with which Buddhism was virtually in sympathy. And if this be granted, it opens the way to discussing Buddhism with the least possible use of such terms as 'transcendental,' 'immanence of consciousness,' or hybrids like 'an Absolute

¹ Majjh. N. i, 53.

² Dh. S., § 1309; Vibh. 136; cf. Bdhgh. Sammoha-vinodanī *ap. loc. cit.* He explains the discrepancy by pointing out that in the former case the *sankhārak-khandha* is resolved into *cetanā*, *phasso*, *manasikāro*. The four incorporeal skandhas, by the way, are often termed, e.g. in the Paṭṭhāna and in Buddhaghosa, *arūpino*, but never *rūpino*, i.e. having *rūpa*, which would be a contradiction in terms. The author, I venture to suggest, should have read *catvāro 'rūpinaḥ skandhāḥ*.

³ The ape as representing *viññāṇa* refers to the *makkaka* simile (Samy. N. ii, 95). The boat and raft similes in this and the Majjh. Nikāya do not help him out.

becoming accidentally and peripherally conscious'—terms of that metaphysical lore which once was Regent for the babe Science.

But there is, in the *Samyutta Nikāya* (ii, 22) one passage that does, on the face of it, seem to support Dr. Walleser's theory, and to which I would draw his attention. A human being is said, through ignorance and craving, to have arrived at a '*kāyo*' (body or aggregate). And "this body *and nāmarūpa without (bahiddhā ca nāmarūpaṃ)* are twain, and because of them twain there is contact and the modes of sense." *Bahiddhā* is usually contrasted with *ajjhataṃ* (personal, of the self), the *ajjhataṃ nāmarūpaṃ* being here presumably represented by *kāyo*, though the usage is very unusual. I have just now no opportunity of consulting the Commentary on the passage.

There is no lack of other interesting points¹ raised in this suggestive little work, itself far too slight in compass to treat adequately, and with full mastery of the contents of the canonical books, of so rich a theme. The book contains, properly speaking, a number of prolegomena only to a full analysis of early Buddhist philosophy, some cardinal tenets of which it leaves untouched. More than this the author, in so brief an interval, could not possibly have achieved. But he has done much, and we look with grateful expectancy for more.

CAROLINE RHYS DAVIDS.

PUBLICATIONS OF AN AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXPEDITION TO SYRIA IN 1899–1900. PART II: ARCHITECTURE AND OTHER ARTS. By HOWARD CROSBY BUTLER, A.M. 4to; pp. 433, with 600 illustrations. (Issued by "The Century" Company, New York City.)

The volume in question is undoubtedly a valuable contribution to the very limited literature of a subject interesting, not only for the wealth and variety of its examples, but for

¹ See Professor Takakusu's note in this Journal, January, 1905.

the very strangeness of their existence, their loneliness, and the many problems which they raise.

It deals with the architectural remains of a comparatively small region, described by the author as "Northern Central Syria and the Djebel Haurân"—districts lying away to the north and to the east of the Anti-Lebanon range, and now, to a great extent, incapable of any extensive cultivation. Yet here, far from any of the world's great highways, away from any navigable stream, with scant water supply, and a rocky soil, are thickly scattered the remains of well-built towns, temples, churches, villas, tombs, in astonishing profusion—remains often remarkably complete.

Any book dealing with this subject must be regarded as supplementary to M. de Vogüé's admirable work "*La Syrie Centrale*." In at least one important particular the volume before us is a valuable supplement to that work. It is illustrated by photography; and no archæological work can now be accepted as satisfactory without the aid of photography. The sun-pictures in Mr. Butler's book are the proper complement to the measured drawings of the Marquis de Vogüé's; but a reader cannot always have both books at hand, and Mr. Butler's photographs would have had far more value had he, in every case, placed a clearly marked scale rule against some feature of the building photographed, or the sculpture represented, to indicate size. Moreover, the want of a map to this volume is much felt, for few of the place-names are familiar. It is no excuse to point to the maps in another volume (even if that be published yet), for it is too much to assume that one should have at least two such volumes open at once. Moreover, any real student will almost certainly require to have vol. iii, with the Greek and Latin inscriptions, within reach.

The author divides his subject first into three districts, namely, Northern Central Syria, Djebel il-Hass, and the Djebel Haurân; and in these, again, the architecture is divided into epochs somewhat differently grouped in each district. He deals first with the few archaic structures as to which no definite date can be assigned, and the few, again,

which can be attributed to the beginning of our era; but, as was to be expected, it is from the time of Trajan and Hadrian that the examples become numerous. It was during the reign of the latter that his pact with the Parthians must have made all the country between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean more peaceful and secure than it had been for centuries; and from this time until the opening years of the seventh century building still went on. That during the latter half of this period the inhabitants were largely Christian, the buildings themselves afford ample evidence. But whence came the wealth to raise these solid and costly structures, and why, in a region now so devoid of the very necessities of existence, there should have been a large and well-to-do population, are questions yet to be answered.

Mr. Butler points out, in his opening chapter, that the surface must formerly have been covered with a soil of some fertility, and shows that the earlier buildings indicate that timber was once plentiful, and he reasonably attributes the denudation of the land to the destruction of the timber, which he infers, from changes in the methods of building, was gradually becoming scarce. But there is a sad significance in the dates of the later buildings. The latest seems to be A.D. 609. In 611 the vast armies of the ruthless destroyer, Khosroes II, swept across the land, to be followed at no great interval, by the fanatical Arab followers of Mahomet. It would seem as if from that time, shattered too by earthquakes, these ruins remained the startling evidence of past prosperity and power, standing almost unknown, neglected, forlorn, desolate.

The value of photographic illustration is well shown in one kind by the remarkable view (p. 58) of part of a Roman road; in another by the picture of a sculptured tomb in which the inscribed names of the personages can easily be read. Mr. Butler here mentions the curious fact that Pococke copied the inscriptions on this tomb, yet makes no allusion to the sculptures.

Among the tombs occur some of the pyramidal form familiar to travellers in the so-called 'Tomb of Zacharias,'

in the Kedron Valley. Several are dated late in the fourth century.

The book has full and complete indexes to both text and illustrations. Mr. Butler's descriptions in the text are clear and careful, nor does he fail to give ample references to the works of his predecessors. His work is well done. To the English eye, however, such spellings as 'traveler,' 'defense,' 'ashler,' 'miter,' and even 'meager,' form a distinct literary blemish. Indeed, it would be interesting to know on what model an American writer can found his treatment of the last three words.

The work is well got up, well printed in good type, and perhaps its one defect is the high gloss and the enormous weight of its paper; for this quarto volume weighs no less than ten pounds!

J. D. CRACE.

RECORDS OF THE REIGN OF TUKULTI-NINIB I., KING OF ASSYRIA ABOUT B.C. 1275. By L. W. KING, M.A., F.S.A. (London: Luzac, 1904.)

The nation is to be congratulated on the acquisition of a most important document referring to early Assyrian history, which has been excellently—even elaborately¹—published by Mr. King. It is described as a tablet of limestone, $15\frac{7}{8}$ inches high by $11\frac{1}{4}$ to $11\frac{1}{8}$ in breadth and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. The obverse has 37 and the reverse 30 lines of exceedingly clear Assyrian writing, such as rejoices the heart of a translator, whilst all students of such a text naturally feel indebted to the skilful stone-carver whose work has placed them in a position to read with ease an important record.

The occasion of the inscribing of this tablet is regarded by the author as having been the construction of the wall

¹ The text is given three times—once in facsimile (in sections) half-tone blocks, once in Messrs. Harrison's larger cuneiform type, and again by means of line blocks from the author's copy. The obverse is also given as a plate to show the appearance of the slab as a whole.

of the city of Kar-Tukulti-Ninib,¹ beneath which, he concludes, it was buried in a recess or cavity, or beneath the foundations. This is probably correct, as inscriptions on the surface are almost sure to suffer considerably from weathering, and the destructive tendencies of passers-by in time of peace, to say nothing of the depredations of enemies. According to the inscription, the city called Kar-Tukulti-Ninib was built by the command of Bel "beyond my city of the god Ashur," by which the old capital of Assyria (Aššur) is evidently intended. Whether there be, in this, evidence of an attempt to supersede the old capital of Assyria and its temple is uncertain, but not improbable. It was to be "the seat of my royalty," and he built therein "a temple of Ashur, Hadad, Šamaš, Nin-ib,² Nusku, Nergal, Iminabi, and Ištar, the great gods, my lords." Ashur, or Aššur, was therefore to be the chief divinity of the new city also. Canals were made leading direct to the shrines of the gods, whereby the regular offerings might be confirmed to them *ana dâriš*, 'for ever.'

But the principal points of interest are naturally those historical statements which refer to the king's foreign relations. Besides the usual titles "king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the four regions," he states also that he was "king of Karduniaš, king of the land of Šumer and Akkad, king of the upper and lower sea, king of the highlands and the broad plains, king of Šubarû, Qutû, and king of all the lands of Na'iri." This naturally testifies in a remarkable manner to the extent of the conquests of Assyria in those early days of her history, and is emphasized when Tukulti-Ninib goes into details. At the beginning of his reign he conquered the land of Qutû, the land of Uqumanû, the land of Elhunîa, and the land of Šarnida—











¹ In this notice the old reading Tukulti-Ninib is retained, that being the form used by Mr. King. In reality, however, the name seems to have been Tukulti-Enu-rêštû, or something similar (see the *Journal* of the R.A.S. for January, p. 206). He was son of Shalmaneser I, grandson of Adad-nirari, and great-grandson of Arik-dên-îli, as Delitzsch has shown that Pudi-ilu is to be read.

² Enu-rêštû (?).

the land of Mehru.¹ After referring to the tribute he received, he goes on to say that at that time he burned in the fire the lands of Qurtû, Kummuhu, Puššu, Mummu, Alzu, Madanu, Niḥanu, Alaya, Tearzu or Teubzu, Purukuzzu, and the whole of the broad land of Šubarû, all of these being districts in the neighbourhood of North Syria. Traversing places hitherto untrodden by kings, he defeated forty kings of the lands of Na'iri, placing tax and tribute upon them for all time to come. Finally, he states that, with the help of Ashur, Bel, and Šamaš, his gods, and Ištar, princess of heaven and earth, he joined battle with Bibeasu, king of Kar-Duniaš, defeating his army, capturing the Kassite king himself, and trampling with his feet "on the neck of his lordship like dirt." This enabled him to extend the frontiers of his land as far as the "lower sea of the rising of the sun," i.e. the Persian Gulf. It is noteworthy that Bibeasu, at first called king of Kar-Duniaš (Babylonia), is afterwards designated "king of Kaššû," which, from his name, was evidently his native place. Hilprecht has already pointed out, that this is the Bibe of the Babylonian canon of kings, which, it may be noted, makes no mention of Tukulti-Ninib's rule in Babylonia, which, however, is mentioned in the Babylonian Chronicle.

All the historical points and difficulties are well discussed, and many inscriptions in connection with this new record are published, including portions of the Assyrian "Synchronous History" and the Babylonian Chronicle, the text of which was published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society in October, 1894, pp. 807-833. At that time I regarded the Tukulti-Ninib and his son Aššur-našir-apli, mentioned in that inscription, col. iv, as being the second rulers bearing

¹ Thus (without the punctuation) in the original. The author points out that the land of Mehru was so called from the *meḥru*-trees which grew there. Are we to understand from this passage that Qurtû, Uqumanû, Elḥunia, and Šarnida were also habitats of the same tree, or is it only the last-named? It is difficult to imagine that the copula 'and' has been placed before Šarnida instead of Mehru, though this is possible. Mr. King translates: "the Kutî and the Uqumanî and the lands of Elkhunia and Sharnida and Mekhri."

those names. Mr. King, however, gives another translation of the first line of the fourth column, which he reads [. . .]      . . . [. . . a]-bi-ik-ti D.P. Bi-be-[ia-šu], 'the defeat of Bibeiašu,' the king mentioned in the 33rd line of the obverse of the new record of which he treats. Judging from the traces shown in the facsimile published on p. 51, this reading is correct, but one would prefer to express an opinion upon the passage with a really well-executed photo-lithograph¹ before one, instead of a process-block, for upon such reproductions of texts no conclusion with regard to doubtful points can possibly be formed. Mr. King also confirms Professor Hilprecht's statement that the name of   []  , D.P. Bi-be-a-šu, king of Kar-Duniaš (Babylonia), occurs in the first line of the corresponding paragraph of the Synchronous History.²

On the whole, this is an excellent and most useful monograph, giving much new material³ and correcting errors inseparable from first publications, the author being in an enviably advantageous position, of which he has made the fullest use. Scholars will look forward to the other volumes of the series, of which this is the first, with considerable interest.

T. G. PINCHES.

¹ This is all the more necessary in that the obtaining of a sight of an exhibited tablet at the British Museum (to say nothing of a careful examination such as this passage would need) is quite an affair of state.

² Another improved rendering has been obtained by Mr. King by detaching the name "Bel" from Tukulti-Aššur (J.R.A.S. for October, 1894, pp. 814, 822, l. 12, and 826). The passage then reads "For 6 years, until (the time of) Tukulti-Aššur, Bel was residing in Assyria—he went (back) to Babylon in the time of Tukulti-Aššur." He suggests that Tukulti-Aššur was the successor of Tukulti-Ninib, in which case Aššur-našir-apli, the son who revolted against him, did not succeed him.

³ His reading of the name of king Šagarakti-Šuriaš on Sennacherib's tablet referring to the recovery of his seal is especially noteworthy. (I came across the form *Ša-ga-ra-ak-ti-šur-ya-aš* some time ago.)

CHOIX DE TEXTES RELATIFS À LA DIVINATION ASSYRO-BABYLONIENNE, par ALFRED BOISSIER, Dr.Phil. (Genève: Henry Kündig, 1905.)

In this little volume of 275 pages and 4 plates, we have a mass of material well-arranged and excellently discussed, dealing with some of the most difficult documents in the domain of Assyro-Babylonian literature. Though similar inscriptions have been known to Assyriologists since 1870, when the third volume of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, published by Sir Henry Rawlinson and George Smith, was issued, very little progress has hitherto been made in translating the tablets of which it consists, and the work which is the subject of this notice will be welcomed, not only by all who take an interest in the history of the belief in omens, forecasts, auguries, and similar methods of attempting to penetrate the future, but also by students of the Babylonian language and sign-list, on account of the words used therein, as well as their arrangement and connection.

Beginning with forecasts from animals, the author gives passages from inscriptions of which the subjects are serpents, creatures called *kamunu* and *katarru*, scorpions, sheep, dogs, etc., sometimes giving the original text, sometimes translating his *Documents assyriens relatifs aux Présages*. This portion of the work one would have liked to see extended, as it is much more comprehensible than the tablets referring to augury. From it the reader learns that it was generally an unfortunate thing to meet a serpent, especially in Nisan and Iyyar, though omens for all the months of the year are given in the original. To lessen the threatened evil, the man had to perform certain rites. When a serpent fell (probably = darted) in a downward direction before a man, and this took place towards the right, it was a bad sign, but if towards the left, he realized his desire. From one of these omens we learn that the word for 'to hiss' is *ramāmu*, the root of the name of the god Rimmon, 'the thunderer,' from which may be surmised that it originally meant 'to

make a threatening noise,' and probably obtained the meaning 'to roar' on account of its being used frequently in connection with the god of the atmosphere and storms.

The text quoted in the portion treating of omens from scorpions has some important words referring to the members of the body from the thighs downwards, but more material is needed before they will all be satisfactorily rendered. The following will give an idea of these portents:—

If a scorpion sting his right *asitu* (? ankle), misfortune will seize him.

If a scorpion sting his left *asitu*, he will see success.

More interesting, however, in the present state of our knowledge, is the short description of the scorpion given by the text in the incantation after the omens:—

“Recite the incantation in the presence of the scorpion’s sting, and the man”

“Incantation: *Mašmašu urši niši abus.* Her (the scorpion’s) horns are set like (those of) a mountain-bull, her tail is curved like (that of) a mighty lion. The god Bel has built a house—may the little finger of Bel bring a tile (?)¹ at its roofing, a brick of lapis-lazuli at its traversing.² Thou hast been oversated with water—may he accept (?) the libation, and may his great hand fall upon the man. Incantation ended.”³

The forecasts derived from dogs are such as would be expected in an Eastern city where they are numerous, and several of their habits are referred to. Besides an unlikely impropriety or two, the following improbable omen occurs:—

“If a dog destroy the kindled fire in the house of a man, in that house there will be a command.”⁴

It is difficult to pass in review the large portion devoted to auguries, interesting as they are, the translations being

¹ My copy has *amara* (the character for *ra* doubtful).

² *Šubalkuti*. This probably refers to the first crossing of the threshold after the house’s completion.

³ Dr. Boissier’s translation differs from the above.

⁴ Omens from inanimate objects—the waggon or chariot, the date-palm, the bow (*kaštu* or *tilpānu*)—also exist, but these the author will probably treat of later.

in most cases merely provisional, and preparations for the clearer renderings which, it is hoped, may soon be obtained. If we only knew what the NA, the ŠI, the GIR, the ŠU-SI (generally 'finger'), the 3 GIŠ - KU (generally = *kakku*, 'weapon'), and numerous other expressions really were, these texts would have a much greater value. As it is, the thanks of all are due to Dr. Boissier for the most courageous and intelligent way in which he has attacked the dreaded riddles which this class of literature presents in such exhaustless quantity. As a specimen of the more intelligible of these auguries the following may be quoted:—

“Si dans l'intérieur du sommet du *na* le U est posé, le maître non puissant (littér. grand) mourra, chute du prêtre, le sacrificateur au commencement de l'année mourra, ou le fils de l'homme mourra, si sa partie antérieure au côté il saisit, dans le combat chute de celui qui marche en tête de mon armée.

“L'ombre (la protection) du dieu Usan au roi bonne; si un *mehru* dans le comblement du fleuve du TU est placé, il y aura *kartu*—?” (P. 65, ll. 11–13.)

The following, which refer to dreams, seem to give the archaic Babylonian expressions for 'yes' and 'no' (*anni*¹ and *ula*):—

“If a god answer a dreamer once 'Yes,' he will have realization of his desire.” If the answer was repeated twice, it was consent (?); thrice, a decided yes or a decided grace or favour; four or five times, a burning² (assent).

“If a god answer a dreamer once 'No,' rejection of his desire.” If the answer were repeated twice he had his desire (the negative being expected, probably). Thrice, on the other hand, was a decided negative (*ullu kīnu*); four or five times, a burning (dissent).

The book concludes with a fragment of a “Liber de Prodigiiis”—a tablet containing prodigies “collected by

¹ Or *aanni*. As the words for 'decided yes' or 'favour' are *annu kīnu*, it is clear that popular opinion regarded them as coming from the same root. This is also the case with *ula* and *ullu*, which may really be connected.

² *Niphu*.

a Babylonian Julius Obsequens." This refers to such things as a cut-off head covered with sweat (?), a mare which had a horn on the left side of her head, a sheep with four horns, a bearded woman, etc., etc. Such things as these were recorded in Babylonia until a very late date, like the goat which brought forth fifteen young at one time.¹ The tablet translated by M. Boissier is exceedingly mutilated, and no trustworthy rendering of it can be given until the text is completed. It seems to have contained nothing but the bare statements that the things referred to had been seen—may it not be a list of titles of works?

The book of Dr. Boissier is a noteworthy production, and Assyriologists will look forward to the "Sketch of Assyro-Babylonian Divination" and "Glossary of Assyrian words in language of Augury," which he is now preparing for publication.

The plates give the model of an ox's hoof inscribed with auguries found by Mr. Rassam at Kouyunjik, and the large fragment with diagrams numbered K. 2086, etc. Both are reproduced by means of the unsatisfactory half-tone process, and the photographs of the hoof are accompanied by drawings.

T. G. PINCHES.

ON YUAN-CHWANG'S TRAVELS IN INDIA (629-645 A.D.).
Vol. I. By the late THOMAS WATERS, M.R.A.S.
Edited by Professor T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, F.B.A.,
and Dr. S. W. BUSHELL, M.D., C.M.G. (London:
Oriental Translation Fund, n.s., vol. xiv, Royal Asiatic
Society.)

The Oriental Translation Fund has done us once again a great service by issuing a work of the greatest importance for the study of the history and geography of India. It was very fortunate that a scholar like Mr. Watters, who

¹ See "The Old Testament in the Light of Records of Assyria and Babylonia" (S.P.C.K., 1904), p. 484.

was admirably qualified for the subject, should have taken up the study, and that the publication should have been carried out under the able editorship of Professor Rhys Davids and Dr. Bushell.

Mr. Watters modestly called his work "Notes on Yuan-Chwang's Travels in India." It is, however, practically a new translation of the whole text, so far as we can judge from the volume just published, the portions omitted being of little or no value for practical purposes. The first volume includes a note on the life of Thomas Watters (1840-1901) by Dr. Bushell, and another on the name "Yuan-Chwang" by Professor Rhys Davids; also a special chapter by the author on the Title and Text of the Hsi-yü-chi, and a note on the much discussed Introduction of the original text itself. As regards the actual text of the Travels, it brings us across the Chinese frontier down to the sacred Jetavana of Śrāvastī.

The work in almost every page is marked by wonderful clearness and convincing accuracy, especially as to the identification of Indian names and places. The author corrects several improbable and often impossible theories advanced by his predecessors, Julien, St. Martin, Cunningham, Beal, etc., and clears up once for all many obscure passages which had been previously unintelligible owing to the limited knowledge of the subject then available. His work practically embodies all the results of the researches made by previous scholars and explorers, as well as those of the minute investigations conducted by himself. When we examine the names of the books to which he refers in his notes, we are surprised to discover how well versed he was in all the important Buddhist texts, not only those contained in the Chinese piṭaka collection, but also several works never included in it; and we are still more surprised to see how well he knew where to look for information on diverse subjects among the vast number of Chinese books, both sacred and secular, many of them existing only in some isolated libraries in Japan. He probably spent some time in preparatory study with a view to understanding Yuan-Chwang more completely.

In view of his great success in the execution of the work a few slips of the pen in regard to minor points are scarcely worth mentioning here. But I shall refer to one or two which, if left unnoticed, might mislead some interested readers.

When he corrects Julien, in translation especially, he is generally right, and is supported by proofs from other sources. But when he is speaking of the Sanskrit names of the 'Five Sciences' given by Julien he represents (p. 157) the French savant as restoring the names entirely from his own conjecture, and in one case even goes so far as to say that Julien discovered his error afterwards. But the 'Five Sciences' (pañcavidyāsthāna), unknown as they are to brahmin literature, were preserved and studied as useful knowledge among the Buddhists. The nomenclature may be entirely Buddhistic, yet it is not Julien's at all, because the names are found in the Mahāvvyutpatti, § 76, 1-5, as (1) Śabdavidyā (Grammar); (2) Hetuvidyā (Logic); (3) Adhyātmavidyā (Subjective Science); (4) Cikitsāvidyā (Medicine); (5) Śilpakarmasthānavidyā (Arts and Crafts)—thus perfectly justifying Julien's restorations. If Julien recognized his mistake in 'Hetuvidyā' and thought it ought to have been 'Nyāya,' the explanation may be that he had forgotten the source from which he originally drew his information.

In his notes on the Buddhist Council said to have been held under King Kaniska (pp. 270-278) Mr. Watters clears up several doubtful points important for the history of Buddhism. That the supposed Council of Kaniska was not to settle the canonical texts, but to draw up commentaries, is no longer open to question. Whether, however, such a Council drew up the existing commentaries is still disputed, and Mr. Watters maintains the negative, for the simple reason that one of the official commentaries (Mahāvibhāṣā) relates a miracle which it says occurred *formerly* in the reign of that king.

Vasumitra, moreover, who is reputed to have been the Head of the Council of Compilation, is mentioned and quoted.

in the book just referred to. These seem to be strong grounds of argument, but, as Watters himself points out, there appear to have been several Vibhāṣās and several Vasumitras (seven or eight); and this makes any conclusion hazardous which is based upon any one of them singly. Besides, the Mahāvibhāṣā is not a commentary, properly speaking. The work seems to me to be a record or collection of notes taken orally from the learned referees present at the Council, as well as of quotations from ancient authors of various schools. In this case the frequent occurrence, in the text, of Vasumitra, Pārśva, etc., who are said to have been the elders at the Council, will be quite natural, and consequently quotations from their opinions are not from their books but from their utterances. At any rate, the opinions recorded of the Kashmir and Gāndhāra schools of the Ābhidhārmika teachers, which are referred to as contemporaneously existing, are certainly not quotations from books.

The Council, whether held under Kaniṣka or soon after him, drew up very likely only the Vibhāṣā on the Abhidharma as represented by Kātyāyanīputra's Jñānaprasthāna belonging to the Sarvāstivādins. But the compilation of the Upadeśa on the Sūtras and of the Vibhāṣā on the Vinaya may be a fiction altogether. Again, there is no evidence that any other schools than the Sarvāstivādins took part at all in this Council of Compilation.

The whole affair was therefore Hīnayānist, and had nothing to do with the Mahāyāna system. All arguments about the Council and its works will be valueless until the Mahāvibhāṣā—an encyclopædia of Buddhist philosophy¹—is translated into one of the European languages.

Mr. Watters represents (p. 278) Aśvaghoṣa, the vice-president of the Council according to one account, as writing his composition of the Vibhāṣā on stone. But unfortunately he is never represented so in the Life of Vasubandhu, which is Mr. Watters's authority, as can be seen from my translation (*T'ong-pao*, July, 1904). Perhaps the mistake arose

¹ Compare Watters, p. 278.

in confusing the edict forbidding the Vibhāṣā being taken out of the country (which was published on stone) with the Vibhāṣā itself.

The name of one of the Indian alphabets, Kharoṣṭha (Kharoṣṭhī), he says (p. 153), is translated in Chinese by 'Ass-ear.' This is evidently a slip of the pen, for the Chinese translation is 'Ass-lip' correctly.

A Chinese annotator, he says (p. 328), has suggested that 'stūpa' here is a mistake for 'place.' This is quite a misunderstanding on the part of Mr. Watters. The annotator simply says that the particle 也 (which follows the word) 'stūpa,' ought to be corrected to 地, 'place.'

As to the 'Three ways of transmigration' (p. 371), he introduces a curious explanation, i.e. the "ways of pain, of perplexity, and of moral action." This, however, refers to the three gatis, the worst half of the six gatis, namely, the hells (naraka), brute creation (tiryagyoni), and departed (hungry) spirits (preta).

The name of Vasubandhu's mother, 'Bilindi,' and that of his younger brother, 'Bilindi-bhava,' given by Mr. Watters (p. 210), ought to be respectively 'Viriñci' and 'Viriñci-vatsa,' as I have represented them in my translation of the Life of Vasubandhu (*Tong-pao*, l.c.).

The 'Vidyāmātrasiddhi' (唯識論), a well-known work of Vasubandhu, and a textbook of the Yogācārya system (p. 370), ought to be restored to the 'Vijñāna-mātra-siddhi.' The origin of this mistake, which is not Mr. Watters's at all, arose from the Tibeto-Chinese Catalogue compiled in the Council of Kubilai Khan (1280-1294) in China, which transcribes the first part of the name with Ch. 尾底牙, 'wei-ti-ya' (vidyā), which M. Julien and Dr. Nanjio followed.

Kuei-chi (died 682), however, a disciple of Yuan-Chwang, says in his commentary on the text that the name is 毗若底摩咀刺多悉提, 'Pi-zo-ti-ma-ta-la-ta hsi-ti,' which will be something like 'Vijñāti-mātra-tā-siddhi.' A Tibetan work, too, by Ratnasambhava seems to have something like 'Vijñāvati-mātra-tā-siddhi.'

These clearly show that this original had some word derived from 'vijñā,' but not 'vidyā,' and this is fully borne out by the evidence that can be adduced from other sources, such as 'Vijñānāsti-tva-mātra-vādinah' (Śaṅkarācārya's bhāṣya on the Vedānta sūtras); 'Vijñānamātrām atroktaṁ yogācāryena dhīmatā' (Sarvasiddhānta saṁgraha); 'Vijñānamātrika' (Laṅkāvatāra); and 'Vijñānavādinah' of other texts. Thus we are perfectly justified in using 'Vijñānamātra' for the hitherto accepted 'Vidyāmātra.'

The use of Sanskrit and Pāli forms side by side was intentional, as the author himself would have us understand (p. vi); but a want of uniformity in spelling is unfortunately noticeable throughout the book, such as Fang-chih, Fang-chieh; t'u-shih, t'eu-shih; sammatiya, sammitiya; Trayastrimśa, Tayastimśa; uttpalavarṇī, utpalavarṇā; Śrāvasti, Sravasti; Asaṅga, Asanga; saṁhitā, sanhitā; etc. We meet some of these frequently.

The regrettable point of the work is that it contains a comparatively great number of mistakes in Chinese characters. To those who read Chinese, and intend to study Mr. Watters's arguments, these mistakes are rather misleading.

This is, let it be remarked in conclusion, an important and indispensable work by one of the ablest of scholars, and attractive to students of Indian history and geography, as well as to those of Chinese Buddhism. It will form a valuable and permanent memorial of its much lamented author.

J. TAKAKUSU.

RECENT ARABIC PUBLICATIONS IN THE EAST.

THE ILIAD OF HOMER, translated into Arabic verse, with Introduction, Notes, Glossary, and Indices. By SULAIMAN AL-BISTANI. (Cairo: Hilal Press, 1904.)

This work was received with enthusiasm by the Cairene Press, and for the first time probably in the literary history of the East a banquet was given in honour of the talented

author. Shepherd's Hotel was decorated and illuminated, and a company of a hundred, including the most eminent Egyptian writers, both Christian and Mohammedan, sat down to celebrate the publication of the work to which Sulaiman Bistani had devoted the best years of his life. The *Mukṭataf* for last July contains a full report of the speeches delivered there by Ṣarrūf, the Sayyid Rashīd, and others, as well as the author's reply.

This enthusiasm seems to have been well merited. There is no doubt that the Arabic language is undergoing a renaissance, and there is every likelihood of its again becoming a great literary vehicle. This renaissance will be greatly aided by the reproduction in it of the great European classics, which still retain their place as the basis of the higher education and as models of taste and style. And, unlike those old translators from the Greek *viā* Syriac, whose methods are justly characterized by Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī in the dialogue published in the January number, Mr. Bistani has done his best to reproduce a work of art artistically. If Homer has had to wait till 1904 to appear in an Arabic dress, he has at least found a translator who has done his utmost to render him worthily.

That there was no earlier translation of the Iliad into Arabic seems certain, though Homer's name is not unfrequently mentioned by Moslem authors. The reasons for this lie partly in the great difficulty of rendering a Greek epic into a language which had not even the beginnings of epic poetry; but doubtless far more in the hostile attitude which Islam assumed towards everything that savoured of idolatry or polytheism. Only Christian scholars could have even attempted the task in the time of the Caliphate; and they would have exposed themselves to the suspicion of hankering after or even harbouring the old idolatry.

In one of the introductory chapters the translator gives a history of his undertaking. As early as 1887 he began rendering portions at random from an English translation compared with one in French. These specimens were exhibited by him to various friends, who expressed their

approval and encouraged him to continue. He started afresh at the beginning of the Iliad, but was bewildered by the differences which he observed between the translations which he had been employing, and so determined to learn the language of the original before continuing. He was fortunate in obtaining the help of one of the Jesuit missionaries, who put him in the way of acquiring the necessary familiarity with the Greek tongue. He was then compelled to travel for some years in Persia and India, during which time he had to put the Iliad aside, except for occasional hours which he could devote to it "on mountain tops, on the deck of a steamer, or in a railway carriage." In Constantinople, where he resided for many years, he had the advantage of the society of some learned Greeks, who were devoted to Homer, and willing to give their opinion on difficult passages.

When he had finished his translation he felt that the work would be unintelligible to the Arabic reader without a commentary, and he started compiling one on a new plan. This was to illustrate the Homeric ideas from Arabian antiquity, which does indeed furnish appropriate parallels to many of them. For this purpose he read through some two hundred Arabic poets, besides a great quantity of non-Arabic literature. Although then the translation had been finished by 1895 this additional labour took him till 1902. The work finally, which occupies over 1,200 large octavo pages, with the verses fully vocalized, had to be printed at the author's expense.

The Preface further gives an account of the internal difficulties which the author had to face, and how he surmounted them. One of these was the transliteration or representation of proper names; the author has tried to render their appearance in Arabic dress tolerable, but many of them cannot fail to look barbarous.

A much more serious difficulty was that of metre, for, though rich in metres, the Arabic language possesses no epic metre—unless indeed the *rejez* couplet bear some analogy to the metre employed by the classical languages

for didactic poetry ; but it would not be sufficiently dignified for a version of the Iliad. The translator's solution of this problem has been to divide the books of the Iliad into paragraphs, which he has versified in ten different metres, according to the nature of the subject. He has endeavoured to make some observations on the motives which induce the Arabic poets to select one or other metre for a particular poem, and based his procedure on them.

At times he has substituted for the simple metre of the original a highly elaborate form of stanza. In this he has the countenance of some English translators who have rendered parts of Homer in the Spenserian stanza, the *terza rima*, and ballad metres.

A few specimens of the translation may be quoted, and first one of simple narrative, for which the Tawil metre has been employed (Iliad, i, 187) :

فاحزن آخيل وقد ضاق صدره ونازعه في صدره عاملا فكر
اعن جنبه يستل ماضى غضبه وياخذ في تشتيتهم عائل الصبر
ويصرع اتريدا على الفور ام يرى سبيلا لكظم الغيظ في اهون الامر
واذ كان في ما ينتوى مترددا نضا سيفه من غمده وهو لا يدري
راى واذا من جنة الخلد اهبطت اثينا وجرت به باشارة الشقر

The simplicity and solemnity of the rhythm seems to correspond with that of the original better than would have been deemed possible considering the difference of the metrical systems. Had it not been for the rhyme, which could scarcely have been preserved through a whole book, the author would probably have adopted this measure for the whole work. Here are the renderings of two famous passages, in which rather complicated and elaborate metres have been employed.

Iliad, ix, 502 : *καὶ γάρ τε λιταί εἰσι Διὸς κούροι μεγάλοι.*

ان زفسا بناته الصلوات الـ تعدو ورفقه تتحري
هن عرج جعد الوجوه وحسر يتعقبن زلة حين تعرو

انما زلة لها سبق مذكا نت خطاها اشد وقعا واجرى
 تنهب الارض حيث تلقى الوبالا يتتبعنها ويشفين حالا
 فالذى عند ما يوافينه يبدى احتراماً فعنه يدفعن ضراً
 انما الويل للذى صد صدّاً فلزفس يعدن يطلبن رفدا
 يتطلبن زلة منه تهمل فوق ذاك العاتى وبالا امراً

‘Prayers’ (λαῖται) are rendered by *ṣalawāt* and ‘Ate’ by *zallah*, literally ‘a slip of the foot.’ Perhaps it is difficult to suggest anything better ; but Ate seems too vigorous a person to be adequately represented by ‘a slip.’

Iliad, vi, 459 : *καί ποτέ τις εἴπησι*, from the scene between Hector and Andromache :

والذى يلقاك بى هنزاً يصيح
 تلکم زوجة هكطور الشديد خير ما فى القوم من قرم عنيد
 کم له قرع بدرع الحديد
 تل صدر الجيش تلا وهنا سبيت زوجته وهو تليل
 فتصيحين وتصلين السعير تستجيرين و لكن من يجير
 ان يكن هكطور فى الترب قرير
 فلک الرق وانواع العذاب يا لحد الارض واريني التراب
 قبل ان يدهمنى هذا المصاب

The excellence of the versification is apparent. In the matter of language the translator has followed the example of the best classical poets, whose diction is choice, but not obscure. He has indeed provided the book with a glossary of the harder terms, but the educated reader will not often have occasion to use it.

On the other hand, the above specimens will show that the rendering is somewhat freer than from the translator's statements in his preface would have been expected. In some cases his alterations of the text appear quite

unintelligible. Thus at the beginning of the poem the Muse is asked which of the gods stirred up enmity between Agamemnon and Achilles, and replies "Phœbus." The translator makes the question "which god decided?" and the answer "Phœbus and Zeus."

The introduction—200 pages long—contains a quantity of interesting matter, and shows that the translator has made himself acquainted with a considerable portion of the literature on the Homeric question, which since the time of F. A. Wolf has rolled onward like a flood. It is natural that Mr. Bistani should sympathize with the ultra-conservatives on this question, even to the extent of quoting "Herodotus's Life of Homer" as a serious authority, and declaring the Wolfian hypothesis quite exploded. Some valuable chapters are occupied with the drawing of parallels between the Arabian *Jāhiliyyah*, or pre-Islamic period, and Greek heroic antiquity; some others with the history of Arabic poetry, and an endeavour to define the characteristics of the different periods and their chief representatives. The work is illustrated with a fair number of engravings, being reproductions of ancient monuments.

It may be hoped that this work will have a large circulation in Arabic-speaking countries, and the perusal of it may be heartily recommended to those here who are proceeding to the study of Arabic after pursuing a course of classical philology. The translator's command of the "perspicuous Arabic language" is so thorough that the learner could have no better guide; and acquaintance with the Arabic Iliad would facilitate the understanding of that Arabic poetry which many accomplished scholars find difficult and unattractive. The European scholar will by no means be deterred by the price, £1, which for so splendid a volume seems exceedingly moderate; but will it not be somewhat prohibitive in the East? Perhaps, however, the translator will see his way to producing a more modest edition which will bring the Iliad within the reach of the youth of the East. It will then be seen whether the educational value of old Homer's verse, which is still so

highly appreciated in Europe, will be found to hold good in Egypt, Syria, and the less advanced countries where Arabic is spoken and read.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

THE HUNTING-GROUND OF THE FORAGER AND THE FOUNTAIN OF THE THIRSTY (*Nuj'at al-rā'id wāshir'at al-wārid*). By the Sheikh IBRĀHĪM AL-YĀZAJĪ. Vol. I. (Cairo: Ma'ārif Press, 1904.)

This work is an Arabic Synonymik, or collection of phrases of similar import, but all of classical authority, arranged according to subjects. The first volume begins with the human form, proceeds to the senses, the moral qualities, the bodily and mental affections, and ends with social distinctions. It is intended for the use of Arabic stylists, and the author, the son and literary heir of the celebrated Nāṣif al-Yāzajī, is himself so highly esteemed as a writer of Arabic that it would be presumptuous to criticise his *præcepta styli Arabici*. He has, of course, some famous predecessors in this line: the classical works of Ibn al-Sikkīt (the 'Tahdhīb) and Tha'ālibī (Fikh al-lughah) are similar both in arrangement and contents to the one before us. The Sheikh's lists of synonyms are, however, more copious than those to be found in older works, and he elucidates all difficulties in brief notes. Philologists would doubtless like to be told something of the origin of the phrases, where they first occur, and how the Arabs come to have so many expressions for the same idea. All such considerations—which, indeed, would lead to lengthy dissertations—are excluded by the practical character of the book. We hope the remaining volumes may soon appear.

THE BOOK OF SOVEREIGNTY AND GOVERNMENT (*Kitāb al-imāmah wal-siyāsah*). By IBN KUTAIBAH (ob. 270 A.H.). Edited by MUḤAMMAD MAḤMŪD AL-RĀFI'Ī. Two volumes. (Cairo: Nile Press, 1904.)

For this work only moderate gratitude is due to the

editor, since it has long been known in Europe to be spurious (see Brockelmann, i, 122), and even a cursory perusal shows it to be a historical romance. The author's object is the glorification of 'Alī and his sons, for which purpose he invents the most improbable anecdotes, or misrepresents the best attested facts of history. He revels in letters and speeches, reports lengthy debates, and produces correspondence between all the persons who played important parts in the wars of succession that followed on the murder of Othman; one can only regret that it is all the product of the fancy, often resembling very closely the matter embodied in *Nahj al-balāghah*. Probably the most felicitous of the author's inventions is the romantic story of Mu'āwiyah and Yazīd, and their unsuccessful attempt to obtain for the latter Urainib, wife of 'Abd al-Salām, and the most beautiful, accomplished, and wealthy woman of the time. 'Abdallah Ibn Salām is induced to divorce his wife in the idea that he will get the Caliph's daughter; but the messenger who is sent by Mu'āwiyah to demand her hand for Yazīd discovers that Ḥusain, son of 'Alī, is also a suitor, and advises Urainib to give Ḥusain the preference. 'Abdallah, son of Salām, loses his whole fortune except a treasure-chest which he had deposited with his former wife, and begs Ḥusain to induce his wife to restore it. Ḥusain assents, but stipulates that 'Abdallah must ask for it in person; and this leads to a romantic meeting between 'Abdallah and Urainib, affected by which the magnanimous Ḥusain abandons his claim to Urainib, who is reunited to her former husband. Probably the author's fancy is more brilliant than that of the pseudo-Wākidi; but there is always a danger of such works being mistaken for real history, and the editor ought not to have published the book without giving some warning concerning its character. The printing is excellent, and there appear to be very few errors.

DELIVERANCE AFTER STRESS (*Al-Faraj ba'd al-shiddah*), by
 ABU 'ALĪ AL-MUHASSIN AL-TANŪKHĪ (ob. 384 A.H.).
 Edited by MUHAMMAD AL-ZUHRĪ AL-GHAMRĀWĪ at the
 cost of Maḥmūd Efendi Riyād. Two volumes. (Cairo:
 Hilāl Press, 1903-4.)

Of this book it may with justice be said that an edition has long been a desideratum. It enjoyed so much popularity when it was first composed that a Rabbi thought proper to produce a similar book for the benefit of his compatriots; and it is familiar to all Arabic scholars from the allusion to it in Harīrī's *Maḳāmas*. Much of the matter which it contains is highly entertaining, and might be popular in an English translation.

As the name of the book implies, all the stories are cases of deliverance from some danger or misfortune that seemed hopeless, and in most of these cases either the Koran or the Prophet plays a part. A fair number must be regarded as either historical or at least founded on fact. Such is the tale of a bedridden woman, who, after years of paralysis, begged that she might be either cured or killed. The Prophet appeared to her in a dream, took her hand, and helped her to rise; presently she woke, and found herself able to walk without assistance. The author, who gives this story from two sources, also declares that he was personally acquainted with the woman, whose name and Baghdad address he communicates, and about whose history he gives other minute details. One anecdote that is worthy of Flammarion's *Inconnu* is of a citizen of Baghdad who had squandered his fortune, and in distress took to fervent prayer. In a dream he was told to go to Egypt, where he would prosper. He goes thither, but can find no employment, and is about to take to begging when he is arrested by a policeman as a vagrant. To this policeman he tells his story. "Fool you must be!" replied the policeman: "I had a similar dream myself, telling me I should find 30,000 dinars buried under a tree in the garden of a house in Baghdad; but I was not so mad as

to go off to Baghdad to look for them." The house mentioned by the policeman is, however, the house of the man to whom he is talking, who returns to his home, digs up the treasure, and lives happily ever after. In some other cases the Prophet appears to two persons simultaneously in dreams; and it is fortunate that, according to a well-authenticated tradition, it is not in Satan's power to personate the Prophet in a vision of the night.

For those who care to investigate the origin of the Arabian Nights, this book will provide some materials. The well-known adventure of Sindbad, in which he is landed in a country where husband is buried with wife and wife with husband, is told by Tanūkhī, i, 144, 5. The scene is laid in Rukhan (Arrakan?); the hero is a Byzantine patricius, who has fallen into captivity in the Rukhan country; and the authority for the story is Najīd, scribe of Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mahdī, who was told by Ibrāhīm, who was told by Mukhallad of Tabaristan, chief scribe of al-Mahdī (Caliph 775–785 A.D.), who got it from Kūbāth Ibn Razīn al-Lakhmī, who heard it from the hero. The story was told to the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (685–705 A.D.) by Kūbāth, immediately after his release from captivity. If these statements are accurate, some good clues are furnished for tracing this element in the Sindbad legend.

Like most books published in the East, this edition has no index and no information about the MSS. which have been followed. In parts the number of misprints is rather serious. An Arabic scholar might make worse use of his time than in providing an edition of Tanūkhī suited to the requirements of European scholars and English readers.

CONCORDANCE TO THE KORAN (*Miftāḥ kunūz al-Kur'ān*).

The copy which has been sent the present writer is without title-page, but from the dialect of the preface appears to have been printed at Kazan. The name of the author is Kāzīm Bey. It is certainly a great improvement on previous concordances. That of Flügel gives references without

citation of passages; and an Indian concordance that is in preparation appears to follow the same principle, and to be no improvement on Flügel—unless perhaps it corrects the few errors and omissions which can be found in his work. The present work gives the texts in full, and is arranged in the strictest alphabetical order; only the European will not find it quite easy to use, since the Surahs are cited by name instead of by number, and the verses are not cited by number, but (apparently) by page. A really useful concordance could be made by a combination of Flügel with the Miftāh.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

CANTONESE LOVE - SONGS. Translated with Introduction and Notes by CECIL CLEMENTI, M.A., late Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford; Member of the Land Court for the New Territory, Hongkong. Two volumes. Vol. I contains the Chinese text with a glossary; Vol. II the translation into English, with an introduction and full explanatory notes. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1904.)

The accomplished translator of these Cantonese songs, 粵謳, in a scholarly introduction, gives a full account of their scope and authorship. The author of the songs, which were published probably in 1828 A.D., was Chîû Tsz-yung, 招子庸, a prefect of Tsheng-chau, 青州. His aim is stated in his preface, which is short enough to be quoted in full:—

“Since scholars, who tread the path of virtue, take eager pleasure in hearing of the faithful devotion described by the love-songs of Canton, my hope is that this little volume may serve to rescue all such as are sunk in this world among the spells of the ocean of desire. Written in the ‘Azure Sky’ book-shop in the ninth month of the sixth year of Tô Kwong” (1828 A.D.).

The ‘sixth’ should surely be the ‘eighth’ year according to the cyclical date employed, but the translator is occasionally careless in his dates. He is sometimes not quite

exact, too, in his natural history; as, for instance, in the second preface, "when the cicadas chirped at the door," where crickets, 蟋蟀, are really alluded to; and in his chance identification of the *Dryandra cordata*, a beautiful Chinese tree with wide-spreading leaves, with the more familiar elm. It seems ungracious, however, to insist on this, as the translator disclaims literary accuracy in his own preface, where he says:—"My purpose will have been served if I succeed in directing attention to a side of the Chinese character which tends often to be overlooked. No one can hope to appreciate the extreme sentimentality of the Cantonese, unless he has delighted in scenes such as those which the preface of 'Shek the Taoist' describes so beautifully; but, the more fully this sentimentality is understood, the more clearly will it be seen to tinge the temperament even of the coldest business-man or the most uncouth coolie."

There are no less than twelve original prefaces to the book, the last of which gives an outline of the peculiar notation of Chinese guitar music. This is cleverly elaborated by the translator in the introduction with the assistance of a picture of the four-stringed *phê-phâ*, the usual instrument with which the songs are sung. The songs are written in verse, which rhymes, but is unfettered by metre, having lines long or short at hazard, with certain restrictions; and they are evidently intended for singing rather than for reading or reciting. Mr. Clementi has no mean opinion of the high value of the poetry. After comparing the themes not unfavourably in some points to *The Pilgrim's Progress* and to Ruskin, to Ovid and to Virgil, he comes to the interesting conclusion that—

"The Cantonese Love-songs resemble Hebraic rather than Hellenic love-poetry. In the Song of Solomon, amid great divergence of treatment, there is apparent the same desire to find ever new expression for humanity in a non-human world. The lover is to his lady as a bundle of myrrh, a cluster of camphire, an apple-tree, a roe or a young hart; his loved one is as a rose of Sharon, a lily of the valleys, a dove, a garden enclosed, a fountain

of gardens, a company of horses in Pharaoh's chariots. One metaphor comes especially close to Chinese thought: 'How fair!' cries the lover, 'how pleasant art thou, O love, for delights! This thy stature is like to a palm-tree. . . . I said, I will go up to the palm-tree, I will take hold of the boughs thereof!' Again and again, in the Cantonese songs, a girl is spoken of as a tree whose branches men lay hold upon and snap. But even here there is a wide difference. The Hebrew poet rarely ventures beyond a comparison of man and nature. 'Who is this that cometh out of the wilderness *like* pillars of smoke.' 'Be thou *like to* a roe or to a young hart upon the mountain of spices.' '*As* the lily among thorns, *so* is my love among the daughters.' 'Who is she that looketh forth *as* the morning, fair *as* the moon, clear *as* the sun, and terrible as an army with banners?' But this does not satisfy the Chinese poet, who proclaims, not comparison, but identity of essence in man and nature. The maiden is not compared to, she actually is, the royal flower in the Cinnamon Garden: she is the willow-tree, the peach-blossom, the perfume, the vapour, the jewel, the phoenix, the toy of rouge and powder. Similarly her lover is the peacock, the bee, the butterfly. The thought-expressions of united love are the swallows flying side by side, the brace of teal, the web of silk. But it is striking that nowhere in these Cantonese songs do we hear of happy and united love. It is always the transience of the vapour, the fading of the flower, the mateless phoenix, the perfume rifled by bees, of which the Chinese maiden sings. We miss alike the buoyant joyousness of Greek love-lyrics and the voluptuous descriptions of Hebrew poetry. Doom darkens the thoughts of the Chinese lover. Sadness envelops her like a shroud with an unvarying melancholy, of which the explanation may partly be found in religion, but is, without doubt, chiefly dictated by the environment in which her love is set."

The poetic imagery of the above extract prepares one for the appreciative version of the songs which follows. The lines are translated with great exactness, even if the general tone of sentiment be somewhat idealized. The notes are copious and useful in their explanations of alien men and strange things, while the mixture of Sanskrit script with the Chinese ideograms gives an additional air of erudition to the whole. Too much learning sometimes, perhaps, may lead one astray, as when the translator charges

the Chinese author with a mistake in speaking (p. 131) of 'three souls,' a common Taoist conception, because he knows of no such subdivision of the personality in statistical Buddhism; adding that the author has probably confused the Buddhist *trikāya*, or threefold embodiment, with the *trividyā*, or three conceptions, viz., of impermanence, misery, and the unreality of existence. This is a higher plane of thought than could well be expected of the girl who is singing.

The first volume, with the text and glossary, was printed in Hongkong, and it displays blotchy pages and inferior paper when compared with the second volume, which, like all the productions of the Clarendon Press, is a model of technical finish in every respect. The former volume shows signs, too, of imperfect revision, as we see in one column of the glossary (p. 147) the 'Peal' (for Pearl) River beside the sea of 'biturners' (bitterness). Both volumes are attractively bound in oak-coloured boards boldly and effectively pencilled in black, on the front cover, with a picturesque Chinese title.

S. W. B.

TSZE TĒEN PIÀO MŪH, 字典標目. (A Guide to the Dictionary.) An Essay exhibiting the 214 Radicals of the Chinese written Language, arranged according to the Mnemonic System of Mr. William Stokes. To which are added remarks on the History, Geography, and Arithmetic of the Chinese. Composed and privately printed by THOMAS JENNER. (Rochester, 1904.)

The inception of this somewhat strange-looking lithographed volume, stamped with the Chinese seal of the author, is charged in the preface to a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society on July 6th, 1868, when, "after listening to my oral address on the Mnemonic acquisition of the Chinese written Language, followed by the criticisms of the members then present; Lord Strangford, the President, concluded his remarks from the chair by expressing the

hope that the subject which had been so brought before the Society, would some day appear in the form of an essay." The long delay is stated to be owing to copyright difficulties, now generously removed by Mr. Stokes, "Teacher of Memory," a letter from whom is pasted in. The author "begs to submit his pages to the candid scrutiny of the teachers, and, at their direction, esoterically to the service of the learners; indulging the hope that amongst the former will be found some to give them as cordial a reception as did the late Professor Legge, D.D., of Oxford; and amongst the latter, some to acknowledge their assistance, after the manner of the late Rev. James Gilmour of Mongolia."

One more quotation to introduce the system to those to whom, like myself, it is new: "I pleasantly recall an illustration of the application of Mnemonics to foreign languages. In A.D. 1862 the late Canon McClatchie furnished me with my first three Chinese words: 來就我, *Lae-tsew-ngo*, 'Come unto me.' On showing them to a young friend, I received this rejoinder: 'I shall remember that: the Saviour says "Come unto me," and Satan *lets you go* (*Lae-tsew-ngo*).'"

In the subsequent pages of the book there are worse *calembours* than this, and many better, but it must be confessed that the punning process does not appeal to one either as an intellectual exercise or as a *memoria technica*. It does not seem, moreover, to be peculiarly appropriate to Chinese, although the weight of authority cited above involves a certain diffidence. Sinologists who are impelled to investigate it further will find it most industriously and ingeniously worked out in the well got up volume which has been presented to the library by the author, and maybe assimilate the host of historical and geographical data which is here placed at his disposal.

S. W. B.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(January, February, March, 1905.)

GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

February 14th, 1905.—Sir Charles Lyall, Vice-President, in the Chair.

It was announced that

Mr. Henry Proctor,
Mr. Arthur Hetherington,
Mr. Muhammad Yunus,
Mr. Yusuf Mulla,
Mr. James Thirtle,
Mr. Gauhar Ali

had been elected members of the Society.

The Chairman referred to the great loss suffered by science through the death of Dr. E. W. West, the second Gold Medallist of the Society, and moved that the sympathy of the Society should be conveyed to Mrs. West.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Professor E. G. Browne read a paper on “Nāsir-i-Khusraw, Poet, Traveller, and Propagandist.” A discussion followed, in which Mr. Beveridge, Syed Amīr Ali, and the Chairman took part.

March 14th, 1905.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

It was announced that

Mr. F. G. Petersen,
Mr. V. Chattopadyaya,

Mr. F. Hardyman Parker,
Mr. Jain Vaidya,
Mr. G. F. A. Stevens,
Dr. D. Anderson-Berry

had been elected members of the Society.

LORD REAY said: I am sure the members of the Society will hear with great regret that our Secretary, who has served the Society so well for eighteen years, has tendered his resignation. Professor Rhys Davids has for many years been the mainspring of all the varied interests of the Society, and to him is largely due the reputation the Society enjoys among Orientalists throughout the world, more especially through the Journal, which he has edited with so much care. During his Secretaryship the financial position of the Society has continually improved, and we have been able to carry out, therefore, various schemes for the advancement of research. I am sure it is the wish of you all that some permanent record should be made of the value we attach to the services rendered to the Society, through so many years, by its Secretary, and I beg to move that the cordial thanks of the Society be offered to Professor Rhys Davids for the ability and zeal he has devoted since 1887 to his duties as Secretary to the Society.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT announced that Miss Hughes, at present Assistant Secretary, had been appointed Secretary in succession to Professor Rhys Davids.

The Rev. J. Estlin Carpenter read a paper on "The Development of Mahāyāna Teaching and of Early Buddhism." A discussion followed, in which the Secretary, Professor Bendall, Mrs. Rhys Davids, Professor Takakusu, and Mr. F. W. Thomas took part.

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- Kunakasabhai (V.). The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years
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XIII.

SAKETA, SHA-CHI, OR PI-SO-KIA.

By MAJOR W. VOST, I.M.S.

THE exact position of Sāketa, a town somewhere to the north of the Ganges between Kanauj and Pāṭali-putra, now Patnā, for long has exercised the minds of the many who take an interest in the ancient civilization of India. It was a noted place from the days of Gautama Buddha down to about 400 A.D. Several places have been suggested, but no one is supported by very convincing proof, and when closely examined in the light of the discovery of the site of Kapilavastu more than one of the proposed identifications are manifestly wide of the mark.

I purpose to weigh the arguments for and against the various suggestions which have at times been brought forward, giving each as much support as I am able, and to state what I conceive to be fatal to their acceptance. I conclude by giving it as my opinion that Tusāran Bihār is the site of Sāketa, the capital of Sha-chi and Pi-so-kia.

From Kāsapura, probably Jhūsī, Yuan Chwang gives 170 or 180 *li*, 22·5 or 23·8 miles, to the 'north' to reach the 'kingdom' of Pi-so-kia. The southern border of this

country, in the bearing and at the distance noted by Yuan Chwang, comes very near to the present southern limit of the Province of Oudh, due north of Allahabad.

The distance and bearing from the Pi-so-kia border to the capital is not stated by Yuan Chwang, nor does he mention the name of the town, but from the Buddhist books we infer that it was called Sāketa. Gautama stayed for protracted periods at Śrāvastī city and at Sāketa only, namely, for nine years at Śrāvastī and for sixteen years at Sāketa; or for nineteen years at Śrāvastī and for six years at Sāketa.¹

From what is stated by the Chinese pilgrims and early Indian writers it would appear that there were two quite distinct cities of the name of Sāketa; one, the Sāketa of the Buddhist accounts; the other, the present town of Ayodhyā.

Kālidāsa refers to Sāketa in the *Raghuramśa*,² and Mallinātha (*circa* 1280 A.D.), in his commentary on this passage, identifies Sāketa with Ayodhyā, on the authority of the Yādavaḥ (a dictionary), and gives Kośalā and Nandinī as other names of Sāketa.

The Buddhist town Sāketa, like Ayodhyā, was situated in the country of Kośala.³ The *Rāmāyaṇa*,⁴ probably referring to an earlier date when Kośala was less extensive, locates the realm of Kośala along the Sarayū, now represented in part of its course by the Ghāgharā (Gogrā) River.

Yuan Chwang's measurement from Kāśapura to the border of Pi-so-kia takes us northwards along a road which apparently led from Allahabad, or Prayāga, in the direction of Ayodhyā on the south bank of the Sarayū, but it would be wrong to conclude hastily from this that Sāketa of the Buddhists must necessarily be the city of Ayodhyā, or one of its suburbs. I have not noticed an authority earlier than Mallinātha giving Ayodhyā the

¹ See Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 404, for references.

² Chap. v, śl. 31.

³ *Buddhist India*, p. 39.

⁴ Griffith's transl., book i, canto v.

additional name of Sāketa, and it is possible that the Yādavaḥ errs in making the two places identical.

For reasons with all of which it is difficult to agree Cunningham¹ attempted to prove that Ayodhyā, and the towns Sāketa of the Brāhmanical and Buddhist books, and the capital of the 'great country of Sha-chi' visited by Fa-hian, and the capital of Pi-so-kia, were one. But a little reflection belies this opinion, accepted by many without due consideration. We may, nevertheless, concur with Cunningham, though he does not exactly say so in as many words, that the *kingdoms* of Ayodhya, Pi-so-kia, and Sha-chi were almost identical in geographical position, and that they lay between the Ghāgharā and Ganges Rivers. The extent, however, of each one of these countries must necessarily have varied, if their names relate, as seems likely, to widely separate historical periods.

Fa-hian's description of the capital of Sha-chi is not so full as Yuan Chwang's of the capital of Pi-so-kia, but the perfect correspondence in their narratives of the origin, height, and exuberance of the tooth-brush tree of Buddha, and of the spot where it was planted to the left, or east, side of the road leaving the south gate of the capital, and the enmity of the Brāhmanas to it: all these points of agreement are of some moment, as indicating that the two towns are probably identical. And as Yuan Chwang tells us that Gautama Buddha lived six years in what was known to the pilgrim as the Pi-so-kia capital, and as this number of years exactly tallies with the Burmese² account of the duration of Gautama's stay at Sāketa, it is tempting to assume as very probable that the Pi-so-kia and Sha-chi capitals must be the same place as Sāketa of the Pālī writers. The inference that the Pi-so-kia capital, Sāketa of the Buddhists, and the Sha-chi capital are one becomes still stronger if in addition it can be shown that Fa-hian's and Yuan Chwang's bearings direct us to the same neighbourhood, and it can scarcely, with our present

¹ *Anc. Geog.*, p. 405.

² Bigandet: *Life of Gaudama*, p. 142, quoted *Anc. Geog.*, p. 404.

knowledge, be disputed, if a suitable Buddhist site can be found close by to answer to the pilgrims' description of the capital town. Could we also be certain of solving correctly the meaning of the names Sāketa, Sha-chi, and Pi-so-kia further evidence no doubt would be forthcoming, which might well make the identification of the site I propose absolutely sure, or the reverse.

There is not the least doubt the Buddhist city Sāketa was not Ayodhyā. Sāketa and Ayodhyā are mentioned separately in the Buddha's time, and the former appears to have been the more important.¹ No Buddhist remains have been found at Ayodhyā, but this is not conclusive, as they may have disappeared or lie concealed. There are other reasons that tell against their identity, which to my thinking are of equal importance.

Yuan Chwang lets us know that on going from the capital of Pi-so-kia 500 *li* or so north-east we reach the 'kingdom' or border of Śrāvastī; and in the preceding sentence in the *Si-yu-ki*, after noticing the Buddha's walk, and a hair and nail *stūpa*, remarks that sacred buildings here follow one another in succession; the woods and lakes reflecting their shadows are seen everywhere. From Beal's translation it appears that these topographical features existed in the immediate vicinity of the capital of Pi-so-kia, that is of Sāketa. I do not know if the Chinese text can be construed in the sense that woods, and lakes, and sacred buildings were also to be seen along the route from the capital to the Śrāvastī border, and perhaps beyond it on the way to Śrāvastī city, but if it can this interpretation would be supported by Csoma Körösi in his *Analysis of the Dulva*,² for he observes:—"Several religious persons, after having passed the three months of summer at Sáketána,³ go to Shrāvasti They went thither much tired on account of the *jāngal*, morasses, and great heat on their road, and were covered with dust."

¹ *Buddhist India*, p. 39.

² *Asiatick Researches*, 1836, vol. xx, p. 72.

³ Certainly Sāketa.

These particulars in the Chinese and Tibetan accounts are not consistent with the present topographical features of the country surrounding Ayodhyā, though they are with the road from Ayodhyā to Śrāvastī city, which stood on the Rāpatī River, probably just north of the first range of hills.¹ A straight line drawn from Śrāvastī city to Ayodhyā is found almost to cross the border of the Bahrāic and Goṇḍā Districts at Sāhet Māhet. There are traces of an ancient road, with very early Buddhist sites along it, which apparently led from Sāhet Māhet to Ayodhyā. Between these two places there are a few small lakes, whilst the country close up to the south side of Sāhet Māhet is notoriously marshy,² and might well be the morass of the Dulva record.

If Yuan Chwang's description be taken to apply merely to the environs of the Pi-so-kia capital, there are no lakes to be seen everywhere at Ayodhyā. And as Fa-hian calls the realm of Śrāvastī by the name of Kośala, which in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is a term applied, as has been noted, to the country adjoining the Ghāgharā River, it would appear that Yuan Chwang's 500 *li* north-east from the town Sāketa to the Śrāvastī border, perhaps to the border of Kośala, does not

¹ I suppose to the *north* of the range for these reasons. Setavya lay on the road from Śrāvastī to Kapilavastu (S.B.E., vol. x, p. 188; *Buddhist India*, p. 103). Therefore it might be supposed that Setavya lay to the south-east of Śrāvastī city, as Kapilavastu city lay in this direction from Śrāvastī (J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 98). But Setavya really stood to the *west* or north-west of Śrāvastī city (J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 513). To reconcile the seeming discrepancy in the Pāli and Chinese accounts of the bearing from Śrāvastī city to Setavya, I believe that the former city will be discovered within the hills, and that to avoid crossing the southernmost range when travelling to Kapilavastu it was found easier going, and perhaps in other ways more convenient, to follow the Rāpatī River westward from Śrāvastī as far as Setavya, and so reach level country. I should expect to find the ruins of Śrāvastī city at approximately lat. 28° 3' and long. 82°. The supposed site of Śrāvastī visited by Mr. Vincent Smith and myself (J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 527) I am now inclined to think may have been that of Setavya, the Too-wei of Fa-hian, which lay 60 *li*, or just short of 8 miles (J.R.A.S., 1903, pp. 98, 102), to the westward of Śrāvastī city. The distance between the cities of Kapilavastu and Śrāvastī was 740 *li* (800 — 60 *li*) or 97·8 miles. The site we visited is apparently too far to the north-west of the ruins of Kapilavastu to correspond to Śrāvastī city.

² J.R.A.S., 1900, p. 15.

take us to a point north of this river, but more probably to a spot south of Ayodhyā or Kośalā. Ayodhyā perhaps belonged to the kingdom of Kośala or Śrāvastī in Fa-hian's and Yuan Chwang's time. The western border of Kapilavastu territory lay 240 *li*,¹ 31·7 miles, from the ruins of Kapilavastu. If we reckon the 500 *li* north-east from Ayodhyā we find we are within the Kapilavastu border, which cannot be right. Even if we suppose that the 500 *li* are reckoned almost north from Ayodhyā it seems unlikely that Yuan Chwang's distance to the Śrāvastī kingdom is meant to be calculated to the boundary-line which separates Śrāvastī from Kapilavastu. Yuan Chwang's *yojana* is not of such a value that the 500 *li* north-east from Ayodhyā, as Sāketa, can be meant to indicate that the Śrāvastī border was represented by the southern edge of the Himālayas, and that the kingdom of Śrāvastī lay wholly within the hills, say between the upper reaches of the Rāpatī and the Great Gaṇḍaka Rivers. When we recollect that Fa-hian's kingdom of Kośala probably included Ayodhyā, we are enabled to suppose that this is not likely to be Yuan Chwang's meaning.

The probability is that Ayodhyā is not the site of the Buddhist town Sāketa, which must be sought for in some position to the west or south of Ayodhyā in a locality from which the distance of 500 *li* to the north-east will more reasonably apply. Lucknow has been proposed as likely by Fergusson,² Kursī by Mr. Vincent Smith,³ Pasakā by Dr. W. Hoey,⁴ and Sañcānkoṭ or Sujānkoṭ in *Monumental Antiquities*,⁵ N.W.P. and Oudh. Let us examine each of these suggestions.

Fergusson placed Sāketa at Lucknow under the mistaken impression that it was distant 170–180 *li* north of the town of Kāśapura. North, the bearing, and 170–180 *li*, the

¹ J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 98.

² *Archæology in India*, p. 110.

³ J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 524.

⁴ J.A.S.B., 1900, p. 75. Pasha is a misprint. There is another place named Pasakā, 14 miles from Jaunpur, on the road to Azamgaḍh.

⁵ p. 274.

distance, are to a point on the border of Pi-so-kia, but Yuan Chwang does not say that the capital was north of this point, or of Kāśapura. We know neither the distance nor the bearing to Sāketa from the Pi-so-kia boundary. Mr. Vincent Smith commits the same error when he places the Pi-so-kia capital at or near Kursī, and again when he asserts that the Pi-so-kia capital was distant 500 *li* from Śrāvastī city. The misreading by both writers of 'city' for 'kingdom' unnecessarily binds down the inquirer in the search for Sāketa more or less to a direct route connecting the cities of Śrāvastī and Kāśapura. Pasakā, in the south of the Gaṇḍa (Gonḍā) District, approximately 26° 56' N. and 81° 47' E., is a village at the junction of the Sarjū stream with the Ghāgharā River. It lies about twenty-five miles to the west and a little north of Ayodhyā. The present Rānī of Pasakā to my certain knowledge signed her name Pasāka in 1889, so that there is a plausible resemblance to Pi-so-kia of the form Pasāka, which is probably an earlier way of writing Pasakā. The same objections, however, can be urged against the identification of Pasakā with Pi-so-kia as in the case of Ayodhyā; there is also no sufficient reason to suppose that 'country' is a mistake for 'city'; and there is no proof that the village of Pasakā or Pasāka was a Buddhist site, or was known as Sāketa. As regards Sañcānkoṭ or Sujānkoṭ in the Unāo District, there is much to support its selection as the site of Sāketa, but the identification is assuredly a mistaken one. The name is somewhat like 'Sha-chi' or 'Sa-chi'; the fort is nearly half a mile square, which would agree fairly well with Yuan Chwang's about 16 *li*, or nearly 2½ miles, the circuit of the Pi-so-kia capital; the site is certainly very old, as Hindu coins of the most early types and Buddhist figures have been found there; it lay on a route from the Ganges to Śrāvastī city; the fort has a suburb to the north-west, and another to the south-east—the second might be supposed to be the *saṃghārāma* south-east of the Pi-so-kia capital and of the Sha-chi capital; remains of *stūpas* found might be those mentioned in the pilgrims' accounts; the topographical

features¹ along the road to Śrāvastī city *viā* Nīmkhār, Sītāpur, Lāharpur, across the Ghāgharā at Katari Ghāt, then through Śeopur, and the ruined site of Dugām, near Nānpārā, and thence to the Nepalese frontier near the terminus of the Bengal and North - Western Railway, certainly suit the description of the road from Sāketa to Śrāvastī, as given in the Dulva. Between Sañcānkoṭ and Sandilā, Sandilā and Thānā, Thānā and Misrikh, Lāharpur and Candī, and on either side of the Ghāgharā, the country is difficult for wheeled traffic, or is liable to submersion in the rains, while Dugām² is surrounded by three large jhils.³ Lastly, Sañcānkoṭ most likely lay in Sāketa territory as located by Garga, who tells us something of a Yona invasion of India, perhaps the same which is mentioned in Patāñjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, when Sāketa was besieged about 154 B.C. "Speaking of Sālisūka (whom we know to be the fourth in succession from Asoka the Great) Garga says, 'Then the viciously valiant Greeks, after reducing Sāketa (Oude), Panchāla country and Mathurā, will reach Kusumadvaja (Patna); Pushpapura (Patna) being taken, all provinces will undoubtedly be in disorder.'"⁴ The

¹ Route Book, 1900.

² J.A.S.B., 1895, p. 71.

³ Al Birūnī (Sachau: *India*, p. 201) gives the distance from Bārī in the Sītāpur District through Dugām, which he calls Dūgum, to what I think was Śrāvastī, 'the city of Bhut,' that is the city to which Bhūṭṭiya traders came from Tibet (Bod) and Nepāl. Śrāvastī appears slightly disguised as سرراست, *Sarrast* (Elliot: *History of India*, vol. i, p. 57, and note 2), an error, I suppose, for سروست, *Sarvast*, or Śrāvastī. He gives the distance from Bārī to Dūgum as 45 *farsakhs*, an error, I believe, for 45 Arabian miles, that is, 45 × 2148 English yards, or 54·92 English miles, which distance must be about right, but is perhaps a little, not more than a mile or two, in excess of the actual distance to Dugām. From Dūgum to Sarrast was 22 *farsakhs*,—again I read Arabian miles,—or 26·85 English miles. From the east side of the Dugām ruins to Nānpārā is about 4 miles; Nānpārā to Bākī by road is 17 miles (Route Book), leaving 5·85 English miles onwards to the city of Sarrast, which must have been situated nearly in the position chosen by Mr. Vincent Smith for Śrāvastī, if Al Birūnī's informants' figures are reliable, and my interpretation of the real distances is correct.

⁴ Dutt: *A History of Civilization in Ancient India*, vol. iii, p. 206. The Sanskrit passage, with an English translation, from Dr. Kern's *Bṛhat Samhitā*, will be found in Growse's *Mathurā* (1874 ed.), p. 73.

position of Mathurā needs no comment; Pañcāla, or rather Southern Pañcāla, lay around Kāmpilya and Kanauj; Sāketa must have been situated to the east of the Ganges, and perhaps extended to the south-east from Kanauj, along the road to Pāṭaliputra, in the direction of Prayāga, if the name had not even a wider significance and comprised the whole of Southern Oudh, but possibly at this time excluding Kośala or Ayodhya, as defined in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Sāketa is placed next to Prayāga, about 320 A.D., in connection with the Imperial Gupta family. It is said "The [kings] of the race of Gupta will possess Prayāga on the Ganges, Sāketam, and the Magadhar all these countries."¹

Notwithstanding all that has been advanced in support of the identification of Sañcānkoṭ with Sāketa it is impossible that Sañcānkoṭ can be the Sha-chi capital. The distance from Kanauj in a direct line almost due east to Sañcānkoṭ is about 25 miles. As Fa-hian crossed the Ganges from Kanauj and journeyed 3 *yojanas* to reach Ho-li, which was the site undoubtedly of the monuments to the east side of the place called Navadevakula by Yuan Chwang, and then proceeded another 10 *yojanas*² to arrive at the Sha-chi border, it is impossible that 13 *yojanas*, about 91½ miles, can be made to tally with 25 miles, of course more by road, even by the most roundabout way. Fa-hian, too, did not go east, but south and then south-east from Kanauj, that is, he followed the Ganges to reach the Sha-chi border, but he does not tell us how much more he had to travel to reach the capital. When the existing road from Navadevakula or Neval is followed through Bāgarmaū and Unāo, that is,

¹ Wilson (Hall): *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, vol. iv, p. 218; quoted in *Indian Antiquary*, 1902, p. 258, note 7.

² Legge has 3 *yojanas* instead of 10 *yojanas*; but I learned from Mr. Thomas Watters that 10 *yojanas* is the correct distance, and that 3 *yojanas* is a blunder. Even if we allow that 6 *yojanas* (3 + 3) is the distance to the city of Sāketa from Kanauj, and that Sāketa is represented by Sañcānkoṭ, the distance of 42·3 miles (6 *yojanas* × 7·05 miles) cannot be made to agree, as Sañcānkoṭ is 9·75 miles by road from Bāgarmaū, and exactly 30 miles from Kanauj *via* Sarāi Miran and Nānāmaū-ghāṭ (Route Book, Nos. 266, 418a, and 154a).

in the direction indicated by the pilgrim, for 10 *yojanas* or 70½ miles south-east from Neval, this distance and bearing take a traveller to a point 7½ miles to the east side of Bihār, or Pātan Bihār as it is usually called to distinguish it from Bihār, or Tusāran Bihār, which lies 26½ miles by road to the north-west of Allahabad.

In ancient times the two Bihārs probably lay on this the main road from Neval¹ proceeding to the south-east. Not unlikely the road continued through Pratiṣṭhāna, or Kāsapura, now Jhūsī, 3 miles to the east of Allahabad, towards Pāṭaliputra, and gave off a branch road, when nearing Vārāṇasī or Benares. The Yona army probably took this road to Pāṭaliputra in the second century B.C., conquering Sāketa on the way, and not improbably this was part of the road which Megasthenes tells us was marked at every 10 *stadia* from Takshśilā to the Magadhā capital. We know that the road passed through or close to Prayāga, as Megasthenes gives one of his measurements from the confluence of the Ganges and Jamunā, and we know that the town Sāketa lay on this route most likely, as Jivaka, the Buddhist physician, who was educated at Takshśilā, made a short halt at the city of Sāketa (Sāketu) to treat professionally a wealthy lady of the town when on his homeward journey from Takshśilā to Rājagṛha.²

If it is still discoverable we ought to find Sāketa somewhere on this road between Pātan Bihār and Jhūsī or to the north of the road between these two positions. After considering Jāisa, Aror, now Prātapgaḍh, Jagatpur, Dalamaū, Rāngī or Rānkī,³ and other places of lesser note, it seems to me that Tusāran Bihār has by far the most substantial claim to be considered the site of Sāketa, as well as the capital of Pi-so-kia and of the Sha-chi country.

The disposition of the remains at Tusāran Bihār is similar to Sañcānkoṭ, as there is a mound to the north-west and

¹ Neval, not Naval, is the correct spelling.

² Hardy: *Manual*, p. 247.

³ See *Mon. Antiq.* for these places.

another to the south-east of the extensive ruins of an ancient city between the two bearings.

The large central mound at Tusāran Bihār contains many brick buildings, and extends about half a mile in length from east to west and about 800 feet in breadth from north to south. Excavations were made at two places by Cunningham, who found at the north-west corner of the mound some large bricks with rounded faces like the bars of a Buddhist railing, which belonged to a temple, and again at a point on the south side of the city, where walls of houses of uncertain age were uncovered.¹

The detached mound a short way from the south-east corner of the central city mound is called Tusāran or Susāran, and Cunningham states that there is no doubt whatever that this was the site of an old Buddhist establishment, although no excavations appear to have been made by him to prove his statement.

About 1,700 feet to the north-west of the central mound, but separated from it by a lake, stands the town of Bihār on a mound 20 feet high in places. Here to the south side of the town, outside an old temple, two small *stūpas* once existed, which were known to the people as Buddha and Buddhī. One of the *stūpas* was seen by Cunningham in 1876 in the Fyzabad Museum. The temple contains a curious group of figures in dark red sandstone which perhaps dates from the Kuṣāna period.

The mounds at Tusāran Bihār stand on the northern edge of an old bed of the Ganges down which flood-waters find their way in the rains.² This bed begins near Nānāmaū Ghāt, 12½ miles below Kanauj, and runs on the whole way to Allahabad, at a distance which varies from 6 to 20 miles north of the present channel.³ I think it must have been between the new and old bed of the Ganges that the city of Prayāga stood as described by Yuan Chwang, for the

¹ A.S.R., vol. xi, p. 64, and pl. xix.

² A.S.R., vol. xi, p. 63.

³ A.S.R., vol. xi, p. 48.

pilgrim states that the capital of Prayāga was situated "between two branches of the river," and that these joined together to the east side of the city.¹ The Ganges had evidently deserted to some extent the channel at Tusāran Bihār when Sāketa was visited by Yuan Chwang. He mentions certain sacred buildings at the Pi-so-kia capital reflecting their shadows in the lakes seen everywhere, which I have no doubt were accumulations of water in the deep bends of the old river bed. The "pure lakes" at Navadevakula² were also most likely windings of the same deserted course of the Ganges, now known at Neval as the Kalyāṇi Nadi.

If Tusāran Bihār corresponds to Sāketa, the Tusāran mound may be the site of the large monastery (known in the Pāli books as the Pubhārāmo), which was built by the Lady Viśākhā for Gautama Buddha, and most probably that referred to by Fa-hian and Yuan Chwang as situated to the south side of the city. By the side of the monastery Yuan Chwang saw a *stūpa* 200 feet high. There were the usual small memorials.

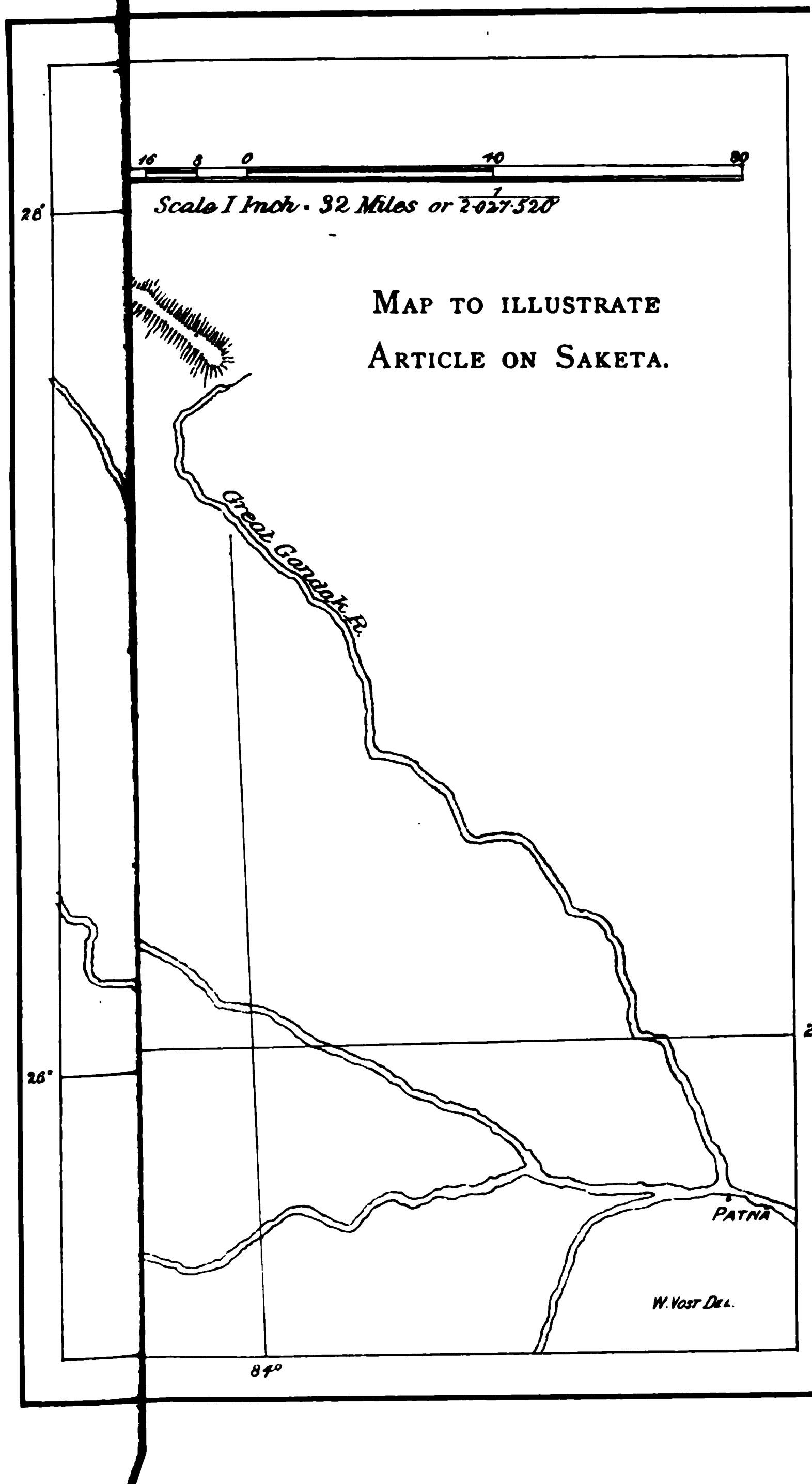
Yuan Chwang makes the circuit of the Pi-so-kia capital about 16 *li*, or nearly 11,168 English feet. The circuit of the large central mound, with the addition of the circuit of the Tusāran mound, is about 10,350 feet, and needless to say the total area is a good deal more if we include Bihār as well. I am not at all certain if Yuan Chwang included the last in the circuit of the capital.

In the Pi-so-kia country there were 20 *saṃghārāmas* and 50 Deva temples. The Purovārāma to the south-east of the city doubtless was the most important. It is possible that Jaina remains may be found, as Vriṣabha, the first Jaina *tīrthanikara*, was a son of Nābhi and Meru Devī, king and queen of Sāketanagara.³

¹ Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. i, p. 230, and *Life*, p. 90. I state, J.R.A.S., 1904, p. 249, that the Jamunā and Ganges were intended by "two branches of the river," but I now see that this was a mistake.

² Beal, vol. i, p. 224.

³ Wilson: *Mackenzie Collection*, p. 176.



XIV.

THE PAHLAVI TEXTS OF THE SROSH YASHT WITH
ITS INTRODUCTIONS, BEING YASNA LV-LVI
(IN S.B.E. xxxi LVI-LVII),

FOR THE FIRST TIME CRITICALLY TRANSLATED.¹

By PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS.

YASNA LV (LVI).

INTRODUCTION.

The lesser Srōš Yašt.

The Hearing of Ahura² is here invoked.

‘**H**ERE be’³ (or ‘here is’) this hearing (or ‘this listening to’) the sacrifice of Aūharmazd [that is to say, let him, Srōš (this listening personified), come on

¹ The texts from which these translations are made will probably be published in the *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Society, as edited with the collation of all the MSS. during the course of 1905. Translations into Sanskrit, Parsi-Persian, and Gujrati, upon texts without collation of MSS. and otherwise of an uncritical character, have alone preceded this. The texts of Yasna I, X-XVI, XIX-XXII, and XXXV-XLIII have appeared in the *Zeitschrift* D.M.G.; Y. IX, 1-48, appeared in J.R.A.S., and Y. IX, 49-103, in J.A.O.S. The entire Pahlavi text of the Yasna is practically ready for publication. These items are noted for an obvious reason. A mere literary translation of this subject-matter (which itself consists of translations and commentaries), with all the explanatory matter relegated to the notes, would not be critically effective, since it would fix attention upon these translations of translations as a continuous literary production. On the contrary, so far as possible, all explanations are kept in the body of the text to avoid this effect of mere literary reproduction.

It may be proper to add here that it now seems to be universally conceded that no further labour upon the Avesta of an exhaustive nature can be at all attempted until all the Pahlavi texts have been treated somewhat in the present manner. For this reason the writer presses on to afford his expositions as the basis for further labour. He therefore hopes to continue with this procedure till he has completed all the Pahlavi commentaries. He might mention that he has the MSS. of the Parsi-Persian translation of the Yasna (see the Munich Collection, Haug 12a, b) transcribed with notes and practically ready for press. The glosses are here enclosed within brackets [], my explanations within parenthetical curves (). Out of all the Pahl. Av. see Y. IX, reproduced before my ink was dry.

² The one supreme difficulty as to the exegesis of the Yasna meets us here at once. It is the ever present question as to which of possible senses we are to

[For continuation of note 2, also note 3, see next page.]

to this (our Sacrifice)], a sacrifice to the One wishful¹ for our benefit (*sic*) (hardly 'of the One supplicated¹ for our prosperity'), to the sacrifice of Aūharmazd, the Holy, who is desirous of our (prosperity) as at the first; [the meaning (is) (so I would here translate 'mēnešnīg')²;—the meaning is: 'as I have now stood at the first thus within this sacrificial (precinct, so here be the hearing of the sacrifice now)], and at the last [so meaning,² 'I would so complete its end']. A person here attending is therefore this' (meaning that every sincere attendant upon the sacrifice should assume the attitude herein above indicated).

apply to our leading terms. Is Sraoša the 'Hearing of Ahura,' 'His listening to the prayers of His Faithful,' or the 'Hearing of the disciple'? and if the latter, is this hearing of the disciple a mere acquisition from without (having no moral element), a fortunate Hearing of the revealed Word of God as expressed in the Liturgy, which brings a blessing in its train, but as it were mechanically? Or is it rather 'acquiescence,' an 'obedient hearing,' having a moral element? All three ideas are doubtless present at different passages. In Y. 28, 5, 'Obedient hearing' on the part of the disciple is evidently held in view, as inhering in the word Sraošem. If a hearing on the part of Ahura is there at all borne in mind, it is a hearing on his part acquired for the saint by his own previous obedient acquiescence. The term 'aguštā' in Y. XXXI cannot be critically explained as other than 'unheeded,' so possessing an adverse moral element, rather than merely 'unheard.' Here, however, Sraoša (Srōš) evidently means 'a hearing on the part of Ahura to the intoned sacrifice.' If 'the listening of the Congregation' is also borne in mind, it was an added, of course, though a closely correlated, idea. This Introduction was intended most certainly to arouse attention on the part of the Congregation, as well as upon the part of Ahura. A question, however, occurs just at the last as to whether Niyōkšešn may not after all be here meant to express a 'resounding of the Liturgy when celebrated'; cf. the meaning of Pahl. srūtan.

³ I do not hesitate alternatively to attribute the imperative sense of the original astū, and of Nēr.'s form, to aīt' here, just as we are obliged to follow the same course with regard to yehvūnih (see below). And with regard to pētākēnih, Y. IX, 94, etc.; see it obviously so explained in the gloss.

¹ Such forms as the New Persian giriftār in the sense of 'captured' might suggest a question here. In either case the translation is an error, the termination -īstahya being regarded as immediately a form of īš = 'to wish.'

² Inexperienced searchers would at once suggest 'mentally' as the first most natural meaning of 'mēnešnīg': 'as at first, mentally (that is to say, 'with my thoughts all fresh and intent'), as I have thus stood within this sacrificial (precinct), so also at the last [(so again 'mentally' and in this fresh frame of mind, as at first) I would perform it to the end.]' '(A person) here (attending) is (i.e. 'he should be') therefore this' (that is to say, 'this is a pattern for the state of mind of an attendant upon the Holy sacrifice').

A more probable secondary or alternative attempt would be to take the word 'mēnešnīg' as meaning 'figuratively': 'As at the first I have stood "figuratively" within this Sacrifice . . . , an expression conveying the idea that these sentences should be weighed by those who read or hear them upon some informal occasion, and not alone in the assembly of the Congregation.

[(As the text of LV (LIV), 1, in B. (D., Pt. 4) will be given apart (see Z.D.M.G.), a separate translation of that transliteration of it is here subjoined.)

Sraoša as the 'Ear of God.'

Be¹ this hearing, or 'listening,' here (effective) to Aūharmazd's Sacrifice [that is to say, let the Sacrifice be such as may take Aūharmazd's ear²], the ear of the prospering One (the beneficent One), of the Holy One who is desirous of our prosperity, as at the first, so at the last. [As, for this first,³ at the beginning of it, I have stood within it (the sacrificial precinct), so at the last⁴ I would here complete it to the end] (therefore here be the Hearing). 'In this manner' (meaning here 'merely') from its beginning to its end, I ask the Hearing.]

(2) Here be this (or 'here is this') hearing of Aūharmazd's Sacrifice, of that of the prospering One (the beneficent), the holy, who is desirous of our [prosperity].

The Good Waters and the Fravašis are recalled; a hearing is invoked for their Sacrifice.

(3) Here be (or 'here is') this hearing (or 'this listening to') the sacrifice of the good waters and to the sacrifice to the Fravašis⁵ of the Saint(s) who are supplicators for us (hardly 'the desired⁶ by us') for the benefit of (our) souls, as at the first so at the last.⁷ [As I enter upon (i.e. 'I stand' within) the sacrificial precincts (or meaning more probably simply 'as I enter (upon the ceremony)'),

¹ Ait', as throughout, is indicative for imperative.

² This proves that niyōkšešn here was, at this occurrence at least, a hearing on the part of Ahura; and not (in the sense of this text) 'attention on the part of the Congregation,' as opposed to this idea of the hearing of Ahura.

³ Notice that there is no mēnešnig = 'mentally' (?) in this text of B. (D., Pt. 4).

⁴ Nēr. has karomi.

⁵ Possibly the Abān and Fravardīn Yašts were recited in this connection; they are certainly recalled.

⁶ See note 1, p. 452.

⁷ Subsection 3 is only reported in B. (D., Pt. 4), in C., and in Nēr.

so at the last (I would complete its termination,¹ i.e. 'complete it to the end').]

(4) Here be (or 'here is') the hearing (or 'let the listening be here') for the benefit² of the good waters [as at the first of it so at the last, I would complete it to its termination], (the hearing) of the sacrifice of the Fravašis of the Saints, which are desirous for [the benefit] of our souls.

To the Waters and the Immortals ; a listening is invoked.

(5) Therefore here be (or 'here is') this hearing (or 'listening to') the sacrifice of the good waters, and a hearing which is (good, vanhuš) for the sake of him (i.e. of each one) of that one who is a good male³ and female (among those) who are the Amešaspentas, the well ruling and the beneficent who are favourable (good), and for the sacrifice toward the good venerating compensation (so ašōiš), who would effect a benefit for us, who are producer(s) of the complete compensation for us who are the saints. (The Ahunaver, etc., follows; [but the MS. B. (D., Pt. 4) proceeds]: And (here be a hearing for the sacrifice of which we are the celebrants of sacrifice; that is to say, to us may it be possible to complete it and with regard to the compensation⁴ (or 'with veneration'? receiving its reward), since we do complete it thoroughly and with holiness or ritual (and therefore with exactness), and we

¹ Nēr. adds the fuller interior abstract meaning as in section 1. He inserts manasā, 'mentally,' 'with interior attention and intention.'

² Was this nēvakih in a sense suggested by astū, which is of course otherwise fully rendered?

³ These terms 'male and female' are not properly gloss, for they refer to the genders of the words vōhunām- and vañuhyaoscā. 'The males' alludes to the non-feminine names of some of them, Aša, Vohumanah, and Kšaθra, while 'the females' alludes to feminine words, Āramaiti, Haurvatāt, and Ameretatāt.

⁴ One of the constant puzzles of exegesis here and in other similar places is to know in which sense to take such terms as tarsākasih = aši. Was 'reverential veneration,' which is the literal meaning of 'tarsākasih,' really meant, or was 'its consequence' in the 'reward' the thought held uppermost? We must not forget that Aši Vañguhi seems to be persistently used in the sense of 'reward,' or even of 'wealth,' in parts of the Avesta texts (see also the gloss here).

become therefore correctly deserving of the reward]; (6) so this be the hearing of the sacrifice to the good waters and done with a good compensation (or 'reverence').¹

YASNA LVI (LVII).

[(The kindling of the Fire here takes place. The beginning of the greater² Dēn of Srōš.)]³

Sraoša as 'the embodied Word,' and as 'Knight of the Dreadful Spear.'

I propitiate Srōš, the Holy, [the venerating (or 'the compensating') One], the stalwart One, who is the embodied Command (i.e. the embodied Word), [that is to say, he keeps his body under the command of the Yazats], to him of the dreadful weapon [that is to say, his weapon is a dreadful, or 'terrible' arm⁴ (the sword of the spirit); and I propitiate him as the (well-)commanding One over Arezahih and Savahih]; I propitiate him with the praise and propitiation and pronounced blessings of the sacrifice.

[(Insertions)—the Zōt (Zaotar) speaks: 'As (or 'how') is the Ahu's will and as is Aūharmazd's will, thou who art (?) the Zōt (i.e. 'as if a Zōt') declare to me.'

The Rasvīg, i.e. the Ratu, responds: 'As (or 'how') is the desire of Aūharmazd, thou who art the Zōt speak forth to me.'

The Zōt rejoins: 'So in accordance with the ritual, so in accordance with a Destoor's authority, which is in every way accordant with Aša for (or 'to') the Saints (i.e. 'for' or 'to' the Congregation here present), forth

¹ Subsections 7 and 8 are almost mere repetitions, as is the formula.

² So Y. LV was 'the lesser' Yašt of Srōš.

³ Further introductory passages here intervene.

⁴ Barōiθrō taēž'em . . . frašūsaite, in B. (D., Pt. 4) is a citation from the Pahlavi commentary upon Vendidad, xviii, 33.

I speak with knowledge' (that is to say, 'my recital, as now pronounced, is thoroughly correct in accordance with every rule of procedure').]

I.

THE YAŠT PROPER.

First Barsom-layer and first Chief Priest.

(1) I sacrifice to Srōš, the Holy, [the venerating (or 'the compensating) One'], the Stately and Victorious, the Promoter of the settlements, the Holy Chief of Aša (Ahura's earliest worshipper), (2) by whom first among the creatures of Aūharmazd, (3) Aūharmazd was worshipped with the spreading out of the barsom (with a Yašt¹).

He Worships the Immortals and with them Mithra.

(3) Also the Amešaspentas were (first) worshipped by him (with a Yašt²), (4) and [also Mithra], the Producer of Protection, the Creator of the prosperity of all the creatures, was first worshipped by him (with a Yašt³).

The Refrain for the Entire Piece.

(5) For his splendour and his glory [those of Srōš] (this gloss is merely added to fix the allusion), (6) with his might and victorious action, (7) even with a Yašt offering toward those I will worship him with a sacrifice which gains a hearing [(as offered) by the Dastōbar (the Priest)⁴] (8) him, Srōš the Holy with the Zaothra, and (with him) his companion Aharišvang (Aši Vanguhi, the

¹ Possibly referring to an original of the Hōrmuzd's Yašt. Or are these expressions 'with a Yašt' mere auxiliaries to the word rendered 'sacrificed'?

² Possibly referring to an original of the Haptan Yašt.

³ So, better than 'mat'.' This may be an allusion to Mihr Yašt, or to its original.

⁴ That is to say, as he now uses this Yašt.

good) and the lofty, and with Nēryōsang, the stately ; (9) and may he also come to us to help us, and in victory, he, Srōš the Good, the Holy.¹

(10) I sacrifice to Srōš the Holy, and to the lofty Chief who is Aūharmazd,

(11) to Him, Aūharmazd, who is the most exalted above (so ? ; hardly 'from') Aša, [that is to say, of the Yazats whose body is Aša^{1,2}], he is that great One (this should refer to Ahura, cf. Y. I), [and to Srōš], who is more (?) closely approaching³ than (lit. 'the most fully arrived from' (?)) Aša [that is to say, that business which it is necessary to do with wisdom (i.e. astutely) is done before (that is to say, beforehand, or 'first of all'), by him].

To the Holy Lore of which Sraoša is the Body.

(12) And I sacrifice to all the oral lore (to the utterances) of Zartušt, [to the Avesta and the Zand], and to all the practice of good works do I sacrifice, to that which has been done till now and to that also which is being done from now on forth [(the Yen'hyā hatām follows as already written⁴)].

¹ This refrain recurs at the end of every section ; 11 and 12 may belong to it.

² The terms are used in Y. I of Ahura, and they are taken from there to this refrain. They may, however, have been merely patched in here, as the mention of Aūharmazd is hardly original. The groupings are, of course, at times irrational, and they seem to be so here. Why should Aūharmazd be thus spoken of in this place ? One would hardly suppose 10 and 11 to belong to the refrain, but they are added throughout.

³ This can hardly apply to Ahura here, although Y. I, 5, seems to refer the expression there to Ahura.

⁴ This piece is cited at the ends throughout, and rubrics, etc., are often interspersed. They will not need to be reproduced in the translations.

II.

THE SECOND SECTION OF THE YAŠT.

*The Heaped-up Barsom.**To Sraoša as the Advancer and (again) as Priest.*

(1) I sacrifice to Srōš, the Holy, the Stately, the Victorious, the Promoter of the settlements, the Holy Chief of Aša, (2) who first spread forth the Barsom (for the Praise of the Immortals) (3) three-fold, and five-fold, and seven-fold, and nine-fold, (4) as high as the knee and the middle of the thigh [with separate layers (or selections, keeping the bundles apart), which when so it was arranged was just what it was when (fit)], for the sacrifice and praise, propitiation and glorification (i.e. ‘pronounced celebration’) of the August Immortals.

(5) For his splendour and his glory . . .

III.

THE THIRD SECTION OF THE YAŠT.

As First Chanter of the Gāθas.

(1) I sacrifice to Srōš, the Holy, the Stately, the Victorious, the Furtherer of the settlements, the holy Chief of Aša (as the ritual law), as first Chanter of the Gāθas,

(2) by whom first the Gāθas were chanted, which are the Five of Spitāma Zarathustra [the Holy], (3) together with the metric Gāθa¹ (text = afsmanivān; cf. Y. XLVI), with their (strophe) sections, with their explanations and interpretations, with their reiterated (or ‘counter’) questions² (i.e. conferences used elsewhere) [in Nīrang],³

¹ This seems quite plain.

² Referring especially to Y. XLIV.

³ Doubtless used later in ritual of every description; recall Yt. 22, Kām Zām, . . . etc.

(4) in the sacrifice of the Amešaspentas, and in their praise, propitiation, and continued celebration.

(5) For his splendour and glory . . . , etc.

IV.

THE FOURTH SECTION OF THE YAŠT.

As First Builder of Asylums for the Poor.

(1) I sacrifice to Srōš, the Holy, the Stately, the Victorious . . . , etc., (2) who constructed an abode for poor men and women¹ [among (those men and women²) as (or 'for') their invigoration,³ that is to say, for them (the poor) he established it (hardly 'for the Amešas')],⁴

As the Night-Guard against the Fury of the Raid.

(3) to Srōš, who, after sun-setting, smites Aēšma with levelled snaithiš (halbert) and with bloody wound, and who also so continuously on wounds his head with blows [that is to say, within⁵ also he destroys him], as the strong destroys the subjected (literally, 'the product of the subjectors').⁶

(4) For the splendour of his glory . . . , etc.

¹ 'Men and women' is not gloss, but points to the gender of the Avesta text words.

² C., the Parsi-Pers., corrects the false reading Amešaspendān, which is senseless; see also Nēr.

³ Amāvandī translates amavat.

⁴ The sequence of the false text would more naturally suggest 'within the abode of the Amešaspentas'; but 'constructed' needs 'the abode' as its object; see the original. Perhaps a second mān' might be understood: 'an abode within the abode of the Amešas.'

⁵ This certainly looks like the addition of an interior idea. Is hvaiṇhayēti (so) to be explained as hu + ah (aiṇh), 'to shoot well'?

⁶ The expressions are taken from Y. XXXIV, 8. There has been a tendency to apologise for recurrences of transliteration, that is to say, for imitations of the original in the Pahlavi; but the closer the reproductions are, the better for our immediate object, which is here exegesis. As readings we have a possible nīhādešn, 'the laying down,' which has some meaning in Pahlavi, and we might venture to suggest an irregular nīhādyān (see the original), both of the same cast of meaning. But the first thing to be thought of should be always a welcomed,

V.

THE FIFTH SECTION OF THE YAŠT.

To Sraoša as the Returning Conqueror.

(1) I sacrifice to Srōš, the Holy, the Stately, the Victorious . . . , etc. (as above), (2) who is the stalwart, the swift, the strong, the terrible, the clever, and the tall, (3) who from all business¹ (? hardly 'from all sagacious enterprises' = *χratik*; so, however, C.; the Parsi-Pers. = *χradī*), and from all the decidings of battle will return (4) on [(toward Thee,² O Aūharmazd)], on toward the assembly of the Immortals. (5) For his splendour and his glory . . .

VI.

THE SIXTH SECTION OF THE YAŠT.

As the Youthful Hero.

(1) I sacrifice to Srōš, the Holy, the Stately, the Victorious, (2) who is by far the strongest of the youths, the most stalwart of the youths, the most energetic of the youths, the swiftest of the youths, the most far-seeing, anticipative³ (hardly 'the most prepossessing') of the youths.

Appeal to the Worshippers for Zeal in the Holy Yašt.

(3) Be zealous (lit. 'searchingly desirous,' 'ardent'), ye who are Mazdayasnians, pious as to the praise of Srōš;

though only attempted, reproduction of the original, as a *nāidyān*. I still refer the original word to Indian *nād*, 'to take refuge,' 'to be in need of help': 'as the strong him who is of the depression-giving'; that is, 'him of the subjecting.' See Nēr.'s *ad'o d'riyate* (-yante). Spiegel's reading *nihān'* = 'concealed' is not so manageable.

¹ 'Aretīg,' not 'χratīg,' in view of *areza*. We are even tempted to read the 'z' for the 't,' coining an 'arezig'; Nēr. shows no sign of 'χrat.'

² So B. (D., Pt. 4).

³ A blunder, seeing (*parō* . . .)-dars- as the root present. Cf. Y. IX, 21, and S.B.E. xxxi, p. 301, where I explain the origin of the form as *kat-tarš-* . . . ; cf. Ind. *katpayām*.

*Immunities derived from Sraoša, the House and Land with
Sraoša's Blessing.*

(4) since far from that house, from that hamlet, from that Zañtu (district), from that Province, evil wasting and hindrance shall depart (5) where (=aēγ) within that house Srōš the Holy, the Victorious, has influence (literally 'is successful'); and where they will receive him, and also where the householder (literally 'the man') is advanced in good thoughts, good words, and deeds. (6) For his splendour and his glory . . .

VII.

THE SEVENTH SECTION OF THE YAŠT.

Sraoša as Conqueror of the Demon Drūj and of her Servants.

(1) I sacrifice to Srōš, the Holy, the Stately, and Victorious . . . , (2) who is the conqueror of Kayadhas (so) [men and women], who smites the Demons and the very powerful Drūj, the murderer of the world,

The Sleepless Sentinel.

(3) who as a chief (is a) watchman (more literally 'an overseer') over all things, continuously (so (?) for fravoiš) for the worlds, (4) who with sleepless vigilance and well-armed (literally 'with weaponed state') guards the creatures of Aūharmazd, who without sleep and weapon-armed will rule over the creatures of Aūharmazd, (5) who will protect all the bodily world with halbert poised [that is to say, with this upraised] after setting of the sun, (6) who did not sleep in comfort from of old, thereafter or before,¹ while the Spirits made the World [(to which is added the

¹ I can only make a false gloss of 'pēš,' and 'vad,' which with a preceding 'axar' must mean 'since,' or possibly 'before they had finished making the world.'

correcting gloss) even not once since the Spirits made the creatures], the August Spirit and the Evil One.¹

Against Mazend(a)ra and its Demons.

(7) (I sacrifice to Srōš), the Chieftain of the Settlements of Aša, (8) who all the day long and the night battles vehemently with the demons of Māzandaran;² (9) and he does not bend forward in (his) fear, [that is to say, he is not stupefied from fear] of the Demons, rather the Demons [are so stupefied, and by him].

Before Him they fly in Panic.

(10) Forth on from him [since he is not stupefied] all the Demons bend in terror against their will without volition (so meaning rather than 'in misery'; literally 'without content'); and in fright to darkness do they rush. (11) For his splendour and his glory . . .

VIII.

THE EIGHTH SECTION OF THE YAŠT.

Sraoša and the Haoma.

(1) I sacrifice to Srōš, the Holy, the Stately, the Victorious, (2) by whom Haoma was worshipped (so, erroneously, 'man'aš . . . ' must mean; and so Nēr. understood. It should be 'whom Haoma worshipped'), Hōm, the advancer, the healer, the beatified (so better than the 'good'?; see srirō and even çub'am), the kingly,³ the golden-eyed [that is to say, his eye is young (either in colour like the fresh flower, or early leaf, or perhaps meaning 'bright')],

(3) away upon the highest point of the high, upon

¹ Notice how strong the Doctrinal Dualism still maintains itself to this later date since the Gāthic period.

² Or 'the Māzanān (so) Demons.' Nēr. preserves the 'r,' 'mājandarān' (so).

³ See the original.

Albūr̥z, (4) the well-speaking one¹ [that is to say, he says what is straightforward], the one who utters guarding words² [that is, what he says, his guarding protection is from this (he gives forewarning)], which is (or 'who speaks') a word directly upon the occasion (i.e. opportune upon the time) [meaning (literally 'which is') that he utters the Gāθas, which it is indispensably necessary for him to recite],

(5) the ruler [with (political) intelligence³] over³ the all-adorned [which is given on; that is to say, 'jewelled treasure' freely given (or 'offered in the sacrifice')], who is generally informed [(literally 'full of knowledge' in regard to other duties or affairs)], and who is pre-eminent in the Mānthra⁴ (and having command over it). [Even thus intelligent is this Hōm (meaning that the foregoing expressions refer to Hōm rather than to Sraoša in this Srōš-Yašt).] (6) For his splendour and his glory . . .

IX.

THE NINTH SECTION OF THE YAŠT.

His Palace.

(1) I sacrifice to Srōš, the Holy, the Stately, and Victorious . . . , (2) whose house, victorious and of thousand columns, stands forth distinguished (or 'constructed') (3) on the highest of the high, on the Height of Albūr̥z, (4) which is of itself alight from the inner side, and star-encrusted on the side beyond [that is to say,

¹ This should be Haoma; see the Hōm Yašt.

² This should be Sraoša (?).

³ 'Mastim' can hardly be rendered by barā yehabūnt. It is elsewhere rendered by farzānakīh.

One might even suppose that the termination 'imnō' in 'paithimnō' suggested 'manō.' I notice that this was also Spiegel's keen suggestion; see his Comm. From it we might seem to have the pavan farzānakīh = 'with learning'; but see mastim.

⁴ So, if the original, where the cases change to the accus., is to guide us, 'ruling over' should be understood; otherwise, of course, '(Srōš), the Ruler [endowed with] learning which is all-adorned,' etc.

from this side and on that side,¹ on every side, it stands as if adorned with jewels];

His Weapons are the Ahuna, the Haptanghāiti, and the Fšušā.

(5) (To Srōš I sacrifice) by whom the Ahunaver was accepted as his snaithiš (i.e. as his halbert), the victorious (Ahuna); and the Yašt Haptanghāiti (the Yašt of the Seven Chapters), (6) and the Fšušā mānthra, the victorious, have been also accepted² by him, and also every Yasna sectional division. (7) For his splendour and his glory . . .

X.

THE TENTH SECTION OF THE YAŠT.

The Immortals receive his Aid.

(1) I sacrifice to Srōš, the Holy, the Stately, the Victorious . . . , (2) through whose might and victory, and amenity³ and sagacity [(these characteristics are those) of Srōš⁴], the Amešaspends come⁵ (or 'go'?) on to the Earth of Seven Karshvars (He leads them on as the listening Vanguard) for the Dēn-manifestations to the Dēn-devoted ones [Hushedar, Hushedar-māh, and Sōšyans]. (3) (With no hindrance to their will), using power as they wish, they⁶ go forth (or 'come forth') to the bodily worlds, whose Dēn Aūharmazd the Holy has diffused⁷ [that is to say, the Dēn has been made current by Him. (The meaning is), that the Dēn of Srōš is the maintenance of the Destoor⁸]. [(And Mihr (Mithra) also has diffused and made it current,

¹ Perhaps literally 'from side and side of it'; B. om. 'of it.'

² Have we -āūd (B. (D., Pt. 4)) = -ūnd as past participial term?

³ Haozāθvača.

⁴ Note to point the meaning as here referring to Srōš and not to the Amešas.

⁵ So sātūntan', again, is better rendered by 'come' than by 'go'; so of 'čar.'

⁶ Mistake or freedom of plural for singular; the original refers to Srōš.

⁷ Not impossibly correct, 'var' taking on a causative sense, in accordance with analogies.

⁸ A naive item, but hardly to be relieved by the reading: 'Sraoša has held forth the Dēn as Destoor.' Miθra is not in the original.

Mithra not belied)], (4) and Vah'man¹ and Ašavahišt and Khšatruver and Spendarmat and Haurvadat and Amerdat;¹ and the questions asked of Aūharmazd [are diffused by these] and Aūharmazd's lore [both the original diction² (literally 'the fore-tale² of it') and the tradition,² the 'after-tale.'² These all have been diffused by them].

(5) Forth then, that is to say, continuously on within the two worlds do Thou, O³ Sraoša, save us, the Holy, the Stately, within this world the bodily, and within that which is the spirits [and this also within the fifty-seven years⁴]. (6) Save us from the death (dealt by, lit. 'of') the wicked,⁵ from the fury of the faithless, from the wicked's [hostile] host, (7) who would bear aloft⁶ their⁶ banners, [(save us) in foreguard against Aēšma], and although those, the banner-bearers, Aēšma, the ill-judging⁷ one will maintain,⁸ and with them Vīdhat, Demon-made.

After Defence, then Favours.

(8) And so do thou, O Srōš, the Holy, the Stately, grant strong-swiftness to (our) trained-(horses) and health-continuance to our body, (9) and abundant guard against our assailants, and the on-smiting of our foes, (10) with sudden victory of opponents, the hateful, the oppressors. For his splendour and his glory . . .

¹ All are in the nominative in the original; see also Nēr.

² The 'indictment' and the 'defence' in the full legal sense could hardly have been meant.

³ Notice aē = aēγ apparently in the sense of the interjection; literally 'this Srōš' or 'thus Srōš' = '(O) Srōš.'

⁴ Note that it took 'fifty-seven' years to raise the dead, as it took 'fifty' years to beget the first living human beings, who were 'seven' pairs in number, from the two first Māšya and Māšyōi, the Iranian Adam and Eve. These numbers 'fifty' and 'seven' may well have suggested the later figures for the duration of the process of resurrection.

⁵ Not, of course, meaning immediately 'the death of the wicked' in any modern sense, though these ideas are themselves at once suggested. Hardly 'from wicked death.'

⁶ x̄rūrem is not translated; does the apparent -yā or -īh of the reading lailyā or lālih contain the remnant of an old translation?

⁷ 'Wise concerning evil' is too advanced an idea; 'stupid' is rather the thought.

⁸ Have we here a rendering for draomēbyō? If so, 'maintain' shows the error.

XI.

THE ELEVENTH SECTION OF THE YAŠT.

The Four-span Team of Srōš.

(1) I sacrifice to Srōš, the Holy, the Stately, the Victorious . . . , (2) whom four racers convey, white¹ and shining, splendid, imposing and sagacious, with shadow bodies (*sic*; their bodies cast no shadow),² bear (Srōš) on to the place³ (*sic*) of the spirits.

(3) Horny are their hoofs, but gold is wrought on them [that is to say, gold has been fitted on them. (They are) gold-over-shoed,⁴ gold-shod].

(4) Swifter than the horses [of the world, (than any natural horses are they)], swifter than the wind (or) the rains . . . , or than the clouds, swifter than the flying birds, or swifter than the well-bodied⁵ (*sic*? or 'well-stretched'⁵ (?)) arrow as it starts (or 'leaves' the string), those all verily he (Srōš) overtakes [from behind (? hardly 'from his devotion' = 'min baḫtarīh,' or 'in part')],⁶

(5) which (that is, 'the team,' or 'one horse as representing the four,' which) starts after one, and verily⁷ itself is not

¹ Why did Nēr. render aruša ātmā? Could the form of the original in the Pahlavi signs have suggested χūd, or Nēr.'s continuator?

² Seeing 'sayak' (*sic*) in 'asaya.'

³ Dividing the original manyava-asanhō (*sic*); Nēr. follows, as does C. (the Parsi-Pers.). The original is 'mainyava-sanhō' = 'Spirit' or 'Mind'-speech; they (the steeds) understood mentally the words of direction; see S.B.E. xxxi at the place.

⁴ Consider zarḫayā (B. (D., Pt. 4)) = gold-bodied (?), or zarāšūft = 'gold-scattered-over' (?), or zar-dakyā-saz(ī)t (?) = 'gold-adequately-prepared' (?), etc.

⁵ Probably meaning hū-tan', so irrationally in view of hu + ast = hvast-.

⁶ Or 'with his party'; notice Nēr.'s narānām.

⁷ 'Bāt'; I refer to Av. bāt, Indian bat, but it occurs to me to ask whether 'the East' may not have been meant by baḫtar. 'From the East they start.' Baḫt = 'fate' gives no sense.

The reading min bāt aḫaraš, 'truly from after him,' possibly means 'steadily from after him.' This is all awkward as to form; but so is the first reading of B. (D., Pt. 4), here baḫtarīh, as he has no 'min,' whereas the second aḫarih is needed in 5. 'Min baḫtarīh' here would have nothing to correspond to it in the original, and it would be gloss.

overtaken from behind, which avoids (so) the halberts, both of them (the halberts), as it bears on good Srōš, the Holy,

(Or, reading 'min baḫtarīh,' we might have here in (5) 'not even in part.' We, however, hardly have 'on account of its devotion,' or 'on account of his sacredness.' So I translate as above in other respects, in view of the original, which should always control, so far as possible, our first suggested renderings. Aside from the original, however, we might naturally construe: 'he who starts after him does not indeed¹ from after him catch up; from whom that snaiš (snaiθiš, or those) both of them, go off . . .')

(6) who takes up (his flight) with the Hindoos on the East, and who also does not² (*sic*) strike upon (meaning 'light upon') the West (so, mistaking 'ni' in 'niyne' for a na-² from this,² the mistake of 'not.' A correcting gloss is therefore added) [and who does even strike, i.e. light upon (it, the West); that is, he even comes to it].

(7) For his splendour and his glory, etc. . . .

XII.

THE TWELFTH SECTION OF THE YAŠT.

His Threefold Visit.

(1) I sacrifice to Srōš, the Holy, the Stately, the Victorious . . . , (2) who, tall in [stature (lit. 'in body')], high-girded [and stalwart as to action and the religious opinion], has settled among Aūharmazd's creatures, (3) who as much as three times in every day and every night drives on to this Kešvar (that is, to this Earth's Seventh) Hvanīraθa (*sic*), the shining, (4) with halbert held in hand, the keen cutting, the sharp, and the well laid-on, upon the demon's heads,

¹ See note 7 on previous page.

² The 'a priv.' was hardly seen in agēurvayēite (-yate). It was the 'ni' in niyne.

He lays about him.

(5) for the axeing Angra Mainyu, the evil [his (that is to say, Srōš's) 'cleaving' is (caused) from this (that is to say, 'this is one chief reason for his use of the snaithiš.' Something like this he must have meant by the very indefinite words)],—for the axeing down of Aēšma (the Raid Fury), him of the bloody spear, his (Sraoša's is the cleaving) from this cause. For the axeing the Māzenian Demons [so also his, from this (motive)] is the cleaving of all the Demons (that is to say, of their skulls). For his splendour and his glory . . .

XIII.

THE THIRTEENTH SECTION OF THE YAŠT.

As the embodied Manthra.

(1) I sacrifice to Srōš, the Holy, the Stately, and Victorious . . . , (2) who is both here and beyond [and in (many) another place¹] in all the earth and in all [time²]; yea, I sacrifice to Srōš, the Holy, the Stalwart, whose body is the Word,

(3) (To Srōš again) the doughty one of human³ sympathies (*sic*, for this error; or with the other texts 'who is the desired (?) of the related, or 'of every (?)' chief'), the strong of arm, the charioteer [that is to say, the (disciplined and) finished one], head-smiter of the Demons.

¹ Possibly not gloss.

² Error, of course; the translator's conjecture.

³ So if ham (m)art' arzūk' is tenable. This looks as if -var- (-varait-) of the Avesta had stood in the Pahl. character, and was read '-nar,' suggesting 'man,' while -raiti- suggested 'rat,' and '-vatō' pointed to 'van' in the sense of 'desire.' 'Var-' so read may also have contributed to this idea of 'desire,' even if it had been already read '-nar-' and rendered as 'nar,' 'mart.' This, of course, took place only in the case of successive expositors.

As Conqueror (again).

(4) Yea, to Srōš the Conqueror do I sacrifice, to him who is the Holy Conqueror, the Conqueror with full victory, and to his victoriousness which proceeds with its unbroken advance, to him and to it do I sacrifice ('with a procedure not interrupted' ?) (so possibly), (5) yea, I sacrifice to (that leading quality) of Srōš, the Holy, and to (that¹ of) the Yazat Aršti.

(6) And to all the houses by Srōš protected do I sacrifice, [which for the sake of² their advantage (so better than 'from their goodness') would afford Sraoša refuge],

(7) (even) where they would receive Srōš, the Holy, as a friend and favoured (that is to say, 'as one helped on in his endeavours'), and where also the person (i.e. the householder who welcomes him) is far advanced in religious thoughts and religious words and deeds.

(8) For his splendour and his glory . . .

¹ Aside from the original one naturally renders: 'I sacrifice to him who is Srōš and to him who is Arštāt, the Yazat.'

² Rāi looks more like 'for the sake of' here.

XV.

ON A DIRHAM OF KHUSRU SHAH OF 361 A.H., Etc.

By H. F. AMEDROZ.

AMONG the uncertain Arabic coins in the British Museum are two dirhams of the years 361 and 363 A.H., which are described by Professor Stanley Lane-Poole (J.R.A.S., 1876, p. 295) as bearing the name of the Caliph al-Muṭī'lillah and of the sovereign *خسرة شاه بن ماباكر* (?). The mint place on one of the coins is illegible; that on the coin of 361 A.H. was identified by Dr. O. Codrington as "Rūdhbār," and his collection contains a similar but more perfect specimen; there is also one at Paris, in the Cabinet des Médailles, struck at Rūdhbār; and one was published by Tornberg in the *Rev. Num. Belge*, 5th series, ii, 243. He read the mint Rūdhbār, and the name of Khusru Shāh's ancestor as *ماتاكن*, adding that there was a dinar of the same type and mint in the collection of Baron Chaudoir, and that Millies possessed a dirham which he surmised to belong to the Dailamite dynasty of Wahsūdān.

No Khusru Shāh seems to be recorded in Oriental history as reigning at this date, but his existence is disclosed in the life of a physician in the *Tārīkh al-Hukamā* of al-Qifti (ed. Lippert, Leipzig, 1903, p. 149). The physician, Jibrīl b. 'Ubaid Allah b. Bakhtīshū', having succeeded in curing of an illness the vizier at al-Rayy, the Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād, was, at his request, sent from Baghdād by 'Aḍud al-Daula at some date not earlier than 360 A.H. to attend on "Khusru Shāh Malik al-Dailam," who had applied to the Ṣāhib to procure him a competent physician. Jibrīl attended him with success and returned to Baghdād. Later, at the invitation of the Marwanid ruler Mumahhid al-Daula (reigned

386–401 A.H.), he removed to Mayyāfāriqīn, and died there in 396 A.H. In the interval he was again summoned to attend Khusru Shāh, but was dissuaded from going.

A life of Jibrīl is also given by Ibn abi Uṣaibi'a (ed. Müller, Cairo, 1882, i, 144), a contemporary of al-Qifti, dying twenty-two years after him, in 668 A.H. By his account Jibrīl did not go to Mayyāfāriqīn until after 392 A.H., for he says that after serving the Oqailid ruler of Mosul he returned to Baghdād, where he gained the favour of "al-'Amīd," who is presumably 'Amīd al-Juyūsh al-Ḥasan b. Ustādh Hurmuz, who was appointed governor of 'Irāq by Bahā al-Daula in 392 A.H. (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 121). From this it would appear that Khusru Shāh was living as late as some date between 392 and 396 A.H.

Ibn abi Uṣaibi'a terms Khusru Shāh "Malik al-Dailam" and ابن مبادر, this spelling being confirmed by two MSS. of the work in the British Museum (Add. 7,340, fol. 59a, l. 10, and Add. 25,376, fol. 42a, l. ult.). It does not accord, however, with the inscription on the coins, one alif being wanting, and I believe it to be incorrect; for one of the volumes of the valuable British Museum MS. of the "Turjumān al-'Ibar" of Ibn Khaldūn (Add. 23,272), where the marginal notes are autograph of the author, contains on fol. 254b an account of the Ziyārid dynasty of Jurjān, headed—

دولة وشمكير وبنيه من الجليل اخوة الديلم

and continues :

قد تقدم لنا ذكر مرداويج وانه كان من قواد الاطروش وبنيه وانه
من الجليل [من آل مانادر ملوكهم من اولهم وكانوا ينزلون مدينة
الروذبار منذ دولة الاسلام وخرزايينهم في قلعة الموت التي صارت
لدعاة الاسماعيلية والجليل] كانوا اخوة الديلم وكانت حالهم واحدة الخ

By reason of the well-timed omission of the scribe, the words within brackets are in the handwriting of Ibn Khaldūn.

the name مانادر being fully pointed. It seems reasonably clear that this is the name of the ancestor on the coins, for it will be observed that the tribe to which the Mānādhir family belonged is stated to have been kin to the Dailamites over whom Khusru Shāh ruled; that the family is said to have long been of princely rank; and that their residence was Rūdhbār. This place is called by Yāqūt, in the *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ii, 831, قصة بلاد ديلم, and his authority is a historian of Rūdhbār who was living at this period, Abu Sa'd Mansūr b. al-Ḥusain al-Ābi, vizier at al-Rayy under Majd al-Daula, died 421 A.H. (Brockelmann, *Gesch. Arab. Lit.*, i, 351).

Millies' attribution of the dirham of Khusru Shāh to the Dailamite dynasty of Wahsūdān may well be correct. This dynasty's rise is noticed in an extract published by Dorn (*Muh. Quellen*, iv, 474) from the MS. of an abridged history, the *Tārīkh al-Ṣālihi*, in the Asiatic Library at St. Petersburg (Cat. Rosen, No. 163, p. 99), where, after an account of the Dailamite revolt in 315 A.H., when Isfār b. Shīrwaih seized al-Rayy and defeated the troops sent against him by Muqtadir (see 'Arīb Tab. Cont., 137), it is stated that, according to some authorities, the first Dailamite sovereign was Wahsūdān b. al-Marzubān, whose capital was Shāhrāstān, and that he was followed by three sons in succession, Justān, 'Ali, and Khusru Fīrūz, the two latter being killed by Muḥammad b. Musāfir, who also ousted Khusru's son and successor, Mahdi.

A certain Nūḥ b. Wahsūdān was in possession of Samīrān in 379 A.H. (Yāq., iii, 148), where, it appears from a letter of the Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād, that Wahsūdān, during a reign of forty years, had seen his power decrease before that of the 'Kunkar' family. Samīrān was acquired from Nūḥ by Fakhr al-Daula, their respective fathers having quarrelled over the possession of Ṭarm, another Dailamite stronghold (Yāq., iii, 533), and it is possible that Khusru Shāh's independent position at Rūdhbār was due to the friendship of the Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād. But I am unable to connect him with the Wahsūdān family.

The name "Mumahhid al-Daula" suggests noting what seems to be an erroneous attribution of a coin in the British Museum to this ruler (see Cat. Or., iii, p. 25, No. 50). The date is illegible, but the reverse bears the name of 'Adud al-Daula; it must consequently have been struck before his death in 372 A.H. This date attracted the notice of M. van Berchem, now engaged on the inscriptions of Mayyāfāriqīn and its neighbourhood, as too early, having regard to the dates of Mumahhid al-Daula's reign given in the history of Mayyāfāriqīn by Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī (see J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 126). On the obverse of the coin the "Abū Mansūr" in the second line is clear, but above it "Mumahhid" should, more probably, be read "Mu'ayyid," for although the word is much effaced, the second letter has the semblance of a و. It would then belong to the coinage of the Buwayhid Mu'ayyid al-Daula, not otherwise represented in the collection, who reigned at Iṣfahān 368–373 A.H. He also was Abu Mansūr, and is known to have placed on his coinage the name of his brother 'Adud al-Daula. A coin of his so inscribed was published by S. Lane-Poole in the "Fasti Arabici," viii (Num. Chron., 1892, 3rd series, vol. xii, p. 170).¹

¹ Some of the coins of the Marwanid dynasty published by Tornberg (Num. Cuf. R. N. Holm., class xix) seem to admit of emendation. No. 8, struck at Baṣra in 397 A.H., is attributed to Mumahhid al-Daula Abu-l-Ḥasan, whereas he was Abu Mansūr. It may be that the name should be read مذهب الدولة, who was Abu-l-Ḥasan ('Ali b. Naṣr) and ruled *circa* 376–409 A.H. over the Batiḥa, the swampy district between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra, which latter place was an unlikely Marwanid mint. He had succeeded his uncle, the Ḥājib Muzaffar b. 'Ali, who had ousted the issue of 'Imrān b. Shāhīn, the outlaw who had asserted his independence against Mu'izz al-Daula, and it was at his court that al-Qādir had found a refuge against his predecessor, al-Ṭā'i. The second name on the coin, the Amīr Rukn al-Daula b. Dā'ūd (?), I cannot recognize. A coin very similar to the above is, I think, contained in the Paris Cabinet des Médailles, and two have been published by S. Lane-Poole in the "Fasti Arabici," vi and vii (Num. Chron., 1887, p. 337, and 1892, p. 165). The mint of the former, read Ṣinnabra (?), may well be Baṣra, as is that of the latter, which also bears a second name, the Amīr "Baṭār al-Daula Abu Kida," unexplained.

Again, No. 11, which is read أبو الذواد عبد المملع, would seem to belong to the first Oqailid ruler of Mosul, and to read أبو الذواد بن المسيب. He was still ruling in 381 A.H., the date of the accession of the Caliph al-Qādir,

If Mu'ayyid al-Daula's coin be of a proper standard, it contrasts favourably with the gold pieces of his father and predecessor Rukn al-Daula, which in 420 A.H. were in bad repute at Baghdād. Ibn al-Jauzi, relating in the "Muntazim" (Berlin, No. 9,436, fol. 178a) how in that year an inundation had stopped the mills from working, says that the price of grinding a *kara* measure of grain rose to three of Rukn al-Daula's dinars, and that these were the equivalent of one dinar, for they were half copper (المس) and eventually were composed entirely of this metal.

That base money was struck neither covertly nor under stress of necessity is shown by an incident which occurred at Damascus late in 530 A.H., recorded in the history of Abu Ya'li Ḥamza b. Asad al-Qalānisi (Bodl. Hunt., 125, fol. 141a). A certain al-Aṣma'i attended on the Dīwān, and asked leave to strike dinars to consist, as to one-half, one-fourth, and one-eighth respectively, of gold, and as to the rest, of copper (النحاس). The request was pressed until it was granted, and it was decided that the dinars should bear the names of the Caliph al-Rāshid billah, of the Saljuq Sultan Mas'ūd, and of the ruler of Damascus, Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Tāj al-Mulūk Būri b. Atābeg Ṭuḡtigīn. The issue must have been a limited one, for the short Caliphate of al-Rāshid was nearing its close. There is but a single coin bearing his name in the British Museum collection (Cat. Or., Suppt., vol. ix, p. 280, No. 86^r), struck at Baghdād by the Sultan Mas'ūd.

The above-mentioned vizier, al-Ābi, lived to see the deposition of Majd al-Daula and the seizure of his dominions by Maḥmūd b. Subuktigin in 420 A.H., but he

whose name appears thereon. No coin of this ruler seems to be elsewhere recorded.

And No. 12, struck at Naṣībīn, bears the name of the Caliph al-Muṭī'; it must therefore be prior to 363 A.H., and anterior to the Marwanid dynasty. The name *أبو تغلب سعيد بن فضل الله منصور* should perhaps be read *أبو تغلب* and the coin thus belong to the Hamdanid dynasty. A very similar coin of Abu Taghlib is described, B.M. Or. iii, No. 18; and the next, No. 19, was struck at Naṣībīn.

was not then in office. Ibn al-Athīr's narrative (ix, 261) is brief, and makes no mention of a vizier. But a fuller account is given in the MS. Munich Arab., 378c, fol. 79b—a historical fragment of uncertain authorship covering the years 402–436 A.H., and drawing largely on the contemporary history of Hilāl al-Ṣābi.¹ It is there stated that the mutinous conduct of the Dailamite troops, which led Majd al-Daula to appeal to Maḥmūd, was caused by the refusal of the vizier, Abu-l-'Alā b. Kulail, to meet their claims from the treasure left by Fakhr al-Daula, except to the extent of the proceeds of fines (مصادرات). Maḥmūd was offered the overlordship and control of the government. He was then at Nisābūr dealing with revolting Turkish soldiery. From Jurjān, where Minuchihr b. Qābūs b. Washmaghīr had

¹ The Munich MS. Arab. 378c was obligingly sent by Dr. Leidinger, head of the Munich MSS. Department, to the India Office Library for my use. Each year's narrative comprises political occurrences and a necrology. The author says under the year 434 A.H. (fol. 135b) that down to this date he had perused and made extracts from the history of Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin al-Ṣābi from the copy in the Waqf of the late Malik al-Ashraf (reigned, at Damascus, 626–635 A.H.), but that it failed him from this point, and down to the year 449 A.H., inasmuch as Ghars al-Ni'ma, his son, had recorded under 448 A.H. that his father's history extended to that date.

[The Waqf in question seems to be that described in a previous passage in the MS. (fol. 66b), where, after recording a death in 417 A.H., the author says that a son of the deceased possessed a shoe said to have belonged to the Prophet, which passed into the possession of the late sovereign al-Ashraf Mūsa b. Abu Bakr b. Ayyūb, who bought a house in Damascus, constituted it a Waqf, placed the shoe therein, and conveyed there a number of books, on which he settled an endowment.]

He says also in the notice of the Sharīf al-Raḍī (fol. 28a) that he had been told an anecdote relating to him by the vizier of the Caliph al-Musta'ṣim at Baghdād in 644 A.H. [The anecdote is told by Ibn Khallikān, in his life of al-Raḍī (De Sl. Eng., iii, 120), as derived from a certain compilation.] And in the notice of the Sharīf al-Murtadā (fol. 138a), after mentioning some strange tenets he held, and his reflections on the orthodoxy of the Ṣaḥāba, he proceeds:

ثم ذكر جدی من هذا الجنس فصلاً واجاب عنها وقال الخ

The 'grandfather' must be Ibn al-Jauzi, for Hāji Khalīfa says (iii, 287, No. 5484) that Ibn al-Jauzi had given mischievous extracts of this character from the Sharīf's writings. The Munich MS. is thus the work of the Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzi, and a part of his "Mirāt al-Zamān." It is, however, to be noticed that two quotations, at least, of the "Muntazim" of Ibn al-Jauzi which occur in the B.M. MS. of the Mirāt al-Zamān—Or. 4,619—are not to be found in the corresponding passages in the Munich MS., whilst the "Kitāb al-Mauḍū'āt" (Brockelmann, i, 503, No. 26) is mentioned therein on fol. 60b as the work, merely, of "the Shaikh Ibn al-Jauzi," and not of "my grandfather." The Munich MS. is far fuller than B.M. Or. 4,619; it must, therefore, be a later recension of the work.

avoided awaiting his arrival, but had left, with excuses, ample supplies for his use, he sent to Majd al-Daula friendly assurances provided his advice were acted on. Majd al-Daula promising this, he sent off a force to al-Rayy under Abu-l-Hasan 'Ali b. Khashāwand, and Majd al-Daula came out, as agreed, to his camp with a Dailamite escort. Hesitating to dismount, he was reassured, and afterwards arrested with his son, the escort dispersing. Soon arrived Maḥmūd in person; and a letter written from outside Qarmisain by Husām al-Daula Ibn Abi-l-Shawārib to the Hājib Abu-l-Muzaffar announced his arrival accompanied by his son Mas'ūd and with a force of 50,000 horse, 200 elephants, and 40,000 donkeys carrying munitions and treasure, and that his intention was to advance on Baghdād. He forthwith repressed the Dailamites severely, banished and ill-treated the people, and, after torturing Majd al-Daula to extort treasure from him, sent him with his son to a prison in Khurāsān under the escort of an Indian prince. And it was he, and not Maḥmūd, as stated by Ibn al-Athīr, who cited to the prisoner the game of chess as a warning against one sovereign trusting himself to another. The vizier Abu-l-'Alā, under pressure of a money demand which he could not satisfy, killed himself, and Maḥmūd, who that same day had stayed the proceedings and ordered him marks of honour, cursed the rash act as a reflection on his own conduct.

Then follows his letter to the Caliph (fols. 81*a*, 83*a*), of which Ibn al-Athīr gives one passage. Its purport, less rigorously condensed, is that he has found al-Rayy to be a mere stronghold of the Bāṭiniyya and other heretics, owing to the favour of Majd al-Daula and his predecessors, who had tolerated all their excesses, such as setting up an idol, and seeking to know their allotted fate by means of divining arrows (prohibited by Qur. V, 4). Majd al-Daula had come out to the camp, he said, unconditionally, على حكم الاستسلام. As to the Dailamites, Bāṭiniyya, and other heretics, their guilt was established by a legal decision which he had procured, and had acted on, to the effect that—

يجب عليهم القطع والقتل والنفي على مقدار خياناتهم ومراتب
حالاتهم

He then stated the domestic irregularities of Majd al-Daula, mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr, and his defence, which was as follows:—

ان الرسم الجارى بسلفه فى ارتباط الجرايركان مستمرًا على هذه
الجملة فاعترف ان امر الديلم لم يكن اشدّه وانهم ما كانوا فى دينهم
على بصيرة وان هذا مذهب المزدكية واهل التناسخ¹

And he concluded by saying that he had burnt fifty loads of philosophical, heretical, and astrological works, thus dispelling the clouds which obscured the true Faith.²

To return to the vizier al-Ābi. He was the author of a work which has come down to us—a collection of anecdotes entitled “*Nathr al-Durar fi-l-Muhādarāt*.”

Hāji Khalīfa, No. 13,581 (vol. v, 300), describes it as divided into four parts, and gives the headings of the five chapters of the first part. There is a MS. of the entire work in the Khedivial Library at Cairo (Cat. iv, 336), others of the first part and of a portion of the fourth part at Berlin (Ahlwardt, Nos. 8,329 and 8,331), and another

¹ See *Shahrastāni*, ed. Cureton, i, 192–3.

² Maḥmūd held firmly to his attitude as upholder of orthodoxy and of its Caliph (Yamīnī, Delhi ed., pp. 383–9). In 408 A.H. he imitated, exceeded rather, the Caliph's efforts to discourage heresy. See Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 216, and, more fully, Munich MS., fol. 35b:—

فيها استتاب (استتاب Ibn al-Athīr has) القادر بالله اهل البدع
والاهواء من المقالات الفاسدة ونهى عن المناظرة والجدال فى علم
الكلام وما يتعلق بالمذاهب الخارجة عن الاسلام واخذ خطوطهم
بذلك وانهم متى عادوا حلت دماؤهم . وبلغ محمود بن سبكتكين
ففعل فى بلاده مثل ذلك ونفا الشبهة والجهمية وغيرهم وامر بلعنهم
على المنابر وصار ذلك سنة فى الاسلام

For the “*Jahmiyya*” sect, see *Shahrastāni*, i, 60–1.

recently acquired by the British Museum, a thirteenth century Baghdād MS. (Or. 5,769), containing fragments of the third and fourth parts. Its publication being probably remote in view of the difficulty of deciphering much of the text, and of the added difficulty of publishing some of that when deciphered, I append a few anecdotes from the third part of the work which bear on Moslem coinage.

The first extract, A, relates the genesis of a dirham. "My father's residence," says the narrator, "was outside the city and adjoined a cucumber plot. I was then a big boy with comrades of my own age, and I asked my father for a dirham to buy some cucumber for them. He answered me thus: 'Are you aware of what a dirham was and is?—how hidden in the depth of some hill it is attacked with pickaxes and extracted, ground up, put into the pot, washed, mixed with quicksilver, then passed through the furnace, coming out as bullion, when it is inscribed on the one face with the Unity of Allah and on the other with the name of his Prophet; how it then becomes the property of the Caliph, who has it placed in the treasury in charge of the fair-haired crooked-capped guards (viz. alien mercenary soldiers), and eventually bestows it on some beauteous maiden (and you are uglier than a monkey), or, it may be, on some man of valour (and your valour is below that of a mouse—in the Arabic 'nightingale'). What claim have you to finger a dirham except it be in remuneration for services rendered?'"

The smallest tangible fraction of a dirham was the 'Habba,' or its equivalent, 'Sha'ira,' viz. a grain of barley, forty-eight of which constituted the weight of the silver coin. A coin containing two Habba was called Ṭassūj, that doubled a 'Qirāt,' and that again doubled a 'Dāniq,' six of these last making up the 'Dirham.' And they were comprehensively designated as 'Fals,' 'Fulūs.' (See Sauvaire on "Moslem Coinage, Weights and Measures," in the *Journal Asiatique*, 7th series, vols. 3, 4, and 5, and 8th series, vols. 14, 15, 18, and 19.) All these will now appear before us.

In extract B we have an instance of remuneration by commission at the rate, and strictly calculated, of $\frac{1}{1000}$ per cent. The poet Marwān b. abi Ḥafṣa was of a very niggardly disposition. He told an Arab woman that if the Caliph gave him 100,000 dirhams he would give her one dirham. He did get 70,000, and he gave the woman four dāniq. This story occurs also in the life of the poet in the "Kitāb al-Aghāni" (ix, p. 40, l. 11), and it is told by al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, who was contemporary with al-Ābi, in his "Kitāb al-Bukhalā" (B.M. Or. 3,139, fol. 19b). In the former version the poet had been the recipient of the woman's hospitality, so that the promised dirham was a remuneration rather than a guerdon, not merely on Costard's distinction of the terms, but on their strict interpretation; and in both versions the sum received by the poet is 60,000 only, in which case the four dāniq did indeed suffice to discharge the liability or promise. On Ābi's figure the woman was underpaid to the extent of one-thirtieth part of a dirham.

In extract C we have an instance of owelty of exchange, reckoned on an unexpected basis. A tradesman was asked to exchange one ḥabba-worth of bread for its equivalent in cheese. He did so, saying, "You are indebted to me in the sum of one Ṭassūj," viz., two ḥabba, one, presumably, for the surrendered bread and the other for the substituted cheese.

In extract D is recorded a loan transaction, but not one savouring of prohibited usury, rather the reverse. A money-changer borrowed of a neighbour two dirhams and one Qirāt. After some months' interval he repaid him with two dirhams and three Ḥabba, i.e. one Ḥabba short of the amount lent. On the lender protesting against such conduct from a rich towards a poor man, he replied: "I did not imagine your calculating powers to be so small. You lent me in Summer-time two dirhams plus four grains (Sha'ira), which were then dry, as befitted the season. I am repaying you three of them in Winter-time, when they are swollen by moisture, and I make no doubt that you are

a gainer by the transaction.” The borrower’s remark was humorous, turning on the literal sense of ‘Ḥabba,’ for he must have been tendering some small copper pieces, but it had a serious basis in fact. For Sauvaire (8th series, vol. 3, p. 411) quotes a learned authority for the statement that the number of Ḥabba going to make up the weight of a dirham varied according to the size of the grain, and by reason of difference of country, soil, or season, rainy or otherwise, and that there was often a discrepancy between the Summer and Winter weight owing to damp. Apart from etymology, the English term ‘groat’ might have occasioned a similar play of fancy.

Extract E is a case of defacing the Caliph’s coinage, which should have been illegal. Al-Kindi, on seeing a man splitting a dirham in two, said : “ Do not separate Allah and his Prophet ”—the names occurring on two consecutive lines of the inscription on the coinage. To interpret ‘splitting’ here in the sense in which it was used by Mr. Jingle when he deprecated splitting a guinea for the ball tickets, and suggested tossing a sovereign instead, although it would, appropriately enough, be discouraging the spending of a part even of the dirham, would also result in depriving al-Kindi’s remark of its point.

The two following extracts, F and G, are numismatic only as instances of lofty thoughts prompted by the sight or touch of a coin.

In extract F an Arab, finding a dirham in a Kūfa refuse heap, said : “ Rejoice, O dirham, and take wing. Times enough, for your sake, have men plunged into depths of water, crossed expanses of land, and undergone danger of fire.”¹

¹ In connection with the words فتر فرارک. Professor D. S. Margoliouth refers me to the passage in Hariri Maqāmāt iii (de Sacy, 2nd ed., i, 37)—

وشرّ ما فيه من الخلايق
ان ليس يغنى عنك في المضائق
الا اذا فتر فرار الآبق

and the gloss thereon (ib. ii, 83) by al-Rāzi, i.e. Shams al-Dīn Abu Bakr

In extract G a miser, when fingering a dirham, was wont to address it and commune with it as though with a long-expected guest, saying: "What journeyings you must have known! What pockets have helped to wear! How some you must have exalted and others brought low! With me you shall know neither nakedness nor heat" (an allusion to Qur. xx, 116, 117). Then, placing it in his purse, he said: "Your resting-place henceforth will be a settled and an abiding one."

The last extract, H, is in a lighter vein. It occurs in the next preceding chapter of part iii, that headed "Lunatics." One of these, asked why a dinar was more valuable than a dirham, and that, again, than a Fals, replied that the values depended on the number of letters the words contained, 'Fals' consisting of only three letters, whereas 'dirham' contained four, and 'dinar' five. The last, therefore, was the chief. His questioner would have produced an explanation doubtless more profound, but perhaps not much more satisfying.

A.

قال محمد بن المعافى : كان ابى سنجيا عن المدينة وكانت الى جنبه مزرعة فيها قثاء وكنت صبيا وقد ترعرعت مجانى صبيان من جيراننا اقران لى وكلمت ابى لييب لى درهمًا اشترى به لهم قثاء فقال لى : اتعرف حال الدرهم ؟ كان فى حجر فى جبل فضرب بالمعاول حتى استخرج ثم طحن ثم أدخل القدور وضبت عليه الماء وجمع بالزيتق ثم أدخل النار فسبك ثم أخرج وضرب فى احد شقيه " لا اله الا الله وحده " وفى الآخر " محمد رسول الله " ثم صير

Muhammad b. Abi Bakr (Hāji Khalīfa, No. 733); see ib. i, Introd., p. vii—

وقال الرازى : هو ماخوذ من قول الحسن البصرى : بدس الرفيقان الدرهم والدينار لا ينفعانك حتى يفارقانك.

الى امير المؤمنين فامر بادخاله بيت ماله ووتل به عوج القلانس
صهب السبال ثم وهبه لجارية حسناء جميلة (وانت والله اقبح من
قرد) او وهبه رجلاً شجاعاً (وانت والله اجبن من صفر) فهل ينبغي
ان تمس الدرهم الا بثوب (Fol. 68b.)

B.

وكان مروان (بن ابي حفصة) من ابخل الناس اجتاز مترّة بامرأة
من العرب فقال لها : على ان وهب لى امير المؤمنين مائة الف
درهم ان اهب لك درهماً . فاعطاه سبعين ألفاً فاعطاها اربعة دوانق
(Fol. 64b.)

C.

فرأيت واحداً فى الكوفة قد دنا من بقال فاعطاه مقدار حبة خبز
فقال : اعطنى بها جبناً . فقال له البقال : انصرف ويبقى عليك
طسوج (Fol. 62b.)

D.

استسلف بعض الصيارفة من بقال كان على بابہ درهمين وقيراطاً
فقضاه بعد اشهر منه درهمين وثلاث حباب فقال البقال : سبحان
الله الا تستحى انت رب مائة الف درهم وانا بقال لا املك مائة
فلس تنقصنى بعد هذه المدة الطويلة . فقال : ما توهمت فيك
ما ظهر لى من قلة معرفتك بالحساب اسلفتنى ابقاك الله فى
الصيف درهمين واربع شعيرات يابسة صيفيّة واعطيتك ثلاث
شعيرات شتويّة وهى تندا بالسنة وما اشك ان معك فضلاً فيها
(Fol. 64a.)

E.

نظر الكندي الى رجل يكسر درهماً صحيحاً فقال : لا تفرق بين
الله ورسوله (Fol. 59a.)

F.

اصاب اعرابي درهماً في كناسة الكوفة فقال : ابشرايها الدرهم
وفرّ فرار فطال ما خيض فيك الغمار وقطعت فيك الاسفار
وتعرض فيك بالنار (Fol. 65b.)

G.

وكان بعض البخلاء اذا صار الدرهم في يده يخاطبه وناجاه ونداه
واستبطاه وقال : بابي وامى انت كم من ارض قطعت ولبس
خرقت وكم من حامل رفعت ومن رفيع اخملت لك عندي
لا تغرى ولا تضحى . ثم يلفته في كيسه فيقول : آسكن على اسم الله
في مكان لا تنزل عنه ولا تزعج منه (Fol. 66a.)

H.

قيل لمجنون : لما صار الدينار خيراً من الدرهم والدرهم خيراً من
الفلس ؟ قال : لئن الفلس ثلثة احرف والدرهم اربعة احرف
والدينار خمسة احرف فهو سيدهم (Fol. 54b.)

XVI.

**THE NAGARAKRETAGAMA LIST OF COUNTRIES ON
THE INDO-CHINESE MAINLAND**

(*circa* 1380 A.D.).

By COLONEL G. E. GERINI, M.R.A.S.

“*NĀGARAKRETĀGAMA*” is the title of a Javanese poem composed by a native bard named Prapañca, in honour of his sovereign Hayam Wuruk (1350–1389), the greatest ruler of Mājapāhit. It has recently been edited with his customary scholarship by Dr. Brandes,¹ and its contents were shortly afterwards analyzed by Dr. Kern.² Its date, in so far as can be made out from internal evidence, must be put down to about 1380. At this period the Mājapāhit empire³ had reached the zenith of its power, and embraced, besides most of the archipelago, several, though little better than nominal, dependencies on the southern part of the Malay Peninsula. Furthermore, friendly and trading relations had been established with a number of States on the Indo-Chinese mainland. In the course of his pæan of praise for his great sovereign, the poet gives a long enumeration of all such countries. This is where the interest of the production chiefly lies, for though it be merely a question of a list of bare toponyms, yet the simple fact of some of them being mentioned at such a date gives rise to issues, as we shall see directly, of high importance for the elucidation of the historical geography, as well as of

¹ J. Brandes, “Nâgara Krêtâgama” (Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, deel liv, Batavia, 1902).

² “En Oud - Javaansch geschiedkundig gedicht uit het bloeitijdperk van Madjapahit,” in *Indische Gids*, March, 1903, pp. 341–360.

³ Mājapāhit was founded some time between 1278 and 1292, probably nearer the latter date.

several obscure points in the early history of the countries concerned.

I propose to deal here only with the toponyms relating to the Indo-Chinese mainland. Some of these are quite obvious, but some others are not so easily recognizable; while a few require a certain amount of investigation ere their identity can be satisfactorily established.

In so far as I am aware, none of the second and third class toponyms just alluded to have been identified, though I have noticed one or two attempts in that direction which, I regret to say, have proved abortive. Not having access either to Dr. Brandes' edition of the poem or to Dr. Kern's analytical summary, I can only deal with such place-names as I have met with in other publications referring to them;¹ hence it is somewhat doubtful whether the subjoined list is anything like a complete one. It is to the following effect:—

I. FRIENDLY STATES.	II. DEPENDENCIES
	(on Malay Peninsula).
1. Syangka.	10. Tringgano.
2. Ayodhyāpura.	11. Pahang.
3. Dharmanagara.	12. Kalanten.
4. Marutma.	13. Lengka-suka.
5. Rājapura.	14. Tumasik.
6. Singhanagara.	
7. Campā.	
8. Kamboja.	
9. Yavana.	

Nos. 7, 8, 10, 11, are perfectly obvious and need no comment.

Yavana (No. 9) refers to Annam and Tonkin, whose people have long been known to the Chāms, Khmērs, and Siānese, as *Yūon* or *Yūan*.² The same designation is applied to the

¹ Dr. Brandes' speech in the *compte rendu* of the "Premier Congrès International des Études d'Extrême Orient, Hanoi, 1902," Hanoi, 1903. Also, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, t. iv, pp. 344, 345, 475.

² This name makes its appearance in Chām inscriptions in A.D. 1159, but occurs nearly two centuries earlier on the Khmēr inscription of P'hūm Mien (province of Thbōng Khmum, eastern Kamboja), which, under a date corresponding to A.D. 987, mentions *Yvan* (Yūen or Yavan) settlers, trading, among other things, in slaves. It might, in this instance, be a question of Arabs or Moorish merchants

Western Lāu (principality of C'hieng Mǎi), who appear in their own chronicles as the *Yūan* or *Yona* (the Pāli form of *Yavana*), and their country as *Yona-raṭṭha* or *Yonaka-dēsa*;¹ but, of course, it cannot be a question of them here.

Dharma-nagara (No. 3) is *Śrī Dharma-rāja Nagara*, the *Nagor Śrī Dharmarāj* of Siāinese official documents, *vulgo Lakhōn*; and the *Ligor* of Malays. It appears under the name of *Śrī Dharmarāja* in the oldest extant Siāinese inscription, discovered at Sukhōthai and dating from about 1300 A.D., as a dependency of the kingdom which then had its capital there. I have besides found earlier mentions of the same city in the form *Śrī Dharmanagara* or *Śiri Dhammanagara*, in several old chronicles discovered by me in Northern Siām.² Hence the statement of Pallegoix, copied in many subsequent publications,³ to the effect that Ligor was founded by the kings of Ayudhyā "about 450 years ago"⁴ (in 1854, which yields 1400 *circa*), is utterly devoid of historic foundation.

(cf. *Mahāvamsa*, ch. 76, v. 268, date about 1180), though this is made somewhat doubtful from the fact that Annam, in A.D. 968, had regained independence, which event naturally led to a revival of trade with foreign countries. We are told, in fact, that not long afterwards, in 1140, she opened her ports to ships of all nations.

¹ This designation dates back from at least the thirteenth century, and applies then more particularly to the territory of C'hieng Sēn further to the north.

² "Cāmadevī-vamsa," by Bodhiramsi-Mahāthēra, composed about the end of the fifteenth century, ch. xii, under date corresponding to A.D. 924: "Tadā ēko Sujito nāma rājā *Siridhammanagarē* kāretvā," etc. The "Jinakāla Mālīnī," composed in Pāli at C'hieng Mǎi in 1516, by Ratanapaññañāṇa Thēra, alludes to the same circumstances. The older form of the city's name thus appears to be *Śrī Dharmanagara*.

³ Among which the too often unreliable Balfour's "Cyclopædia of India," 3rd ed., vol. ii, p. 711; Professor Keane's "Geography of the Malay Peninsula," etc., 2nd ed., London, 1892, p. 17; and so forth.

⁴ "Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam," Paris, 1854, t. i, pp. 26, 27. If I am led to go into such particulars in order to refute an obviously absurd statement, it is because error dies hard, as experience has taught me in my turn. I have, for instance, years ago pointed out, among other matters, that the term *Syām* (Siām) has existed as the name of a country and people for at least nineteen centuries, and that Chām inscriptions of the first half of the eleventh century testify to the presence in Indo-China of such a country and people at that date. Yet I have seen in recent publications by writers whom one would expect to know better, the absurd and worn-out statement repeated, that the term *Siam* was invented by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century!

Ayodhyāpura (No. 2). It would be unnecessary to waste words upon this toponym, obviously equivalent to *Ayudhya*, the capital of Siām from A.D. 1350 to 1767, but for the theory recently set up by M. Aymonier that Ayudhya was not founded until 1460 or so.¹ This mention of Ayudhya in the “Nāgarakretāgama” shortly after the middle of the fourteenth century, is by itself alone enough to disprove that theory. Refraining, therefore, from any further notice of it here,² I deem it useful to point out that the relations existing at the period between Siām and Java according to the author of the “Nāgarakretāgama,” are confirmed from Chinese sources. The annals of the Ming dynasty do state, in fact, that in 1397 China invited Siām to use her influence with 爪哇, *Chao-na* (Java, i.e. specifically Mājapāhit), to induce the latter to keep her vassal *San-fo-ch’i* (Śrī Bhoja = Palembang) quiet, as this State had become a real *enfant terrible*, and had carried its offences against China so far as to murder the imperial envoys.³

Rājapura (No. 5) is undoubtedly *Rāja-purī*, *vulgo* Rāj-burī, in south-eastern Siām, already mentioned in the Sukhōthai inscription of about 1300, referred to above, as then a dependency of that capital. At the period we are concerned with it was, of course, subject to Ayudhya, and probably still formed, as of old, a petty State ruled by vassal princes.

Singhanagara (No. 6) cannot be Singapore (see No. 14); nor, I should think, a town on the Campā coast appearing as *Simhapura* in the Sanskrit inscriptions of that country at the beginning of the thirteenth century. I am therefore inclined to identify it with *Simha-purī*, spelt at times *Siinga-purī* (for

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, 1903, pp. 228 et seqq.; and “Le Cambodge,” t. iii, Paris, 1904, pp. 659 and 724–733.

² I have, a few days since writing the above, confuted it in full, by simply availing myself of such documents as are in print, and therefore accessible to everyone (though ignored by M. Aymonier), at a meeting of the Siam Society, Bangkok, on the 1st March, 1905. (See *Bangkok Times* of March 2nd for a summary, and forthcoming number of the *Journal of the Siam Society* for a fuller account.)

³ Cf. Groeneveldt, in “Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China,” 2nd series, vol. i, London, 1887, pp. 194, 195.

Śṛṅga-purī),¹ known to us from a Siāmesse law of the period (the *Kaṭa Mandirapāla*) as being one of the provinces, or vassal principalities, given in appanage to sons of the Ayudhyā sovereigns. The site of old Simha-purī is still marked by ruins in about lat. 15° 3' N. and long. 100° 17' E., near the western bank of a branch of the river Mē-Nam now almost silted up.

Syangka (No. 1) is one of the most puzzling toponyms of the list under examination. After due consideration of the five or six names of important places on the Indo-Chinese peninsula at the period, that might lay claim to identification with it, I have come to the conclusion that the most eligible is *Sanḅhaburī* (*Sarga-purī*),² a sister town of the preceding one (No. 6), and like it given in appanage to princes of the Ayudhyā royal family. On or soon after 1403 the then reigning sovereign bestowed it, as the annals inform us, upon his second son Chāu Yī, who in about 1415–16 fell in single combat on elephants with his elder brother, the prince of Sup'han (*Surarṇa-purī*). The ruins of Sanḅhaburī are still extant at about fourteen miles further up-stream from her sister town of Simha-purī (No. 6).

Philip Baldæus mentions, about the middle of the seventeenth century, a seaport of *Sencaza*, on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula;³ but as his work is chiefly an 'armchair'

¹ So (*Singapurī*) in the *Kaṭa Mandirapāla*, and in the law on the status of provincial governors of *circa* 1454: see *Laws of Siām*, vol. ii, p. 93, and vol. i, p. 203 (Siāmesse ed.).

² It is met at times in old records with the spelling *Swanḅhaburī* (*Svarga-purī*), which is incorrect.

³ See Anderson's "English Intercourse with Siam," p. 41, according to which Baldæus says: "betwixt *Tanassery* [Tenasserim] and *Occeda* (Quedah), towards *Malacca*, are the harbours of *Tanangar*, *Sencaza*, and *Perach*, opposite to Achem." In order to clear Baldæus of blame, it would be necessary to demonstrate that *Perach* is a misprint, or *lapsus calami*, for *Perlis*, in which case *Sencaza* would have to be looked for between Perlis and Trang. There is a little stream named *Kacha* (Khlōng Kacha) debouching on that tract of coast through the Lawang estuary (70° 9' N. lat.). This may have of old borne the name *Sungei Kacha*, of which *Sunḅi-kacha*, *Sencaza*, would be possible contractions. In default, there is nothing left but the Kesang River below Malacca and immediately above the Muār, which appears in old European accounts as the *Gaza*, *Jyga*, *Kroisant*, and *Krisarant* (Dutch), *Caçāo* (Portuguese), etc. Nieuhoff was wrong in thinking it to be the Muār, and Dennys in not rectifying that blunder in his "Descriptive Dictionary of British Malaya," London, 1894, p. 208. But whichever of the two here proposed be the correct location of *Sencaza*, this evidently cannot be the *Syangka* of the *Nāgarakretāgama*.

compilation from the writings of his predecessors, where no such name occurs, the term in question is very probably a slip for either Langkāwī, Sungei Gaza (Kesang River), or the like. At all events, as he enumerates it between *Tanangar* (Trang) and *Perach* (Pērak), which latter he wrongly places before Kedah in coming from the north, it must on this account alone be discarded, for most of the southern part of the Malay Peninsula (Kedah included) was, as we shall see directly, claimed as a dependency by the Mājapāhit rulers.

The only place on the Malay Peninsula which might aspire to identification with **Syangka** is *Songkhlā* or *Sungkhlā* (Singora); but I cannot help excluding it on account of the too marked difference in spelling between the two names. *Swankhalōk* (Svarga-loka), *Swāṅkha-burī* (Svāṅga-purī), and *Nakhōn Swan* (Nagara Svarga, Svarga-nagara), in Central Siām, though bearing similar names, must be discarded as forming at the period part of the last nucleus of the Sukhōthai State then in course of absorption by the new power that had sprung up at Ayudhyā. Owing to the war that raged between the two rival States during the second half of the fourteenth century, the cities above referred to were, as a matter of course, cut off from direct communication with countries beyond the sea; hence all possibility of an intercourse with Java at the time being must be excluded, while for an earlier period it can with the greatest difficulty be admitted, since it was only through its expansion by the conquest of the neighbouring islands that Mājapāhit came into contact with the nations on the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and that event appears not to have taken place until A.D. 1377 or thereabouts.

Marutma (No. 4). The original is apparently corrupt here; for it should read either *Muttama* or *Martama* (Muh-t'môh) = Martaban; or *Mrt*, *Marit*, *Mrittika* = Mergui. The chances appear to be in favour of Martaban, though since 1354 a rebel province of the Pegu kingdom that had just had its first nucleus there; for when Martaban was finally reduced by the warlike Peguan king Siharāja in 1388,

its governor, Brah Tabah, fled by sea with his two brothers, the governors of Maulmain and Nagar P'hên, to the Malay Straits,¹ mayhap those very ones who acknowledged the suzerainty of Mājapāhit. It seems, therefore, that we should read *Martma* or *Martuma*, *Martama*, instead of *Marutma*.

In concluding these brief remarks on the States with which Mājapāhit had established friendly relations, we cannot help drawing attention to the significant fact that no less than five are mentioned in Siām, of which three (to wit: Syangka, Rājapura, and Singhanagara) were in the immediate neighbourhood of Ayudhyā (Ayodhyāpura).² We must infer that a fairly active intercourse doubtless existed at the time between Siām and Java, although we should remember that the author of the Nāgarakretāgama has by no means refrained from availing himself of the license granted by common consent to poets in order to insert a good many toponyms through mere hearsay. It is surprising, in fact, that side by side with the names of the above States those of Sup'han and Lawô (*Lava-puri*), which ranked then as second and third in importance respectively, immediately after the suzerain one of Ayudhyā, should not appear. However, it is perhaps wise to withhold criticism on this point until the full topographic list of the Nāgarakretāgama lies before us.

The same reservation cannot, on the other hand, be made with regard to the dependencies claimed on the Malay Peninsula for his empire by the imaginative Prapañca; for all that territory then belonged unquestionably to Siām, and

¹ So the annals of Pegu, Siām. transl., p. 203.

² In locating these States in Siām, I am of course aware of the existence of several similarly named cities in India, e.g. *Ayodhyā* = Oude, still alluded to as *Ayujjha* in about A.D. 1052 in Mahāvamsa, ch. 56; *Sihapura* of both Dipavamsa and Mahāvamsa; *Rājapuri* = Rajauri of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī (viii, 617, A.D. 1118); *Raipur* in the Central Provinces, and so forth. But it will be evident to everyone that, owing partly to the great distance and partly to the non-existence of some of such cities at the period we are concerned with, they are entirely out of question. Invasions of Malays (called *Javaku* in the Sinhalese chronicles) occurred, it is true, on the coasts of Ceylon and Southern India in 1251 (cf. Mahāvamsa, ch. 84) and earlier; but these freebooters came, I think, from Sumatra, and as the range of their exploits did not extend beyond the Coromandel coast, it is unlikely that relations could be established by them with the States further to the north.

continued to do so until the advent of the Portuguese at Malacca. Although adventurers from India, and still more frequently from Sumatra or from the neighbouring archipelago, succeeded in founding settlements on various points of its coasts, their interference was always resented by Siām, who invariably either drove them out or compelled them to acknowledge her supremacy. From as early as 1279–80 we hear of the famous Sukhōthai king Rúang (the second of that nickname) starting himself at the head of an expedition to repel one of such invasions of his southern provinces on the Malay Peninsula.¹ Shortly after that the adventurers who settled on the island of Singapore, founding there the settlement of that name, and on the shores of the Old Strait, causing the whole southernmost portion of the Malay Peninsula, known as the *Malaya* or *Malāyu* country (Tānah Malāyu), to rebel, were duly dealt with; and towards 1295 the State of *Ma-li-yü-érh*, 麻里子兒 (Malāyur), as the historians of the Yüan dynasty term it, had to renew the acknowledgment of its allegiance to Sukhōthai.² But the encroachments from Sumatra's side, upon the southern coasts of the Malay Peninsula, continued from time to time; and it doubtless was in order to punish some raid perpetrated by the newly-founded petty State of Pāsei, that in or about 1320 the king of Siām despatched a naval expedition to seize its ruler Māliku'l-Zaher and bring him to Siām, where he was kept a prisoner for twenty years.³ This is the same jolly old fellow who, after having been duly released

¹ Annals of Pegu, Siām. transl. ("Rājādhirāj"), p. 10.

² It goes without saying that this is the State of *Ma-li-yü-érh*, which Sinologists have placed on the territory of Palembang, east coast of Sumatra; as well as the hitherto vainly sought for *Maliur* or *Malavir* of Marco Polo. I cannot go here into the long discussion that the subject would entail, especially as I have fully made it elsewhere in a work now being passed through the press. Suffice to point out, as some of my witnesses, the river *Malāyu* (*Sungei Malāyu*), still so called, and the village *Bentan* (probably connected with Marco Polo's *Pentam*), both lying there (ignored by all my learned predecessors), on the northern shore of the Old Singapore Strait.

³ "Sejarah Malāyu," Leyden's transl., p. 73; and Marre's "Histoire des Rois de Pasey," Paris, 1874, pp. 48–50, which, however, takes a far more rosy view of the matter.

from Siām, was Ibn Baṭūṭa's host both in 1345 and 1346.¹ Such does not appear, however, to have been the only instance in which Siām made the northern coast of Sumatra feel her strong hand, for even as late as 1406, when Ayudhyā had long been the Siāinese capital, *Su-mén-ta-la* (Samudra) still had grievances to air against her before the Chinese Court.

But to return to the Malay Peninsula. The "Kaṭa Mandirapāla" informs us that on the southern part of it, *Ūjong Tānah* (afterwards named Johor), *Malākā* (Malacca), and *Malāyū*, among others, were States tributary to Ayudhyā during the latter half of the fourteenth century. Here we again meet with our old acquaintance *Malāyu*, alias *Malāyur*, *Maliur*, or *Malavir*, on the northern shore of the Old Singapore Strait, which, duly brought to book by Sukhōthai in 1295, had continued to be kept obedient, and when the balance of power became transferred to Ayudhyā, acknowledged, or was compelled to acknowledge, its new masters. It merged, later on, into the kingdom of Johore, therefore also known to the early Portuguese writers as the kingdom of *Malaio*.

The statements of the "Kaṭa Mandirapāla" are confirmed as regards Malacca, I may point out, by all Chinese accounts of the period, which declare that the country, even before the foundation of the emporium just referred to, belonged to Siām, to which its chiefs "had to pay a tribute of 40 taels of gold, and if they failed to do this they were attacked for it."² The 40 taels of gold referred to here were, of course, offered in the shape of the usual 'golden trees' of tribute, as is yet the custom to this day for the States on the Malay Peninsula still owing their allegiance to the Siāinese Crown.

Further, as regards Pahang we find, again from Chinese sources, that towards 1406 some Champā ships having drifted there, the Siāinese had detained and molested them, evidently

¹ Defrémery & Sanguinetti's "Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah," t. iv, Paris, 1858, pp. 230 and 306.

² Groeneveldt, in "Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China," 2nd series, vol. i, pp. 243, 245, 248, etc., etc.

because of their being part of a mission then despatched by Champā to *Hsü-wén-ta-na* (Samudra).¹

It would be outside the scope of the present paper to carry on the inquiry to a later period. The above *résumé* will suffice to give a clear idea of the political situation on the southern part of the Malay Peninsula at the time we are concerned with, and to throw a few sidelights from some sources hitherto not put under contribution, on a subject of considerable importance.

If it is possible, nay, fairly probable, that from the end of the seventh to the end of the twelfth century the southern half or so of the Malay Peninsula, with the neighbouring islands, were part of the empire having then its centre at Śrī-Bhoja or Palembang on the eastern coast of Sumatra, as evidenced by the writings of I-tsing and Chao Ju-kua respectively, the same cannot hold good, as we have seen, for the centuries following. Hence, it would not be sufficient even to admit that the alleged conquest of those territories by Mājapāhit in A.D. 1377 or thereabouts was merely an ephemeral one. It is necessary to ascribe to that exploit a far more restricted range, limited simply to a few islets and sundry tracts on the southernmost borders of the Malay Peninsula. If some chiefs of the petty States in that neighbourhood considered it a good policy for themselves to coquet with Mājapāhit, as with China and other powers then to the fore in the Archipelago, making a semblance of acknowledging its suzerainty, that was merely one of the preparatory rehearsals to the game of playing off one State against another in which they became so admirably proficient in after times. But of real subjection to the insular empire there had been none.

The Pāsei chronicle, it should be pointed out, in its list of countries on or about the Malay Peninsula conquered by Mājapāhit at the period in question, merely enumerates *Ūjong Tānah*, *Pulo Tinggi*, *Pemangilan*, and *Tyūman*,² which

¹ Cf. *China Review*, vol. xxiii, p. 256; and *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1900, p. 135, where 1436 is doubtless a misprint for 1406.

² Cf. Marre, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

correspond to the later kingdom of Johore with its adjacent islands of Tinggi, Pemangil, and Tyūman. This statement quite suffices to exclude *a priori* Tringgano (No. 10), Pahang (No. 11), and Kalanten (= Kalantan, No. 12) from the number of the conquests ascribed to Mājapāhit in the Nāgarakretāgama, while confirming our preceding arguments that the sway of that empire was scarcely enforced, except ephemerally, beyond the very southern borders of the Malay Peninsula and neighbouring islands (including at most the above-named, with the addition of those of Singapore and of the Rhio-Lingga archipelago).

Having thus cleared the ground, we may now proceed to examine the two last toponyms in our list, still awaiting identification.

Lengka-suka (No. 13). I have not the slightest doubt that this is *Langka-suka*, the name of the earliest royal residence and capital of Kedah according to the chronicle of that State, the "Marong Mahāvamsa," translated by Captain (afterwards Colonel) Low in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. iii. Its site was, to the writer's belief, near the present village of Kūboh Bālei, some four or five miles eastwards of Kedah Peak. The territory was then an island termed *Pūlo Srai*, which was just on the point of becoming attached to the mainland. The term survives in a more correct form in the name of Kedah Peak, known to this day as *Gūnong Jerai*. But this is merely the Malay, as *Srai* is the Siāmesese, corruption of *Chrai* (*Ārai*), the Mōñ-Khmēr word for the banyan-tree.¹

It will readily be seen that our identification of *Lengka-suka* with the original capital of Kedah is of some importance for the determination of the hitherto unknown date of the foundation of that State. For, according to the chronicle above referred to, it was only under the reign of Rāja Bodhisat, the son of the founder, that the name of the country (*Chrai*, *Jerai*, or *Srai*) was changed into *Kiddah*,

¹ Now pronounced *chrēi* by the Khmērs, and *sróa*, or *soa*, by the Mōñs. Kedah is down to the present day called *Srai* (*Müang Srai*); officially, *Sai-burī* (*Srai-purī*) by the Siāmesese.

now more usually spelled 𐤊𐤍, *Kedah* = 'curral,' or elephant stockade (Hind. *Khedā*), presumably upon the introduction into the country of Islāmism from India. This event, however, is said in the annals of Achīn not to have taken place until A.D. 1501.

Again, always according to the same chronicle, it was Rāja Śrī Mahāvamsa, the youngest son and successor of Rāja Bodhisat, who left the old capital Langkasuka and built a new one further south at Srokam.

Now, the "Nāgarakretāgama" proves the existence of Langkasuka as capital of the State in about A.D. 1380; while a Chinese map of about 1399-1400, reproduced by Phillips from the "Wu-pei-pi-shu," marks Kedah, or at any rate its river (the Sungei Merbuk or Merbau), in the form of 吉達港, *Chi-ta Chiang* (*Kit-ta Kiang*).¹ It seems, then, legitimate to infer that the change of the name of the State into *Kiddah* or *Kedah* must have taken place immediately after 1380; whereas the transference of the capital from Langkasuka to Srokam may be put down roughly at 1400, and the foundation of the State at the very earliest to 1300. This, naturally, always provided, and the more so as regards the last inference, that the Kedah chronicle is correct, and has integrally recorded the series of its early rulers. As we shall see, such a view is not entirely beyond objection.

In fact, M. Pelliot, a young and promising Sinologist, in a learned and bulky, though not very conclusive monograph, recently published on the subject of a number of place-names mentioned by Chinese writers in Further India,² connects the *Lengka-suka* of the "Nāgarakretāgama" with the 凌牙斯, *Ling-ya-ssü*, of Chau Ju-kua (*circa* 1200-1240), the correct form of which, he says, is 凌牙斯加, *Ling-ya-ssü-ka*. On the authority of Professors Hirth³ and Schlegel,⁴ who both read it *Ling-ya-sz*, I had some time ago felt inclined to identify it with either Tanjung *Rangga*, the north point of

¹ See *Journal of the China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xxi, map, and p. 38, No. 7.

² *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, t. iv, pp. 328, 345, etc.

³ *Journal R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 478.

⁴ *T'oung-Pao*, 1901, p. 129.

entrance to the Indragiri River, east coast of Sumatra, the *Langsa* or *Langksa* (Langkasa?) River further up that coast, or *Langat*, on the south-western shore of the Malay Peninsula above Port Dickson. But M. Pelliot, while not attempting to locate it, assures us that *Ling-ya-sz* appears twice in Chao Ju-kua's work under the more complete form *Ling-ya-ssü-ka*, whence its very probable identity with the *Lengka-suka* of the "Nāgarakretāgama" and, it should be added after our location of the latter, with Kedah.

Chao Ju-kua enumerates *Ling-ya-sz* or *Ling-ya-ssü-ka* among the vassal States of *San-fo-ch'i* (Palembang), in *circa* 1200, but this may refer to an older period; and names as its neighbours *Fo-lo-an*, 佛囉安, and *Tan-ma-ling*, 單馬令, with which, he adds, there was communication both by land and sea. He furthermore gives us the sailing distances from *Tan-ma-ling* to *Chén-lah* (Kamboja), and from *Fo-lo-an* to *San-fo-ch'i* (Palembang), as follows:—

1. *Chén-lah* to *Tan-ma-ling*, 10 days;
2. *Tan-ma-ling* to *Ling-ya-sz* or *Ling-ya-ssü-ka*, 6 days (distance by land not stated);
3. *Ling-ya-sz* or *Ling-ya-ssü-ka* to *Fo-lo-an*, 4 days (distance by land not stated);
4. *Fo-lo-an* to *San-fo-ch'i*, 4 days.

Then he mentions as neighbours of *Fo-lo-an* the three States of:—

1. *Têng-ya-nêng*, 登牙儂;
2. *Pêng-fêng*, 蓬豐;
3. *Chia-chi-lan-tan* or *Ka-ki-lan-tan*, 加吉蘭丹.¹

I have before this come to two possible solutions of this intricate geographical puzzle, answering to the double alternative which arises according to whether we place the intercommunicating States of *Tan-ma-ling*, *Ling-ya-sz* (or *Ling-ya-ssü-ka*), and *Fo-lo-an* (with its three neighbours on the same strip of territory, or separated by the sea, as

¹ *T'oung-Pao*, 1901, pp. 125-134; and 1898 (vol. ix), pp. 402-406.

the case may be) on Sumatra or on the Malay Peninsula. For the sake of brevity I shall merely confine myself here to the results I have reached on the basis of the second alternative, and on the new hypothesis that *Ling-ya-sz* is not *Langat* but *Ling-ya-ssü-ka* = Langkasuka, i.e. the original capital of Kedah. They may be tabulated as follows:—

1. *Tan-ma-ling* = Temiling or Tembeling, the name of a cape and a hill near the mouth of the Kwāntan River, Pahang, on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. Probably it is the old designation borne by the present Kwāntān district, and should not be confounded with Tembeling or Tembelang, the name of an inland district on one of the tributaries of the Pahang River. M. Pelliot has just fallen into this error (p. 328, n. 6).
2. *Ling-ya-ssü-ka* = Langkasuka = original capital of Kedah near Kedah Peak (Gūnong Jerai), on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula.
3. *Fo-lo-an* = Beranang on the Langat River, west coast of Malay Peninsula. Though this district lies rather inland, it may have of old stretched down to the coast towards the mouth of the Langat River. At all events, it is a remarkable fact that the Chinese settled there, and now write its name 芙蓉, *Fu-lu-ngan*.

The distances suit tolerably well in so far as those given in Chinese itineraries go, and there is overland communication between the three districts. Remembering furthermore the leisurely manner in which Chinese authors have compiled their accounts of foreign countries, it is not necessary to assume that the three neighbours of *Fo-lo-an* must be situated on the Malay Peninsula, should this State eventually prove to have stood there. M. Pelliot says *Ka-ki-lan-tan* is a faulty spelling for *Ki-lan-tan* = Kelantan, and we may admit that. But when we come to *Téng-ya-néng* and *Péng-féng*, which he would fain have us believe are, respectively, Trenggānu and Pahang, we feel somewhat sceptical. For

Têng - ya - nêng looks more like Trieng - gading, on the north coast of Sumatra, a little to the west of Samalangan, and *Pêng-fêng* may represent some other place-name in that neighbourhood, where is also a Berūan or Barūan, which may claim historical descent from *Fo-lo-an*. So likewise may the ruins of Kota Benūwang on the Rokan River, and Belawan (river and cape), near Deli, on the east coast of Sumatra.¹ It will thus be seen that, owing to the abundance of toponyms similar to the above, both on Sumatra and the southern half of the Malay Peninsula, the question becomes a very intricate one; and although the solution we have proposed above seems, and not very improbably is, correct enough, it may yet have to undergo substantial modifications ere it can be accepted as definite. Should we adopt it in its present form, we must put back the date for the foundation of *Langkasuka* to at least the end of the twelfth century, and interpolate another half-dozen reigns of unknown petty rulers between that date and the advent of Rāja Bodhisat, under whom the country changed its old name into *Kiddah* or *Kedah*.

M. Pelliot suggests that we may have an allusion to this name in the 吉陀, *Ki-t'o*, country mentioned by Chao Ju-kua early in the thirteenth century, among the eighteen States tributary to *P'iau* (Lower Burmā); but this, it may now be seen, is next to impossible.² He does not, however,

¹ As regards *Tan-na-ling*, there is a river Tambilang on the east coast of Sumatra in 2° S. lat. From the position described for *Fo-lo-an* in relation to neighbouring countries (*Toung-Pao*, ix, p. 404), it would appear that Berūan, on the north coast of Sumatra, is the most likely place, and the sailing distance from it to *San-fo-ch'i* may be merely meant to the northern borders of this State.

² Equally impossible is the rapprochement made by both M. Pelliot and M. Huber, in the same number of the *Bulletin* (pp. 407 and 475), of *Ling-ya-ssü-ka* with *Lang-ya-hsin*, 狼牙修. In the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1901, pp. 157, 158, I have conclusively shown that the latter stood on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula and on the territory of the present C'hump'hōn (about 10° 30' N. lat.), where the name survives to this day in the two islets of *Langkachū*, nearly in front of C'hump'hōn Bay. These, I have now no doubt, are the very 'mountains' (山) of *Lang-ya-hsin* sighted in A.D. 607 by the Chinese embassy to *Ch'ih-t'u* (= Sukda, Sukhada, later on

stop short here, for the 揭陀, *Chie-t'o* (*K'it-t'o* = Kadū?), State referred to in analogous circumstances by the same author, causes his thoughts to again fly to Kedah (p. 352). So does I-tsing's seaport of 羯荼, *Chie-ch'a* (*K'it-ch'a* or *Ka-ch'a*); and why not? the port of 哥羅, *Ko-lo*, of T'ang history; the *Kalah* of the early Arab navigators; and so forth. In all this, however, M. Pelliot but follows his predecessors, to whom we owe the almost hopelessly muddled state of the historical geography of Further India in the 'light' of Chinese and Arab sources. With no other name beginning with K or Q printed on the Malay Peninsula in their Hand Atlases except Kedah or Quedah, what could be done but identify with this place every toponym beginning with the same initials met with in the time-worn texts? Thus Kedah grew to become, under the fostering hatching of the K, *alias* Q, theory, a sort of hub of the universe—of the Far East at any rate. As a matter of fact, there is absolutely no shadow of proof that this name ever came into existence before the end of the fourteenth century; and the evidence we have adduced conclusively shows, on the other hand, that, prior to that period, the country as well as its capital were known by quite different names. Nowadays the name *Kedah* is spelled 吉打, *Ki-ta*, *Kit-ta*, by the Chinese living in the Straits.¹

Tumasik (No. 14). This toponym, which has, according to M. Pelliot (p. 345, n. 4), puzzled three well-known Oriental scholars, presents no difficulty whatever. It is, with but trifling variation, the old name of Singapore Island, *Tamasak*, as testified to by the "Şejarah Malāyu."² Several years ago I identified it with those of the *Tamus*, or *Tamarus*, *Promontorium* of Strabo and Pomponius Mela;

Sukhodaya, in Central Siām); while C'hump'hōn harbour and district is I-tsing's 良迦戎, *Lang-ka-hsü*, as well as the 狼牙脩, *Lang-ya-hsiu* of Liang history. It is amusing to see Sinologists go on suggesting imaginary locations for place-names which have already been identified with absolute certainty and shown to correspond to *actually existing* places.

¹ *Journal Str. Br. R.A.S.*, No. 42, p. 200.

² Cf. Leyden's "Malay Annals," London, 1821, pp. 42-44.

with the *Be-Tūmah*, بتومه (*Bi-Tuma*, i.e. *Tuma* River), seaport of the Arab navigators in the ninth century, and with the 淡馬錫, *Tan-ma-hsi* or *T'am-ma-sek* Hill, marked on the Chinese map of *circa* 1399-1400 published by Phillips, and already referred to above."¹ This hill, I may add, is Būkit Timah, بوكيت تيمه (= 'Tin Hill'), the most conspicuous elevation (530 feet, and 667 to tops of trees) on Singapore Island, as is, apart from other indications, shown from the fact of the character 錫, *hsi*, which means 'tin,' being employed in the above quoted transcript. There seems thus to be no doubt that the original name of the island, which I assume to have been derived from the Mōñ *t'môh* (= 'rock'), owing to the Singapore River being formerly noted for a large rock standing at its entrance, which might have caused it to be called *Bi-T'môh*, i.e. 'River of the Rock' (whence *Be-Tūmah*²), must have

¹ See *Journal R. Asiatic Society* for July, 1897, table x, at foot and on the right-hand side. There I suggested the *Tong-si-tiok* of the Chinese as a probable equivalent, relying on Groeneveldt, who (op. cit., pp. 258-9) identified it with Singapore Island. But when I began to feel out the way for myself, I at once recognized *Tamasak* in the *Tan-ma-hsi* above referred to, and corrected the mistake in a new monograph still in the press. M. Pelliot, who, I am glad to notice, proceeds far more cautiously and with more critical acumen than his predecessors in his new inquiries on these subjects, recently suggested, in his turn (op. cit., p. 345, n. 4), the probable identity of the *Tumasik* of the "Nāgarakretāgama" with the *Tan-ma-hsi* of the Chinese map published by Phillips, from which latter he argued its location to be about the site of the present Johore. He may now see, however, that it is more precisely Singapore Island, the hill represented on that map being unquestionably Būkit Timah. The Old Singapore Strait is not shown there, as scarcely any longer used by Chinese junks at that time. It appears that the Chinese discovered the new passage on or about the end of the fifteenth century, and therefore at least two centuries before the Hispano-Portuguese. The new channel is, in fact, duly marked in the map in question, the date assigned to which by Phillips I see no reason to dispute.

² In Khmēr a rock is also called *t'mō* or *thmō*; but we cannot explain the name by the Khmēr language except by admitting a form *Bā-T'mō*, meaning 'excellent rock,' 'sacred rock,' which may have been the name applied to the great mass of unhewn coarse red silicious sandstone above alluded to. I do not positively assert that *Bi-Thmōh* was the name of Singapore River, or, for that matter, of the Kallang or Rochor streams flowing close by. It is a mere conjecture, though, as may be seen, not altogether unfounded. I do not, in fact, say that *Bi-Thmōh* cannot have been used as the name of the Old Strait; for *bi* in Mōñ is a rather elastic term, it being used to denote, besides a large river, an arm of the sea, and the sea itself (termed *bi-c'hōk* = great river). The Khmēr name for 'tin' is *samnō*; also *pahang*, whence the name of *Pahang* may have been derived (do those who talk about *Panggang* tribes in those parts know this?), though the reverse may, after all, be the case. But I do not think that

been Sanskritized by the early Indian navigators into *Tamara* (= 'Tin'). For, while we may easily enough account for the forms *Tuma*, *Tama*, *Tamu*, *Timah*, as corruptions of the former, we cannot explain a good many others except by admitting an original base *Tamara*. We have, in fact, besides the *Tamarus Promontorium* alluded to above,¹ *Tumerau*

samnō is the prototype of either *Tuma* or *Tamara*. Many toponyms on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, and even on North Sumatra, are unmistakably Mōñ-derived; hence my conjectural etymology for *Be-Tūmah* = *Bī-T'mōh*. This is further supported by the fact that the ancient pronunciation of *Bī* seems to have been *Bē*, for Ptolemy spells with *Bη* all the toponyms on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula of which the Mōñ *Bī* forms the initial syllable; even to-day the sound of *i* in *Bī* somewhat inclines towards a closed *ē*. It is not improbable that the old *Bη* or *Bē* still survives in the Straits and neighbouring islands under the somewhat modified form *Wē* (meaning 'water,' and perhaps 'rivulet'), which occurs in several toponyms, e.g. *Pulo Way*, etc.

¹ Or *Tamarum*, see Strabo, lib. xi, 7. It is the *Promontorium Samara* of the planisphere of the fourteenth century in Hereford Cathedral, which bears at this point the explanation: "India quæ finem facit." Santarem has noticed ("Essai sur l'histoire de la Cosmographie," etc., t. ii, p. 343) that the change in nomenclature from *Tamos*, *Tamus*, or *Tamarum* into *Samara* took place on mediæval maps in the fifth century.

In this connection it is interesting to observe that, according to the Chinese annals of the Liang dynasty, during the first quarter of the third century A.D. *Fu-nan* (Kamboja) conquered a number of places on and about the southern part of the Malay Peninsula. Among such were:

(1) 歌 營, *Ko-ying*, which I take to be *Krian* in Pêrak, nowadays denoted by the Chinese in the Straits as 高 煙, *Kau-yen* or *Ko-yin* (see *Journal Str. Br. R. A. S.*, No. 42, p. 187); and

(2) 典 孫, 典 遜, or 頓 遜, *Tien-sun* or *Tun-sun*, a State situated at over 3,000 *li* (circa 500-600 miles) from the southern borders of *Fu-nan*, and which therefore Sinologists have identified with Tenasserim! If not in name connected with *Tamsak* or *Tumasik*, this State, the territory of which is said to be only 1,000 *li* (say, 180-200 miles) in extent, and to project in a curviform direction into the sea, cannot have been far from it on the Malay peninsula. The chief city is said to have stood at 10 *li* (about two miles) from the sea, and to have been a great emporium—a gathering-place, in fact, for traders from east and west, just as Singapore is described afterwards by De Barros. The name recalls the Malay term *Dusun*, meaning an 'orchard,' but also a 'village,' or the 'country' as distinguished from the town, and is common to several places on the Malay Peninsula, besides being applied to certain tribes in North Borneo calling themselves *Kadasan*.

Now, in view of the conquests of *Fu-nan* in the south of the Malay Peninsula, it is not altogether impossible that the name *Tamara* (= 'tin') of Singapore Island was changed into *Samnō*, the corresponding Khmër word, whence the *Samara* of European cartographers was afterwards derived (in the fifth century or earlier). Of course, this is a mere suggestion; the change, if it ever occurred, did not last a long time locally, for the Arab navigators of the ninth century again employ the form *Tuma*. But among our geographers the variant *Samara* would naturally persist longer; and to this circumstance is perhaps due the fact

as a name to this day of the Old Strait (sometimes corrupted into *Tebrau*), and of a stream debouching in the same from the mainland on the north. There is furthermore a Negritic tribe named *Tumior*, dwelling at present far up the peninsula about the Pahang and Kelantan borders, which may have originally occupied Singapore Island, and been driven many centuries ago, as more recently the Kallang and Selitar tribes, thence to the mainland. Is it possible that the Tumiors got their name from Singapore Island, or else have we to assume that this was named after them, always supposing a connection to have existed between the two? I should think the former alternative the more probable, in view of the fact that most tribes on the Malay Peninsula derived their present designations from the names of the places, generally streams, on which they were originally settled. At all events, it seems to me more easy to admit the derivation of the terms *Tuma*, *Tama*, *Timah*, *Tumerao*, etc., from an original base *T'môh*, or something to that

that Marco Polo, when speaking of the petty State of *Samudra* on the north coast of Sumatra, spells the name *Samara*.

The Sanskrit inscription on the Bân Thât (Dhātu) stele near Bassac (Campāsak, Upper Kamboja), erected by the warlike king Sūryavarman II (A.D. 1112-1152 *circa*), and published by Professor Kern (*Annales de l'Extrême Orient*, t. iii, pp. 65-76), mentions an expedition undertaken by that famous potentate to the "Land of Elephants and Copper," *Dvipatāmra-dēśa*, by which "he eclipsed the glory of victorious Rāghava (Rāma)":—

" *So' yam prayāya Dvipatāmrade[śam]
Raghuñ jayantam laghayañcakāra* " (v. 35).

Professor Kern thinks the island of Ceylon is meant, which is not altogether unlikely in view of the allusion to Rāma's exploit in the above lines, and also of the fact that a few years afterwards (*circa* 1170-80) the Ceylon king Parakkama Bāhu sent a princess as a gift (or tribute?) to the ruler of Kamboja, the son or other successor of Sūryavarman II (cf. "Mahāvamsa," ch. 76, v. 35).

I would point out, nevertheless, that it is not impossible that Singapore Island be meant, in which case *Tāmra* should be taken as a *lapsus*, whether intentional or not, for *Tamara*. Singapore Island is much nearer to Kamboja than Ceylon, and has doubtless been at some time or other under Kambojan sway; whereas, in respect to Ceylon, no such expedition is recorded in local chronicles, and no such name as *Dvipatāmra*, the nearest one to it being *Tāmra-parṇi* or *Tamba-parṇi*, unless we take the term *Nāgadvīpa*, applied to one portion of that island, to mean 'Elephant Isle' (or District; Ptolemy mentions, by the way, feeding-grounds for elephants on its territory).

I am, notwithstanding this, under the impression that the *Dvipatāmra-dēśa* of the inscription above cited may, after all, mean *Lān-c'hāng* ('Elephant plains'), i.e. Eastern Lāos, which, besides being the traditional land of elephants, is also that of copper.

effect, through its Sanskritized form *Tamara*, than to accept both this latter and *Timah* as the original designations applied to the island, for no tin ore has ever been known to exist either on it or on the mainland in its neighbourhood. The variant *Tebrau*, although somewhat resembling *Trapu* and *Tipu*, the Sanskrit and Pāli names for tin that have drifted into Siānese under the form *Dibuk*, can more easily be traced, it will be seen, to *Tumerau* and *Tamara*. And when one compares for a moment the spelling تومه (*Tūmah*), employed by Abū Zaid in his relation, with the Malay تيمه (*Timah*) occurring in the name of Būkit Timah, he can readily understand how easily the transformation may have taken place, whether in writing upon the introduction of Islāmism into the island, or, what is yet more probable, in speech long before that.

At all events, the forms *Tama* and *Tuma* must have survived until the fourteenth century, as evidenced by the *Tamasak* of the “*Sejarah Malāyu*,” the *Tumasik* of the “*Nāgarakretāgama*,” and still more conclusively by the Chinese map above referred to, which bears *Tan-ma-hsi* (*Tamasik*) marked on the very hill of Būkit Timah. The mixed character of this transcript—doubtless a combination of the old designation *Tama* with the new one *Timah* (represented by *hsi* or *sik* = ‘tin’), with the view of reproducing the then current designation *Tamasak* or *Tumasik*—well demonstrates how either of the forms *Tama* and *Timah* was then also in use.¹

I cannot say as regards the variant *Tamasak*—which may have originated not much earlier than the thirteenth century, and must in any case be far later in date than *Tama* and *Tamara* (for the Arab navigators in the ninth century still

¹ The “*Tung-hsi-yang-k’ao*” (publ. 1618) still mentions, as M. Pelliot observes (op. cit., p. 345, n. 4), the Strait of *Tan-ma-hsi*, 淡馬錫門 (*Tan-ma-hsi Mén*), as being passed by junks at that time. If this information is taken from old records, the Old Strait may be the one meant; but if gleaned from contemporary sources or accounts not earlier than the fourteenth century, the new passage would be intended, in which case the existence of the term *Tamasak* or *Tumasik* might be traceable to a yet more recent date than could be argued from the evidence we have examined above.

use the short form *Tūmah*)—whether its last syllable *sak* should be taken in the sense of *saka*, *sraka* = ‘land,’ ‘country’ (in Khmēr *srok*), or whether it owes its existence to the fact of *Sekah* or *Sika* tribes from the neighbouring archipelago having settled on the island side by side with the aboriginal *Tumiors*, whom they may have driven off in due course to the mainland. It may have been instead Sakais from that very mainland who came and settled on the island, but this seems less likely. I do not think anyhow that the suffix *sak* is in any way connected with the 息 or 寔 (*Hsi*, *Sik*, or *Sit*) occurring in the present designation 息力, 息叻, or 寔叻 (*Hsi-li*, *Sik-lek*, or *Sit-lat*), applied by the Chinese to Singapore Island, for this appears to be simply a transcript of the Malay term *Selat* = a strait of the sea, the Straits in general.¹

Another question arises from the fact of Singapore Island being still mentioned in about 1380 and 1400, respectively, by the “*Nāgarakretāgama*” and the Chinese map alluded to above, under the old denomination of *Tumasik* or *Tamasak*; while there is no notice in either as to the city of Singapore. The question is: Did not Singapore exist as yet at that period?

If we are to believe the “*Sejarah Malāyu*,” it did, having been founded some ninety-three years before its conquest by the Javanese from *Mājapāhit*, which we know from Chinese sources to have occurred in or about 1377. Despite the fact that the chronicle of *Pāsei* does not include

¹ It is in the *Journal of the Straits Branch R.A.S.*, No. 42, p. 153, that I have noticed for the first time the use of the character 寔 instead of the one 息 that has so far obtained in Chinese publications.

In his study of an itinerary through the Straits recorded by Chia Tan in *circa* A.D. 785–805, M. Pelliot (*op. cit.*, p. 231), following Chavannes, takes the Strait of 質, *Chih* (or *Chöt*, *Chit*), mentioned therein, to be the Strait of Malacca; but it appears to me that either the new Singapore passage or the Old Strait are more likely meant, in which case we would have in 質 a pretty old prototype of the present 息 and 寔; if not, possibly an evidence as to the existence, at such an early period, of the suffix *sik* or *sak* attached to the name of Singapore Island.

Singapore in its list of countries conquered by Mājapāhit, and that the “Nāgarakretāgama” merely mentions, in its far more extensive enumeration of such conquests, Singapore Island under its name of *Tumasik*, which is at the same time, with but little variation, the designation appearing shortly afterwards on the Chinese map already referred to, I think we might admit on the whole the trustworthiness of the time-honoured tradition handed down in the “*Sejarah Malāyu*” as to the existence on the island of some settlement—perhaps a mere hamlet—bearing the pompous classical name of *Simha-pura*.¹ The ruins of an ancient temple—Buddhist or Brahmanic (mayhap Śaivite)—noticed by Crawford on the hill behind the town on which now stands Fort Channing, argue the early presence on the island of immigrants from a country—whether the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, or Java—that had received Indū civilization; and that temple may have been the *pura* or *puri* that received the name of *Simha* (‘lion’) and caused the neighbouring village to be called therefrom *Simhapura*.² Such a designation was doubtless adopted either with a view to enhance the prestige of the foundation by naming it after an old city of India, or to perpetuate, as often occurred in many parts of Indo-China, the name of the founder, which may just have been *Simha*.

The account given in the “*Sejarah Malāyu*” is, of course, far more ornate and glowing, quite in the style that suits native fancy; but when shorn of its embellishments it presents nothing that would appear to conflict with historical truth. It may be summarized as follows.

¹ Or, as some Malay scholars would have it, the Malay name of *Singghah-pura*, meaning ‘a place of call,’ from *سنگاه*, *singghah*, ‘to visit,’ ‘to call in.’ But this term is certainly not Malay: cf. *siṅghāṭaka* = a market-place, in “Questions of King Milinda,” Sacred Books of the East, xxxv, pp. 2, 53, and xxxvi, p. 279, n. 1. I should think, moreover, that *Simha-pura* is the really correct form of the toponym. The derivation given in “Hobson-Jobson” (2nd ed., p. 839), from *singah* + *pura-pura*, is inadmissible.

² Remains of an earthen wall and other relics were also discovered, including an inscription in characters resembling those of ancient Java, on a rock since blown to pieces.

Nīla Uttama, the son of a chief from Palembang who became afterwards the ruler of Menang-kabau State in Central Sumatra, came to the island of Bintang near the eastern entrance to the Singapore Strait, where a queen was reigning—probably at some village on Bintang Bay, northward of the present Rhio (Riau), on the south-western part of the island. This queen had some time before been visited by his father—when her husband was absent, having gone to Siām and left her to govern in his stead.¹ It was evidently on account of the friendly relations thus established between the queen and the father of Nīla Uttama that the latter called in at the island, his visit resulting shortly afterwards in his marriage with the queen's daughter.

From Bintang, Nīla Uttama went to Tanjong Bemban, which I have identified with Tanjung Bemban, Bumban, or Bombang, forming the north-eastern end of the neighbouring island of Batang. There, chasing a deer, he reached a rock of great height and size, which he climbed and obtained a view of the opposite shore (i.e. the south-eastern coast of Singapore Island) with its sands white as cotton. Inquiring what land that was, he was informed that those were the sands of the extensive country of *Tamasak*.

Longing to visit them, Nīla Uttama crossed thereto on his ship, and went to disport himself on a plain near the mouth of the river *Tamasak* (Singapore River). Here he saw a lion (!); hence he named the country *Tamasak-Singhapura* (Simha-pura), and settled there, receiving the title of Śrī-Tribhuvana.

If the last statement is correct, it would explain the reason why the foreign records alluded to above merely referred to Singapore, after the foundation of the settlement, as *Tamasak* or *Tumasik*. This was a shortened form of *Tamasak-Singhapura*, while being at the same time the traditional name of the island, which would, as a matter of course,

¹ This I take to be a veiled hint to the fact that the king of Bintang had probably been taken prisoner to Siām, whence he appears never to have returned. At all events, he must have gone to Siām in order to pay homage, or to arrange matters that the interference of that country had made somewhat critical for him.

linger for a long while in the memory of neighbouring nations before these condescended to recognize the novel denomination *Simhapura* and eventually adopt it as the only name of the island.

As regards the date at which the events summarized above occurred, we can obtain it roughly by deducting the 93 years believed by native chroniclers to have elapsed between the foundation of Singapore city and the conquest of the island by the armies from *Mājapāhit*. As we positively know this to have taken place in or about 1377, we obtain $1377-93 = 1284$.

Now, remembering that the *Sukhōthai* expeditions against foreign invaders in the south of the Malay Peninsula began in 1279-80; that by 1295 the State of *Malāyu*, corresponding roughly to the territory of the present *Johore*, had been reduced; and that the punitive expedition against *Pāsei*, which probably included also a settlement of outstanding differences with *Bintang*, took place some time between 1300 and 1320, we see no reason for seriously disputing the above date. It is apparently correct within, at the utmost, forty years, in the event of our deciding to place the foundation of the city after the *Siānese* expedition against *Pāsei*. But it is not improbable that the settlement had been founded by the time matters were squared up with *Malāyu* on the neighbouring mainland, or was established shortly afterwards under the ægis and with the connivance of that State.

Marco Polo, who went through the Old Strait in 1292, does not mention Singapore; neither does Friar Odoric, who travelled the same way in 1317 or thereabouts. Of course, neither had reason to tarry at that harbour, which was somewhat out of the way for ships at that period. But both mention the island called *Pentam* and *Paten*, or *Panthen*, respectively, as being part of the kingdom of *Malaiur* (*Malāyu*).¹ Although, as I have remarked before, there

¹ Friar Odoric has *Malamasmi* in Ramusio ("Navigationi et Viaggi," vol. ii, 1583, fol. 247 verso), which may be compared to the *Malanir*, *Malavir*, and similar *variae lectiones* in the texts of Marco Polo.

exists to this day a village *Bentam* on the mainland side of Singapore Strait,¹ it is not likely that both travellers mistook the coast of the Malay Peninsula for an island. This island of *Pentam*, *Paten*, or *Pantem* must therefore be the *Be-Tūmah* (Island) of the Arab navigators, the *Tamasak* Island of the Malays; and, in short, the Singapore Island of our day. If the commentators of Marco Polo and Friar Odoric have signally failed to discover this, it is not certainly the fault of their texts, which are tolerably clear, and, it is hoped, may now appear the more so, in the light of our explanations, to everyone.²

Singapura, both as a city and the name of a channel through which all the shipping of those parts passed, is, it should be noted, mentioned since the second decade of the

¹ Right opposite the mouth of the Sungei Selitar, on the northern shore of Singapore Island.

² Colonel Yule's genius, which has elucidated so much of Marco Polo's text, seems to have grown dim in the course of his treatment of the Venetian traveller's route in the southern seas (especially for the portion comprised between the south borders of China and the north coast of Sumatra, which I consider the least satisfactory portion of that monumental work). Nor has Cordier, who, in my opinion, misunderstood that part also of Friar Odoric's itinerary, succeeded in throwing any further light on the subject in his recent edition of Yule's "*Marco Polo*." Both scholars have been misled by De Barros' and Valentijn's mention of a river *Malāyu* in the interior of Palembang, which these writers believed to have been the cradle of the Malay race; as well as by those Sinologists who located I-tsing's *Mo-lo-yu* (lying, according to this author, at *fifteen days' sail* from Palembang) in the valley of that very stream *Malāyu* in the interior of the country, or else in all sorts of other impossible places which have naturally been adopted also as the site for the *Ma-li-yü-érh* of later Chinese historians.

I have neither space nor leisure to go here into Marco Polo's and Friar Odoric's itineraries in the Southern Seas, and must accordingly defer the treatment of them to another occasion. All I can add for the present is this:—

1. Marco Polo's channel, where "there is but four paces' depth of water," so that great ships, in passing it, "have to lift their rudders" (Yule's "*Marco Polo*," 3rd ed., vol. ii, p. 280), is unmistakably the OLD SINGAPORE STRAIT. There is no channel so shallow throughout all those parts except among reefs.

2. The island of *Pentam* cannot be either Batang or Bitang, the latter of which is likewise mentioned by Marco Polo under the same name of *Pentam*, but 60 + 30 = 90 miles before reaching the former. Batang, girt all round by dangerous reefs, is inaccessible except to small boats. So is Bintang, with the exception of its south-western side, where is now Riāu, and where, a little further towards the north, was the settlement, as we have seen, at which the chief of the island resided in the fourteenth century. There was no reason for Marco Polo's junk to take that roundabout way in order to call at such, doubtlessly insignificant place. And the channel (i.e. Rhio Strait) has far more than four paces' depth of water, whereas there are no more than two fathoms at the western entrance to the Old Singapore Strait.

sixteenth century in D'Alboquerque's "Commentarios"; and shortly afterwards in De Barros' "Decadas." *Cingapura* is said to have been a celebrated settlement, to which "flocked together all the navigators of the Seas of India from West and East." If, in 1819, Sir Stamford Raffles and his party, on landing upon the island, found it covered with primeval forest, with the exception of a single village of poor and predatory Malay fishermen, and that only formed in 1811, this is not sufficient reason for denying that the island had seen better days. For the same fate has befallen far more important places in Further India; and in a region where cities have been, until comparatively modern times, mere agglomerations of wooden (mostly bamboo) and thatch-covered shanties, with the exception of some substantial buildings devoted to worship or to princely residence, one cannot expect to find many remains after their disappearance from the scene of the world's history.

To sum up, the inferences that can be drawn from the data discussed above are—

(1) That the ancient name of Singapore Island was very probably *T'móh*, afterwards Sanskritized into *Tamara*.

(2) That both these forms can be traced as far back as the dawn of the Christian Era in the name of the *Tamos* or *Tamarum Promontorium*, corresponding to the *Ponta de Cincapura* of the early Portuguese navigators.¹

(3) That the island or its river—if not the Old Strait between it and the mainland—is recorded as *Bē-Tūmah* in the accounts of the Arab navigators of the ninth century.

(4) That the name of the island (and of its Old Strait) was some time afterwards modified into *Tamasak* or *Tumasik*, in which form it can be traced from the second half of the thirteenth to the end of the sixteenth century; while it survives to this day in *Būkit Tīmah*, the most conspicuous hill extant on the island near its centre.

¹ See also "*Cingaporla*, che è il capo," as well as a city, in Pigafetta, 1522 (Ramusio, op. cit., vol. i, ed. 1563, f. 369 *recto*).

(5) That the island belonged during the thirteenth and following centuries to the State of *Malāyu* on the opposite mainland at first, and then to its historical continuations Malacca (*circa* 1380–1511) and Johore (1511–1819).

(6) That under the ægis and with the connivance of the chiefs of *Malāyu* and probably also the ultimate sanction of Siām, immigrants from Sumatra founded on the island the settlement of *Simhapura* at some time between 1280 and 1320; the date 1284 resulting from local traditions being not altogether to be rejected as incorrect.

(7) That the settlement in question, if already existing in Marco Polo's and Friar Odoric's time (1292 and 1317 *circa*), was not mentioned by them, owing no doubt to its as yet trifling importance, and to their having passed through the Old Strait somewhat out of the way of it, where their attention was instead attracted by the capital of the State of *Malāyu* (of which the island was a dependency at that period), at which both travellers called.

(8) That nevertheless the island has been duly noticed and mentioned by both of them under the names, respectively, of *Pentam* and *Paten* (or *Panthen*), which appear to be survivals of the ancient *Bē-Tūmah*.

These are, in brief, the considerations suggested to me by the few toponyms examined above from the “*Nāgarakretā-gama*.” When the full topographic list of that poem lies before me, it may give occasion for further comments. Meanwhile I trust I have made clear in these pages the importance of that work for the historical geography of Further India; and cannot more fitly conclude than by heartily joining in expressing the hope that its editor, Dr. Brandes, may consent to carry out the suggestion already made from various quarters, of giving us a translation of the poem, supplemented by whatever subsidiary information can be drawn from Javanese epigraphy and other records of that island, not so easily accessible to students in other countries.

XVII.

**LIST OF THE ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BAILLIE
COLLECTION**

IN THE LIBRARY OF EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY.

By RICHARD BELL.

THIS collection of Arabic and Persian manuscripts was handed over in 1875 by Mr. J. B. Baillie, of Leys, Inverness, to the University of Edinburgh for preservation in the Library. Colonel John Baillie (v. Dictionary of National Biography, s.v.), to whom the collection originally belonged, was a distinguished servant of the East India Company. In 1801 he was appointed professor of the Arabic and Persian languages and of Muhammadan Law in the College of Fort William, then newly founded by Viscount Wellesley. This collection of manuscripts, formed while he was in the East, shows the impress of the grammatical and legal studies which he pursued; but it contains also some of the standard works of Arabic literature. No catalogue of the manuscripts has as yet been drawn up. The following list may serve to indicate to scholars what the collection contains. The works have not been arranged in any order of subject. The majority of the volumes have a number attached to the back, and I have simply taken them in the order of the numbers. The Persian works, of which there are quite a number, have been omitted in this list—they may perhaps be treated in a future article—and these will account for some of the omitted numbers. A good few of the numbers are, however, wanting altogether, but what this indicates, or when the numbers were attached to the volumes, I cannot say. (Cf. Note at end of article.)

The references are to Brockelmann's "*Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*," where information as to other MSS.

and references to catalogues which give descriptions of the works are given. Occasionally I have given a reference to the British Museum Catalogue of Arabic MSS. (Brit. Mus.), to the Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Library of the India Office (Ind. Off.), or to Ahlwardt's "Verzeichniss der Arabischen Hss. der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin" (Ahlwardt).

- No. 4. The Zoological Dictionary entitled *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān al-Kubrā*, by *Kamāl ad-Dīn ad-Damīrī* (v. Brockelmann, ii, p. 138); complete in one volume; clearly written in a small hand. Dated Sha'bān 805 A.H.
- No. 5. Commentary on the *Nahj al-Balāgha* (No. 13), by 'Abd ul-Ḥamīd ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd al-Madā'inī (v. Brockelmann, i, p. 405; Brit. Mus., 1675). Date of copy, 1193 A.H.
- No. 6. *Kitāb Wafiyāt al-'A'yūn wa 'Anbā' 'Abnā' az-Zamān*, i.e. *Ibn Khallikān's* Biographical Dictionary. Towards the end the leaves are much damaged, and some have been lost entirely, for it breaks off in the middle of the life of Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb (De Slane's transl., iv, p. 586). No date. The front page has an ornamental title and the names of several possessors. The second of these gives the date of his acquisition of it as 1028 A.H.
- No. 7. The *Maqāmāt* of *al-Ḥarīrī*; clearly written and well-preserved, with notes written between the lines and on margin. The volume contains also (fols. 123^b–125^a) *al-Ḥarīrī's ar-Risāla as-Sīniya* and *ar-Risāla ash-Shīniya* (v. Brockelmann, i, p. 277). Not dated, but probably not old.
- [No. 8.] Another copy of *Ibn Khallikān's* Biographical Dictionary (No. 6), written in a more modern Eastern hand; complete, but injured by damp; ends with life of Abū'l-Faḍl Yūnus (ibn Manā) of De Slane's transl., iv, pp. 597–8. No date.
- No. 9. Title: *Mughnī al-Labīb 'an Kutub al-'A'arīb* (fol. 3^b). Grammar by *Jamāl ad-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Hishām al-Anṣūrī al-Hanbalī* (v. Brockelmann, ii, p. 23; Ahlwardt, 6725). A clearly written copy with copious marginal notes, especially at the beginning. No date. (Cf. No. 26.)
- No. 10. The *Ṣaḥīḥ* of *al-Bukhārī*. Complete in one volume of ff. 528; writing small but clear. Date 1109 A.H.

- No. 12. Digests of sections of Muḥammadan Law; not all in the same handwriting, and not arranged in proper order. Some of them are the same as parts of No. 36.
- No. 13. *Nahj al-Balāgha*; a collection of sayings of 'Alī. The author is not named; the work is usually attributed to *Zain al-'Ābidīn* (v. Brockelmann, i, p. 405).
- No. 14. Title: *Al-Manhal aṣ-Ṣafī w'al-Mustaufī ba'd al-Wāfī*. A biographical dictionary by *Yūsuf al-Taḡhrī-bardī* (v. Brockelmann, ii, p. 42). MS. is in good preservation, though binding is defective; writing clear and apparently old; no date. This is only the first volume of the work, ending with the life of Ṭalḥa al-Maḡhribī; the second volume is unfortunately not contained in the collection.
- No. 18. *Sharḥ Mafātīḥ aṣh-Sharā'i*. Vol. i. Author: *Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Murtaḍā Hādīmī*. Date of composition is given as 1090 A.H.; that of copying as 1175 A.H. The *Mafātīḥ aṣh-Sharā'i* appears from the preface to be a book composed by the uncle (?) of the author, Muḥammad ibn al-Murtaḍā Muḥsin (cf. Brockelmann, ii, p. 406, where, however, no such work is ascribed to him).
- No. 19. Vol. ii of same work; same handwriting and date.
- No. 20. Commentary on the *Lāmīyat al-'Ajam* of Toghrā'i by *Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn aṣ-Ṣafadī* (v. Brockelmann, i, p. 247). Date 979 A.H. (?).
- No. 21. Title: *Ta'rīkh Tabarī*. It is an abridgment of Ṭabarī's Chronicles, extending from the Creation to the fall of the Omayyad dynasty (133 A.H.). Part of this MS., beginning on fol. 126^b, seems to agree with Ahlwardt, No. 9424; the last heading quoted by Ahlwardt is found on fol. 209^b. The author is not named. MS. is dated 876 A.H.
- No. 24. A collection of poems composed by *Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Mūsawī*. On the poet's death in 1087 A.H. his patron Maulā Abū'l-Husain as-Sayyad 'Alī Khān encouraged his son to collect and arrange the poems which form this volume. MS. dated 1139 A.H.
- [No. 25.] *Al-Mufaṣṣal*; the well-known work on grammar by *az-Zamakhsharī*; frequent marginal annotations. No date.
- No. 26. *Mughnī al-Labīb*, by *Jamāl ad-Dīn*; same as No. 9; dated 27th of Rabī' al-Awwal, but year not given.
- No. 27. A short anonymous commentary on the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī; no date, but modern.

- No. 28. Title: *Al-Wāfiya fī sharḥ al-Kāfiya* (fol. 1^a); a commentary on the *Kāfiya* of Ibn al-Ḥāḡib by Rukn ad-Dīn al-Astarābādī (v. Ahlwardt, 6565; Brockelmann, i, p. 304). MS. is badly written and is in rather a tattered condition.
- No. 32. Title: *Al-Mustaṭraf fī kull fann Mustāṭraf*, by *Muhammad (ibn Aḥmad) al-Khaṭīb al-Abshīhī* (v. Brockelmann, ii, p. 56; Ahlwardt, 8387 ff.; beginning and end agree with Ahlwardt, 8388, No. 3). Dated Baṣra, Sha‘bān 1073.
- No. 33. Title: *Mukhtalaḥ ash-Shī‘a*, by *al-Hillī* (v. No. 49, where fuller form of title and author’s name is given). This is the second half of the work, containing divisions 4–6. Date of copying: Div. 4, 1084; divs. 5 and 6, 1087 A.H.
- [No. 34.] “*Ul-Camooṣ*,” the well-known Arabic Lexicon. MS. dated 1030 A.H.
- No. 35. *Al-Qāmūs*; same work as preceding; not dated.
- No. 36. *Fiḡh Imāmīya*. A digest of Muhammadan Law. Neither author nor date is mentioned, but its contents agree to a large extent with those of No. 37, and it would appear to be a revision and rearrangement of part of the material of the latter, with some sections added.
- No. 37. Bears on flyleaf the following note: “A digest of Muhammedan Law according to the sect of the Twelve Imams, by Sirajuddin I‘āi, by the direction of Sir William Jones.” It appears to have been drawn up in 1789–90; the different parts bear the date at which they were received. At beginning and end are notes in Captain Baillie’s handwriting indicating that he made a translation of it between 16th March, 1798, and 20th February, 1799.
- No. 41. Commentary on the *Kāfiya* of *Ibn al-Ḥāḡib*, founded on that of Daulatābādī; author is not named (v. Ind. Off., 937). MS. dated 1223 A.H.
- No. 42. Title: *Ad-Durr an-Nathīr*; an abridgment of Ibn al-Athīr’s *Nihāya fī Gharīb al-Ḥadīth*, by *as-Suyūṭī* (v. Brockelmann, i, 357).
- No. 43. Title: *Kitāb Anwār ar-Rabī‘ fī Anwā‘ al-Badī‘*, by ‘*Alī Sadr ad-Dīn al-Madanī* (v. Brockelmann, ii, p. 421). Date 1113 A.H.
- No. 45 (lithograph). A Muhammadan anti-Christian treatise entitled *al-Barāhīn as-Sābātīya*; lithographed in Calcutta 1814 A.D. = 1229 A.H.

- No. 46. Title: *Ghurar al-Hikam wa-Durar al-Kalim*; a collection of sayings of 'Alī arranged in alphabetical order by 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Āmidī (v. Brockelmann, i, p. 44).
- No. 47. Title: *Kanz al-Daqā'iq*; a treatise on Law by *Abū al-Barakāt 'Abd-Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd an-Nasafī* (v. Brockelmann, ii, p. 196). Copy not dated, but probably modern.
- [No. 48.] Title: *Kitāb al-'Ashbāh wa'n-Nazā'ir*; a work on Law (Hanafite) by *Zain (al-'Ābidīn) ibn Najīm* (sic) (v. Brockelmann, ii, p. 310). Date of composition given as 969 A.H.
- No. 49. Title, *Kitāb Mukhtalaf ash-Shī'a fī 'Aḥkām ash-Sharī'a*, and author's name, *Jamāl al-Ḥaqq w'ad-Dīn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Hillī* (cf. Brockelmann, ii, p. 164, where, however, this work is not mentioned), are given in a heading in the middle of the volume introducing division 4 of the work. This volume, though marked *المجلد الاول*, would appear rather to be the second, and contains divisions 3 and 4 of the work, the latter agreeing with the first part contained in No. 33. The rest of the work is unfortunately not in the collection.
- No. 51. Title: *Sharḥ ash-Shāfiya*; commentary on the *Shāfiya* of Ibn al-Ḥāḥib; by *Radī ad-Dīn al-Astarūbādī* (v. Brockelmann, i, p. 305). Dated 2nd of Jumādā al-'Ūlā, but year not given.
- No. 52. Title: *Sharḥ Shawāhid at-Tafsīrain*; an anonymous commentary on the proof-verses cited by *Zamakhsharī* and *al-Baiḍāwī* in their commentaries on the Qur'ān. Vol. i. Dated 1192 A.H. (For vol. ii v. No. 69.)
- No. 53. Title: *Miftāḥ al-Ḥisāb*, i.e. "the Key of Reckoning," by *Jamshīd ibn Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd at-Tayyib al-Kāshī al-Ghiyāth* (v. Brockelmann, ii, p. 211). MS. dated 1092 A.H.
- No. 54. Title: *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī 'Ilm al-Ma'ānī*; "the abridged" commentary of *Mas'ūd ibn 'Omar, Sa'd at-Taftazānī* (Brockelmann, ii, p. 215), on the *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, which is a work on Rhetoric founded on the *Miftāḥ al-'Ulūm* of *as-Sakkākī* (v. Ahlwardt, 7206). There are many marginal annotations. Copy dated 1109 A.H.
- No. 55. Title: *Sulāfat al-'Aṣr fī Maḥāsin 'A'yān al-'Aṣr*; biographical notices of the poets of the eleventh century by *'Alī Ṣadr ad-Dīn al-Madanī* (v. Brockelmann, ii, p. 421). Date of composition given as 1082 A.H. A clearly written and well-preserved copy; not dated.

- No. 56. Title pasted on back of cover: *Maqāmāt Badī'*, i.e. the *Maqāmāt* of *Badī' az-Zamān al-Hamadānī* (v. Brockelmann, i, p. 93). MS. contains forty *Maqāmāt*; is not dated, but appears comparatively modern.
- No. 57. Title: *Mawārid al-Kalim Salk Durar al-Hikm*. The author's name is apparently not mentioned. Probably it is the same work as that mentioned by Brockelmann (ii, p. 417) under the title *Mawārid al-Kalām* by *Faiḍ Allāh Abū'l Faḍl ibn al-Mubārak al-Hindī Faiḍī*; but I have not been able to consult a catalogue description of that work. MS. is small in size and clearly written.
- No. 58. Title seems to be: *Kitāb 'Uṣūl al-Handasa wa'l-Hisāb al-Mansūb 'ilā Aqlīdis*. Recension of Euclid's Geometry by *Nāṣir ad-Dīn at-Ṭūsī* (v. Brockelmann, i, p. 508; Ahlwardt, 5918). Date 982 A.H.
- No. 59. An Arabic recension of *Apollonius' Conic Sections*. Neither author nor date is mentioned. On flyleaf is written—

کتاب مخروطات ابلونیوس تحریر مولانا محمد قرددی (?)

- No. 60. *Qaṣīdat al-Burda*, by *Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd al-Būṣīrī* (v. Brockelmann, i, p. 264), with an interlinear Persian translation. Dated 962 A.H. It is followed by a Persian commentary on the poem by *Faḍl Allāh ibn Roz Bahān Isfahānī*. Date of composition, 887 A.H.
- No. 61. Title: *Al-Kashkūl*; an anthology containing both Arabic and Persian, by *Bahā ad-Dīn al-'Āmilī* (v. Brockelmann, ii, p. 414 f.; Ind. Off., 834). It consists of five parts, all contained in this volume of 529 folios. Date of copy given at end of part 4, fol. 432^a, 1085 A.H.
- No. 63. Title: *'Abāb al-Lubāb fī Tawḍīḥ Ratā'iq al-I'rāb* (v. Brockelmann, i, p. 297); a commentary on the *Lubāb al-I'rāb* of *Tāj ad-Dīn al-Isfarā'īnī*. Author's name apparently not mentioned. MS. in rather a tawdry condition. Date 843 A.H.
- No. 64. An anonymous treatise on *Punishments* (تعزیرات). In the preface the author states that he undertook it under arrangement with Mr. Henry Colebrooke and Mr. John Herbert Harrington, afterwards consulting Captain John Baillie.

No. 65. A grammar entitled *Nādir al-Bayān*, by *Aḥmad ibn Mas'ūd al-Husaini al-Harkāmi al-Hadīya*, with an interwoven commentary by himself entitled *Bāhir al-Burhān*. Date of composition, 1150 A.H. Volume contains also at end thirty folios in Persian dealing with "the qualities of numbers."

No. 66. Title: *Anwār at-Tansīl*, i.e. Baiḍāwī's commentary on the Qur'ān. Not dated.

No. 69. Vol. ii of the *Sharḥ Shawāhid at-Tafsīrain* (No. 52), or as the title appears in a concluding poem, 'Is'āf *Shawāhid al-Qādī ma' al-Kashshāf*.

No. 94. Title: *Kitāb at-Tājain*; contains (I) *Tāj al-'Asāmi*; apparently a dictionary of Arabic nouns with Persian explanations; begins—

الحمد لله المحمود بجميع الاوصاف والاسماء

Author's name is not given.

(II) *Tāj al-Maṣādir*; a dictionary of Arabic infinitives with Persian equivalents by *Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Baihaqi* (v. Brockelmann, i, p. 293). Date 842 A.H.

No. 104. Title: *Muntakhib al-Lughāt*; a Persian dictionary of Arabic words; author's name appears to be 'Abd ar-Rashīd *Tatawi* (?).

No. 126. Neither author, title, nor date is given. It is the tale of Majnūn banī 'Āmir (v. Brockelmann, i, p. 48) with his poems included. It begins—

ذكر والله اعلم بعينه واحكم واعز واكرم والطف فيما مضى وتقدم
وسلف من احاديث الامم مما رواه حبيب بن رباح مما نقله

من غيره

No. 132. Title (fol. 3): *Kashf az-Zunūn 'Ala 'Asūmī al-Kutub wa'l-Funūn*; the bibliographical dictionary of *Hajī Khalfa*, or rather an abridgment of it, for there are many extensive and unaccountable omissions. The MS. itself gives no indication of date or object of the recension.

- No. . Thin unbound volume ; contains (1) an extract written in clear Naskhi from Ṭabarsī (Brockelmann, i, p. 405), giving a Qaṣīda by Di'bil (Brockelmann, i, p. 78) and the circumstances of its recitation. The Qaṣīda begins—

تجاوبن بالارنان والزفرات نواشح عجم اللفظ والنطق

- (2) In a different hand, a Persian ethico-religious pamphlet.

- No. . Apparently a scrapbook containing extracts both in Arabic and in Persian, from various sources and in various hands.

The same case contains two copies of the Qur'ān illuminated with gold, one from the library of Tippoo Sahib, the other a memento of the expedition to Magdala ; but these do not belong to the Baillie Collection.

Note.—Since this article was written the cataloguing of the Oriental books and manuscripts in the University Library has been undertaken, and the catalogue will shortly be ready for printing. I am indebted to Mr. Musharraf al-Huk, who has been engaged in this work, for the information that a few volumes belonging to the Baillie Collection have been preserved in other parts of the Library. Besides a copy of the first twenty treatises of the *Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā*, printed at Calcutta A.H. 1228, and a beautifully printed copy of the *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, these include a MS. of part 8.

Al-Jāmi' li-Qiwā al-'Adwiya w-al-'Aghdhiyu, a dictionary of simple medicaments by Ziyā ad-Dīn Abī Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Mālikī Ibn al-Bītār (cf. Brit. Mus., p. 691a, Ahlwardt, 2001). The MS. begins at letter خ and ends at س : it has been much injured by damp.

XVIII.

OMAR KHAYYAM.

By H. BEVERIDGE.

AS is well known, the authors of the earlier Persian anthologies do not give specimens of Omar Khayyam's poetry. In fact, they did not regard him as a poet, but as a *hakim*, or philosopher, who occasionally wrote verses, and perhaps this view is more correct than the ordinary European one, and the estimate which Omar himself would have made. Poetry with him was the amusement of his leisure hours, and we might style his quatrains, in the words used by Palgrave about Bacon's stanzas, as "a fine example of a peculiar class of poetry—that written by thoughtful men who practised this Art but little." Such intermittent springs of poetry are not much appreciated by Orientals, who like quantity as well as quality. In speaking of a poet, they are generally careful to tell us how many thousand couplets he wrote. They admire Firdusi perhaps more for his having written 50,000 couplets—exclusive of his *Joseph* and *Zulaika*—than for his really fine passages, though it must be admitted that they seldom read him through, and practically only know him in extracts. As Professor Cowell has remarked in his excellent notice of Omar, which well deserves reprinting, "Every other poet of Persia has written too much—even her noblest sons of genius weary with their prolixity. The language has a fatal facility of rhyme, which makes it easier to write in verse than in prose, and every author heaps volumes on volumes, until he buries himself and his reader beneath their weight. Our mathematician is the one solitary exception. He has left fewer lines than Gray."

Daulat Shah (Professor Browne's ed., p. 137) mentions Omar, but only as an astronomer, and as the ancestor of a poet named Shāhfūr Ashhari, who seems to be quite unknown at the present day. There is, however, a comparatively early writer who gives specimens of Omar's quatrains, and also a *qiṭ'a* of sixteen lines which appears to have escaped the notice of biographers. This is Saiyid 'Alī b. Maḥmūd al Ḥusainī, who lived in the time of Akbar, and who wrote his *Tazkirah* entitled the *Bazmārāi*, or "Ornament of the Banquet," in 1000 A.H., or 1592 A.D. A manuscript of this work is in the Sydney Churchill collection in the British Museum, Or. 3,389, and is described in Rieu's Supplement to his Catalogue of Persian MSS., p. 73, No. 106. The account of Omar is under the word *Khayyām*, and begins at p. 77^b. It begins with a high-flown panegyric, in which Omar is described as "the Pole of the heaven of vision, and the Pearl of the ocean of wisdom. All the wise men of Persia were but his slaves, and the wise men of Arabia confessed their inferiority to him. In the solving of difficulties Euclid was surpassed by him, and Aristotle was his packman. In order to whet his intellect and to test his powers Omar would write verses, and among them is a *qiṭ'a*." It is curious as showing how Saiyid 'Alī regarded Omar's verse-making as only a subsidiary accomplishment, that we find him using the same phrase of whetting the intellect, etc., at p. 159, in describing the poetry of the Emperor Akbar, of whose compositions several specimens are given.

The *qiṭ'a* consists of a satirical dialogue between Omar and Reason. Omar puts several questions, and Reason gives mocking replies. The text is as follows:—

OMAR KHAYYAM'S VERSES.

دوش با عقل در سخر بودم کشف شد بر دلم مثالی چند
 گفتم امی مایه هم دانش دارم الحق ز تو سوالی چند
 چیست این زندگانی دنیا گفت خوابست یا خیالی چند
 گفتم اورا چه حاصل است بگویی گفت درد سرو و بالی چند
 گفتمش چیست کد خدای گفت ساعتی عیث و غمہ سالی چند
 گفتم اہل ستم چه طایفہ اند گفت گرگ و سگ و شغالی چند
 گفتم این نفی رام کے گردد گفت چون یافت گوشمالی چند
 گفتمش چیست گفتہ خیام گفت بیراست حب و حالہ چند

TRANSLATION.

Yesterday I jested with Reason.
 My heart wanted some explanations.
 I said : " O fulness of all knowledge,
 I desire to ask you some questions.
 What is this life in the world ? "
 He said : " A sleep or some dreams."
 I said : " What is the result of it ? "
 He said : " Headache and some griefs."
 I said to him : " What is marriage ? " He said :
 " Pleasure for an hour and irritation for years."
 I said : " What is the troop of oppressors ? "
 He said : " Wolves, dogs, and some jackals."
 I said : " What will tame this sensual soul ? "
 He said : " When it has got some buffets."
 I said to him : " What are Khayyam's writings ? "
 He said : " Wrong calculations and some frenzies."

After the *qit'a* there come numerous extracts from the quatrains. Probably Omar was a favourite at Akbar's free-thinking Court, and Saiyid 'Alī, who had for his patron 'Abdu-r-raḥīm the Khān-khānān and son of the great Bairām, may have been induced on this account to quote him so largely. We know that Akbar admired Omar, for he said that his quatrains should be taken as a relish to the wine of Hafiz's odes, and we find even the orthodox Badayūnī quoting from him.

Another notice of Omar occurs in the *Tazkirah Ḥusainī*, a work described in Rieu's Catalogue, I, 372^a, and in Sprenger's Catalogue of the Oude MSS., p. 134. This *Tazkirah* was written by Mir Ḥusain Dost Sambhalī, and consists of short biographies of Imāms, saints, and poets, arranged in alphabetical order. Its date is much later than that of the *Bazmārāi*, it having been written at Delhi about 1750, or nearly at the same time as the *Riyāzu-sh-shu'arā*, quoted by Mr. Denison Ross. Omar's name appears in it under the letter Kha. After mentioning, as in other biographies, that Omar was in high favour with Sultan Sanjar and used to sit beside him, it goes on to say that at last Omar opened the door of self-reproach for his drinking propensities, broke his flagon (*abṛīq*) and spilled the wine upon the ground, and then recited a quatrain (quoted in the MS.), telling how he had closed against himself the door of enjoyment. We are also told that Omar's countenance had become black, but that on his expressing contrition and praying to God for pardon his complexion was restored to him. The *Tazkirah* then tells the story about Omar's mother praying that he might be forgiven, and quotes the quatrains numbered 185, 398, 411, and 488 in Whinfield's edition, but with variations in the case of No. 185. With reference to quatrain 488, which is the one Omar is said to have quoted to his mother in a dream, it is singular that in the Lucknow MS., described in Sprenger's Catalogue, p. 464, this quatrain began the series. This might imply that it was written by some posthumous defender of the poet. It may also be noted

here that the author of the *Bazmārāi* adds after Omar's name the words "May God have mercy upon him," as if Omar had been a good Musalman. Both the *Riyāzu-sh-shu'arā* and the *Tazkirah Ḥusainī* describe Omar as having begun by being very pious and ascetic.

With reference to Mr. Denison Ross's life of Omar, p. 55, I may point out that the story of the three friends is older than 1310. As far as is known, it is first mentioned in the *Jami'-ut-tawārikh*, which was completed in that year, but it is given there as taken from a book called the "Adventures of Ḥasan Ṣabah," which was found at the taking of Alamūt in 1256. See the *Calcutta Review* for October, 1904.

In his notice of Omar, Dr. Sprenger refers to *Khūshgo* and the *Atishkada* for particulars. The *Atishkada* has been lithographed, and the notice occurs at p. 139, but the first volume of *Khūshgo* seems not to be in any English library, though it is in the Berlin library, Pertsch, p. 619, No. 652.

It has been supposed by Fitzgerald that there is an allusion in the last line of quatrain 353 (Whinfield's edition) to the alleged dying exclamation of Nizāmu-l-Mulk, but the expression "We come from earth and to the winds we go" seems to be a commonplace with Persian poets, and occurs under another form in the *Shāhnāma*. When Sohrāb is dying, he says (p. 367 of Turner Macan), *Chū baraq āmadam raftam iknūn chū bād*, "Like lightning I came, like wind now I go."

The new life of Omar by J. K. M. Shirazi does not, I regret to say, add anything to our knowledge of Omar. The author speaks of having had access to some extremely rare MSS., but, if so, he has brought nothing back. He mentions a *tazkirah* of the thirteenth century, but does not give its name, or tell us any more of its contents than that it says Omar lived to be more than a hundred!

It would seem that Hyde was the first European to call attention to Omar and to quote one of his quatrains. For this reference I am indebted to my friend Mr. Whinfield, who quotes Hyde, *Specimen*, p. 499. The next person after him, perhaps, who wrote about Omar was Mountstuart

Elphinstone, who, in speaking of an Afghan sect bearing the name of Moolah Zukkee, says: "Their tenets appear to be very ancient, and are precisely those of the old Persian poet Kheioom, whose works exhibit such specimens of impiety as probably never were equalled in any other language. Kheioom dwells particularly on the existence of evil, and taxes the Supreme Being with the introduction of it, in terms which can scarcely be believed. The Sūfīs have unaccountably pressed this writer into their service; they explain away some of his blasphemies by forced interpretations, and others they represent as innocent freedoms and reproaches, such as a lover may pour out against his beloved" (Account of Caubul, ed. 1842, i, 274).

XIX

HELLENISM AND MUHAMMADANISM.

By E. H. WHINFIELD, M.A., late of the Bengal Civil Service.

I BELIEVE I shall be doing good service to students of Moslem literature if I venture to call their attention to a recently published book, which at first sight may seem quite foreign to their special subject. Dr. Caird's recent Gifford Lectures on the "Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers" throw a flood of light on the genesis and growth of those Hellenic ideas which have so profoundly modified Christian and some parts of Moslem theology. The scholastic and the mystical theology of Christendom and Islam ran in courses parallel to one another, and the influence of the Hellenic factor is equally operative in both. Each may be regarded as the offspring of a cross between Hebraic and Hellenic ideas. It has, of course, long been recognised that Moslem scholastic theology (*Al Kalām*) has been built up, like its Christian counterpart, from Aristotelian concepts, and, moreover, that the Christian schoolmen drew much of their knowledge of Aristotle from Arabic authorities. The great commentary of Averroes, for instance, is mentioned by Dante, who censures his doctrine of the Universal Soul, afterwards condemned by the Lateran Council of 1512. Long ago, Jourdain made a careful study of the translations of Aristotle used by the schoolmen, and showed how many of them had come through Arabic. Schmölders proved that Moslem scholasticism is Aristotle with a Neo-Platonic colouring. The so-called "Theology of Aristotle," for instance, is merely a summary of the *Enneads* of Plotinus, "the Shaikh of the Greeks." Renan, Dieterici, and others have left little more to be said on the subject of Moslem scholasticism.

The Sufi mystical theology or Gnosis has been built up out of Hellenic conceptions quite as much as the scholastic theology of the *Mutakallamīn*. This is expressly stated by Hajji Khalifa in his article on Sufism, by the author of the *Dabistān*, and others. Tholuck demonstrated the dependence of Sufi theology on Neo-Platonism about eighty years ago, and this view has been accepted by most of those who have studied the subject. I need only mention Professor E. G. Browne and Mr. Nicholson. The very clear accounts of Neo-Platonism given by Dr. Caird, and by Dr. Harnack in his "History of Dogma," seem to leave no room for further doubt as to the real genesis of Sufi theology.

The problem before Moslem divines was, how to frame a reasoned theology out of the unreasoned spontaneous religious 'experiences' of devout enthusiasts. The Sufi enthusiasts claimed intuitions of God, whereby they apprehended His presence within them, just as they perceived outward objects by the ordinary senses. They also claimed direct spiritual communion and even identification with God. These claims had to be reckoned with because they seemed to be vouched for to some extent by their visible fruits of devout conduct, and they also seemed to draw some support from texts like "God is nearer to you than your neck-vein," and from a few traditions. But the immanent God of the Sufis hardly squared with the supramundane Allah of the Koran, who dwells above the Empyrean and rules men with the "reins of hope and fear." Of course the Sufi enthusiasts held that "the spiritual man can be judged by none," but sober divines cannot admit this plea. They are compelled to "try the spirits," because, as Wesley said, "Satan has been known to mimic the work of grace."

The instrument whereby Moslem divines framed a rationale of the rough materials given by Sufi 'experiences' was the same as that used by Christian mystical theologians, viz. the theosophic gnosis of Plotinus. Ghazzālī and others familiarized Moslems with his doctrines, just as Origen, Augustine, and the pseudo-Dionysius conveyed them to Christendom.

As Dr. Caird points out, the main principle of Greek philosophy from Anaxagoras onwards was Dualism, that is, the severance of the One from the Many, of God from the world. They reached a quasi-concept of the One by the 'negative way,' the ladder of dialectical abstraction, and, as Dr. Caird says, pulling the ladder up behind them reached a pure abstraction, void of all positive contents. Thus Plato described the Ideal Good as 'beyond existence,' and therefore as beyond thought. Plotinus begins with a dualism as pronounced as that of Plato. He sets his 'One,' the unknowable ultimate Being, in opposition to 'Not-being' (*To mē on*). But he then goes on to bridge the gulf between them. Through its inherent exuberant energy, the One radiates forth an image of itself into Reason (*Nous*) which comprehends both thought and real existence. Reason is thus the channel through which is conveyed to the visible world what little reality it has. By a second emanation Soul proceeds from Reason, and this Soul is in turn poured forth into particular souls of men, and in ever decreasing degrees of reality into the lower animal and plant souls. Man is thus midway down the descent, "created half to rise and half to fall." The spark of real being within him tends upwards to its divine source, while his affinity to unreal matter drags him down. The 'return' to the divine source is to be effected not by moral conduct alone nor by human understanding, for the 'One' transcends both. It can be attained only by retracing the downward course, whereby man has come into contact with unreal matter. Man must abstract or strip off the material and sensuous accretions which clog and veil his real essence. He must mortify all earthly affections and lusts and self-will, and then annul all exercise of his intellect and even all consciousness. In this state of ecstasy in complete passivity he may obtain exaltation above his individual self, and become united as to his noblest part with the 'One.' This doctrine has been made familiar by Augustine, e.g. his discourse with his mother at Ostia, and reappears in Eckart and even in the Apology of the Quaker Barclay, who found it in a Sufi romance translated by Ockley.

The parallel between the above system and Sufi theosophy is very close.¹ The Sufi God, 'The Truth' (*Al Haqq*), is the One of Plotinus. In the Sufi Universal Reason (*'Aql ul Kull*) and Universal Soul (*Nafs ul Kull*) we have the other two hypostases of the Plotinian Trinity. Lāhijī says Muhammad was identified with Universal Reason, and thus the Logos doctrine tended to play the same part in Moslem theology that it has in Christendom. But the stern monotheism of the Koran prevented this. The Sufis, however, did adopt the Plotinian doctrine that it was through the channel of Universal Reason that the real being of the 'One' was conveyed to the contingent being of men and the world. And they pictured this process by the Plotinian metaphor of reflected rays. According to the *Gulshan i Rāz*, "Man is the reflected eye and God the light of the eye. In that eye God sees His own eye; He is at once the seer and thing seen." This seems to come near the Hegelian Monist doctrine that God realizes Himself in the universe. The Sufi doctrine that God is the 'One Real Agent' (*Fā'il i Haqiqi*), and that to believe in free-will is Magian dualism, supports this view. But theologians seldom let regard for consistency stand in the way of edification. Like Plotinus, the Sufis reverted to dualism directly monism became unedifying. The *Gulshan i Rāz* says, "Everything comes from the 'Truth,' yet if there be evil in anything, that evil comes from 'Other,' " i.e. from Not-being (*'Adm*).² Just so Augustine calls evil a negation, a departure from real being. But the Sufis could not quite ignore the unpleasant fact that disease and suffering and bad passions are something more than mere negative and negligible quantities. As Dante remarked, "Brute matter is essentially

¹ It has been asserted recently that Neo-Platonism never penetrated the east of the empire, but in point of fact Avicēna, Ghazzālī, Shāhrastānī, and Jāmī were all natives of Khorāsān, and Al Farābī of Turkistān.

² Dugald Stewart says of Pope's lines—

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is and God the soul,"

that they do not maintain pantheism. The seeming pantheism or panpsychism is thus softened into a form of dualism.

an intractable *something* which does not respond to the design of the divine Artist." So the Sufis, like all mystics, got out of the difficulty by falling back on emotion. In practice they came to identify their abstract God, 'The Truth,' exalted (as Jāmi says) above all predicates, with the very personal Allah of the Koran, endued with the attributes of love and wrath (Jamāl and Jalāl). On such a God emotion could freely fasten. Jalāluddīn Rumi says a true lover prides himself on trusting his beloved in spite of her cruelty, and thus love puts the cavils of dry reason to silence. He regards suffering as having a beneficent purpose, and divine 'compulsion' as compatible with human freedom. This doctrine of love has, of course, its roots in Sufi 'experiences,' but it was developed by the theologians with the aid of the conceptions of the Phædrus and Symposium. "Beauty stands on the threshold of the mystical world," and beautiful earthly objects raise the thoughts to their divine Archetype, as Spenser tells in his "Hymn of Heavenly Beauty." Aristotle had said that God, Himself unmoved, moves men as an object of love, and it is precisely this love which the Sufis postulate as the force drawing men up to 'The Truth.'

By the method of allegorical interpretation, used by all Hellenizing theologians from Philo onwards, the text "To Him shall we return" was twisted into the meaning of the Neo-Platonic '*Epistrophē*' (*Ma'ād*). That is to say, it was conceived as a process analogous to logical abstraction (*Tajrid*), the stripping off of all sensuous material accretions which veil man's real essence. As with Plotinus, this 'return' had three stages—the Law (*Shari'at*), the Path (*Tariqat*), and the 'Truth' (*Haqiqat*). The first stage, which was within the capacity of all men, comprised moral conduct and the external righteousness of the law. The Path comprised asceticism and contemplation (*Murāqabat*), the two ideals of the monastic life, and could be accomplished by spiritual men only. The Prophet had said, "There is no monkery in Islam," and propitiation by sacrifices is no part of the official Moslem creed. The worship of the Mosque

is that of the Synagogue, not that of the Temple. The idea that perfection is to be gained through suffering and self-sacrifice seems almost universal, and is expressed by the Indian Jogis no less than by writers like Goethe, Carlyle, and Matthew Arnold. The Sufis perhaps got it from the Encratite sects in Syria, where the first Sufi convents were established. The Neo-Platonic doctrine of the need for stripping off all sensuous accretions supplied a logical rationale for Sufi ascetic practices. Contemplation is equivalent to the Greek *Theōria*, the concentration of thought on the divine spark in the soul. It is the '*Introrsum ascensio*' of Christian mystics. The final goal is the annihilation of all thought and consciousness (*Fanā*), corresponding to the Ecstasy of Plotinus. In this state the distinction of subject and real object becomes transparent and is transcended, and man is united as to his real essence with the divine Being who comprehends all. Lāhijī says it is actual unity (*Wahdat*) which is thus realized, not mere union of two entities (*Ittihād*). Ghazzālī says, "In that state man is effaced from self so that he is conscious neither of his body, nor of outward objects, nor of inward feelings. He is rapt above all these, journeying first *to* his Lord, then *in* his Lord." He says he attained it three times, while Plotinus is said to have attained it four times.

The saintly mystic Abū Sa'id bin Abī-l Khair once discussed Sufism with the philosopher Avicena, and when Avicena propounded the Neo-Platonic theology Abū Sa'id cut him short with the remark, "All that you *know* I *see*." In other words, "All the conclusions which you have wrought out by intellect are revealed to me directly by the inner light. I am in touch with the Deity, and feel His motions in my soul and see and commune with Him." Avicena may not improbably have replied that men who lack such inner light or intuitive reason can attain knowledge of the Deity only through ordinary senses and understanding. What they want is a rational account of the matter intelligible to all, and such a rationale was supplied by the Neo-Platonic reasoned gnosis.

This story is an apt illustration of the main thesis of this paper. By what he claimed to have 'seen' Abū Sa'id meant his 'experiences,' the 'experimental mysticism' which is merely an extreme form of the religious feelings of devout men in all countries. These were certainly not borrowed by the Sufis from Greek or any other sources. What Avicenna claimed to know was the reasoned theology of Plotinus. Avicenna was not a Sufi, but I think it clear that the Sufi divines borrowed the same theology to explain and justify Sufi 'experiences.' Dieterici's summary of the *Ikhwānu-s Safā* in his "Die Welt Seele" and Haarbrucker's translation of Shāhrastānī's "Book of Sects" prove that the main Neo-Platonic ideas and terminology were familiar to Moslem philosophers, and Palmer's "Oriental Mysticism," which is a summary of the Sufi "Maqsadu-l Aqsā," proves that this Neo-Platonic gnosis was carried into the domain of Sufism. The Neo-Platonic watchwords appear in Sufi poems from that of Hakīm Sanāi (sixth century A.H.) onwards. And in the *Gulshan i Rāz* (eighth century A.H.), translated by me, we find still further development of Neo-Platonic doctrine.

There is an ancient quarrel between poetry and philosophy, emotion and reason, and naturally (as before remarked) pious Sufis did not like this intrusion of reason into their province. They thought this reasoned theology raised more difficulties than it solved, and tended rather to weaken than to fortify simple faith. That, however, is too large a question to be discussed in this paper.

XX.

BHĀMAHA THE RHETORICIAN.

By M. T. NARASIMHIENGAR, B.A.

[This paper on Bhāmaha is based upon a transcript kindly lent to me by my friend Paṇḍit Anandālvār, of the Mysore Archæological Office, from whom I learn that the original palm-leaf manuscript was found by, and is now in the possession of, Professor M. Rangāchāryar, M.A., of the Madras Presidency College.—M. T. N.]

IT is a matter of great importance that Bhāmaha's work on Rhetoric has been discovered, and we are now able to judge of his position among Sanskrit authors. A careful and critical study of the work will amply repay the trouble of the reader ; but from a cursory reading I have been able to gather the following particulars of the author and his work, which I trust may be of general interest to the Sanskritists of the present day.

BHĀMAHA'S RELIGION AND DESCENT.

Bhāmaha seems to have been a Buddhist in religion, for the introductory verse¹ contains a salutation to Sārva, which is a name of Buddha. Bhāmaha himself derives later on in the work the two forms *Sārva* and *Sarvīya*, as follows :—

हितप्रकरणे णं च सर्वशब्दात्प्रयुज्यते ।

ततश्छमिष्या च यथा सार्वस्सार्वीय² इत्यपि ॥

¹ प्रणम्य सार्वं सर्वज्ञं मनोवाङ्मायकर्मभिः ।

काव्यालङ्कार इत्येष यथाबुद्धि विधास्यते ॥

² The reading here ought to be *सर्वीयइत्यपि*, since the ending छ (= होय) does not, according to Pāṇini, change the first vowel of the word into its *vṛiddhi*.

This derivation¹ is quite in accordance with the doctrine of universal love characteristic of the Buddhists. Hēmachandra, however, mentions the word *Sārva* among the names of Jina in his *Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi* (I, 1. 25); and his follower Jinadēvamuniśvara, at the beginning of his lexicon called *Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi-śilōṇchha* (which is a supplement of Hēmachandra's work), gives the additional form *Sarvīya* as a name of Jina. But we learn from the closing stanza of Bhāmaha's work that the author was the son of *Rakrila-gōmin*; and this term *Gōmin* is a Buddhistic title,² as it is one of the names of the Buddhist disciples according to Purushōttama's *Trikāṇḍaśēsha* (I, 1. 25). Also the form *Rakrila*, from its termination, reminds us of the well-known Buddhistic names Rāhula, Rāmila, Sōmila, Pōtala, Jambhala, etc. Further, the word *Sarvajña*, in the introductory verse above referred to, is, according to the *Amarakōśa*, a name of Buddha. These circumstances lead us to suppose that the word *Sārva* in the introductory verse refers to Buddha alone, and that Hēmachandra's interpretation of the term may be probably due to the fact that before his time several Buddhistic names³ had been adopted by the Jains and had found their way into Jain literature.

HIS AGE.

In his introduction to *Kavirāja-mārga* (p. 16) Mr. Pāṭhak says that Bhāmaha is prior to Daṇḍin; but I believe we have conclusive evidence *now* to prove that the reverse is the case. A close comparison of the works of Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha has enabled me to collect the following cumulative

¹ Cf. *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* (p. 150) under *Taddhita* :—

सर्वपुरुषाभ्यां णट्ठौ (पा, v, 1, 10). सर्वाण्यो वेति वक्तव्यम् (वा).
—सर्वस्य हितं सार्वं सर्वोयम्.

² Cf. *Chandragomin*, identical with *Chandra* the grammarian (see Peterson's Introduction to *Subhāshitāvalī*).

³ Cf. the following names of Buddha found in the *Amarakōśa* and *Trikāṇḍaśēsha* referred to Jina by Hēmachandra :—(1) Jina, (2) Sarvajña, (3) Bhagavān, (4) Sarvadarśī, (5) Arhan, (6) Vitarāga, etc.

evidence in favour of my contention that Bhāmaha should be placed after Daṇḍin.

Bhāmaha's work is full of criticisms against the views of his predecessors, and most of them are unmistakably aimed at Daṇḍin. Though Daṇḍin is not expressly mentioned by Bhāmaha, still the school of Daṇḍin is often referred to by such expressions as *अन्ये*, *अपरे*, *केचित्* . . . , and is sometimes (I, 32) jeeringly spoken of as *अमेधसः* (fools), and once introduced by the ironical expression *कैश्चिन्नहात्मभिः* (II, 37). Again, Bhāmaha follows Daṇḍin in many respects, and approvingly quotes at times the very words of the *Kāvyādarśa*. In one place we find nearly a half-verse of the *Kāvyādarśa* quoted and criticized by Bhāmaha, which is sufficient by itself to prove the priority of Daṇḍin.

Let us *first* enumerate some of the points wherein Bhāmaha criticizes Daṇḍin :—

(1) Daṇḍin, following his predecessors, treats of the *alaṅkāras* as separate from the *kāvyaśarīra* (the main body of the *kāvya*), (see I, 9–10); and Bhāmaha takes objection to this procedure in his work (I, 14).

(2) Daṇḍin does not treat of *anuprāsa* and *yamaka* in the chapter on *alaṅkāras*, but deals with them under a separate head along with *śabdachitra*, considering them as of minor importance (see *Kāvyādarśa*, I, 60–61); whereas Bhāmaha gives them precedence in his chapter on *alaṅkāras*, and expressly admits that both the kinds of *alaṅkāras*—*śabda* and *ārtha*—are welcome to himself (I, 14–15). Moreover, Bhāmaha refutes, in strong terms, Daṇḍin's criticism of the Gaudīya views on the point.

(3) Bhāmaha's verses (I, 22–23)—

नायकं प्रागुपन्यस्य वंशवीर्यश्रुतादिभिः ।
न तस्मैव वधं ब्रूयादन्वोत्कर्षाभिधित्तया ॥
यदि काव्यशरीरस्य न स व्यापितयेष्यते ।
न चाभ्युदयभाक्तस्य मुधादौ यद्वयं सखे ॥

totally reject the statement of Daṇḍin (I, 22) that a preliminary description of the enemy's virtues in order to glorify the hero is also praiseworthy. He argues (in I, 23) that, if that *nāyaka* (the enemy) is not the hero of the poem and is not to come off victorious in the end, it is utterly useless to describe his virtues at the beginning.

(4) Daṇḍin holds (in I, 28) that the two kinds of prose-writing called *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*, though defined differently, are in reality only two different names for one and the same thing; whereas Bhāmaha regards them as entirely different. Further, Daṇḍin says (in I, 25) that the hero of a *kathā* may be described either by himself or by others; and Bhāmaha argues that a high-born hero will never praise himself, and his merits are to be extolled *only* by others (I, 29).

(5) Daṇḍin recognizes (in I, 40) the two kinds of style—the *vaidarbhi* and the *gaudī*—as entirely different, and prefers the former, the characteristics of which he treats at length (I, 43–105); but Bhāmaha totally rejects this distinction, and abuses the school of Daṇḍin in the following verses :—

वेदर्भमन्यदस्तीति मन्यन्ते सुधियोऽपरे ।
तदेव च किल ज्यायस्तदर्थमपि नापरे ॥
गौडीयमिदमेतत्तु वेदर्भमिति किं पृथक् ।
गतानुगतिकन्यायान्नानास्त्रेयममेधसाम् ॥

(I, 31–32.)

(6) Daṇḍin regards *Svabhāvōkti* as an important alaṅkāra, and gives it the first place in his chapter on alaṅkāras; but Bhāmaha seems to attach no importance to it, and only remarks at the end of the second chapter that *some* regard it as an alaṅkāra. On the other hand, Bhāmaha regards *Vakrōkti* as the essence of every alaṅkāra, and says there can be no alaṅkāra without it (II, 85).

(7) Daṇḍin recognizes more than *thirty* varieties of *Upamālaṅkāra*, but Bhāmaha rejects most of them, and thinks that such a detailed classification is useless. For example, the three kinds of *Upamā* called *Nindōpamā*,

Praśamsōpamā, and *Anubhayōpamā* are rejected on the ground that they may be classed under *Samānōpamā*; and the other varieties such as *Mālōpamā* are regarded as merely superfluous (Bhāmaha, I, 37–38).

Many more points of a like nature may be quoted, wherein Bhāmaha aims his criticisms against Daṇḍin, but these, I think, are sufficient to prove my contention.

Next let us consider a few of the points wherein Bhāmaha closely follows Daṇḍin or quotes his very words :—

(1) Bhāmaha's definition of a *mahā-kāvya* is in many respects similar to that of Daṇḍin. Compare with Daṇḍin (I, 14–19) :—

सर्गबन्धो महाकाव्यं महतां च महश्च यत् ।
 अयाम्यशब्दमर्थं च सासङ्कारं सदाश्रयम् ॥
 मन्त्रदूतप्रयाणाविनायकाभ्युदयैश्च यत् ।
 पञ्चभिस्सन्धिभिर्युक्तं नातिव्याख्येयमृद्धिमत् ॥
 चतुर्वर्गाभिधानेऽपि भूयसाऽर्थोपदेशकतः ।
 युक्तं लोकस्वभावेन रसैश्च सकलैः पृथक् ।

(Bhāmaha, I, 19–21.)

(2) Bhāmaha enumerates the various faults in composition as follows :—

अपार्थं व्यर्थमेकार्थं ससंशयमपक्रमम् ।
 शब्दहीनं यतिवृष्टं भिन्नवृत्तं विसन्धि च ॥
 देशकालकलालोकन्यायागमविरोधि च ।
 प्रतिज्ञाहेतुदृष्टान्तहीनं दुष्टं च नेष्यते ॥

(IV, 1–2.)

The first three lines of this quotation are exactly identical with Daṇḍin's verses III, 125–6.

(3) Bhāmaha's verse (IV, 8)

समुदायार्थशून्यं यत्तदपार्थक्यमिष्यते ।

closely resembles Daṇḍin's III, 128.

Such a close agreement of expressions cannot be merely accidental. Obviously one of the authors must be quoting from the other; and for the reasons already set forth it is clearly Bhāmaha that quotes from Daṇḍin.

Lastly, there is a point which, as I have already remarked, is *by itself* sufficient to conclusively prove the posteriority of Bhāmaha. In one place he quotes nearly a half-verse from Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*, and condemns it by treating it as an example of one of the *six* faults¹ in composition enumerated by himself in I, 37. The full verse² of Daṇḍin runs as follows :—

विचितात्मभवद्वेषिगुहपादहतो जनः ।

हिमापहामिचधरैर्ब्याप्तं व्योमाभिनन्दति ॥

(III, 120.)

According to Daṇḍin this verse is a perfectly good example of that kind of *Prahēlikā* (riddle) which he calls *Parihārikā* and defines thus :—

योगमाज्ञात्मिका नाम या स्वात्सा परिहारिका ।

(III, 104) ;

that is, *Parihārikā* is that kind of riddle in which the idea intended can be understood only by linking together in regular succession the several words of the passage. Bhāmaha quotes from the latter half of the above verse and condemns it as an example of *arāchaka* in the following

नेयार्थं क्लिष्टमन्वार्थमवाचकमयुक्तिमत ।

गडशब्दाभिधानं च कवयो न प्रयुज्जते ॥

(Bhāmaha, I, 37.)

¹ The authorship of this verse is indubitable. Śāringadhara, who is always very careful in tracing stanzas to their original sources, *specifically* ascribes this verse to Daṇḍin and explains it as follows :—

“ विना गडदेन जितः इन्द्रः, तदात्मभवः अर्जुनः, तद्वेषी कर्षः, तन्नुचः सूर्यः, तत्पादहतः तत्किरणसन्तप्तः; हिमापहः अग्निः, तदमिचं पानीयम्, तच्चराः मेघाः ॥ ”

stanza, because the words employed do not directly signify the idea intended :—

हिमापहामिचधरैर्व्याप्तं व्योमेत्यवाचकम् ।

साचादृष्टं वाच्येऽर्थे नाभिधानं प्रतीयते ॥

(I, 41.)

These points, I think, clearly establish my contention that Bhāmaha should be placed after Daṇḍin.

Besides these, I have found also some important references in Bhāmaha's Rhetoric to authors and works, which, I hope, will, if traced out, establish the dates of some famous Sanskrit writers. He mentions the names of three authors—*Mēdhāvin*, *Rāmaśarman*, and *Śākhāvardhana*. Of these *Mēdhāvin* was a rhetorician, whose views Bhāmaha often refers to (II, 40, 88, etc.); *Rāmaśarman* is the author of a work (*kāvya*) called *Achhutōttara*, from which Bhāmaha quotes stanzas of the *upajāti* metre as instances of *upamālaṅkāra*; and *Śākhāvardhana* seems to be the author of a well-known work, by name *Rājamitra*, from which also Bhāmaha quotes occasionally.¹ There are many more quotations in the work, which are not traced by the author to their sources. He mentions also the name of a poem called *Aśmaka-vamśa*,² which appears to have been written in the *vaidarbhi* style. If more light be forthcoming about these and other important references in the work, many a doubtful question of chronology in the domain of Sanskrit literature could be solved.

About *Mēdhāvin*, however, I have found some references in *Namisādhū's* commentary on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra*.

The following passage is characteristic, as giving the names of some leading rhetoricians in chronological order :—

¹ Most of these quotations are also to be found in *Namisādhū's* commentary on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra*, XI, 24, etc.

² We know of a Paurāṇik king called *Aśmaka*, of the Solar race (55th in descent from *Ikshvāku*), son of *Saudāsa* and *Madayanti*: see *Vishnu Purāṇa*, IV, 4. 72. We also know that the *Aśmakas* are a tribe mentioned in the *Āndhra Inscriptions* as being ruled by *Gautamīputra*. The ministers of an *Aśmaka* king are mentioned in an inscription at *Ajanṭā* published in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, vol. iv.

ननु दण्डिमेधाविबुद्धभामहादिस्तानि सर्वेवाचङ्कारशास्त्राणि,
तत्किमर्थमिदंपुनरिति पौनःपुन्यदोषं क्रियाविशेषणेन निरस्तमाह—
यथायुक्तीति ॥

(Namisādhū's Comm., I, 2.)

Here the commentator purposely mentions most of the noteworthy rhetoricians preceding Rudraṭa, and we may naturally infer that they are named in the order of time. This inference is further supported by the fact that both Daṇḍin and Mēdhāvin are, as we have already proved, prior to Bhāmaha. Hence we may conclude that Mēdhāvin and Rudra have to be placed between Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha in point of time. Some¹ would, however, take *Mēdhāvirudra* as one name, being perhaps led away by the title *Mēdhārudra*,² which applies to Kālidāsa; but Namisādhū's clear mention of the form *Mēdhāvin* by itself under XI, 24, goes to show that Mēdhāvin and Rudra are separate names according to the commentator. This is also borne out by Bhāmaha's allusion to the former by the form '*Mēdhāvin*' only, in more than one place (see above). Thus we have irrefutable evidence to assert that there was a famous rhetorician *Rudra*, long before Rudraṭa. Can this Rudra be identical with the author of *Śṛīṅgāratilaka*?³

¹ Vide p. 2, Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkāra* (*Kāvyamālā* Series).

² Tri-kāṇḍa-śeṣha, Brahma-varga, verse 26.

³ Several scholars assume, without sufficient evidence, that Rudra(-bhaṭṭa), the author of *Śṛīṅgāratilaka*, and Rudraṭa, the author of *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, are one and the same. The story about the mortgage of the letter *bha* by one Rudra-bhaṭṭa referred to in the Kannaḍa inscription of the time of the Raṭṭa king of Saundatti (Śāka 1151), cannot, I think, be taken as applicable to Rudraṭa of the *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, for the following reasons:—

(1) The poet of the inscription was a native of Kuntala-dēśa (N. Cannara, Bellary, etc.), belonged to *Atri-gōtra*, was a ruler of eighteen villages, and seems to have been a *Kannaḍiga*, as may be judged from the names of his descendants cited in the inscription; whereas the author of *Kāvyālaṅkāra* was a Kashmirian (see Encyc. Brit., vol. xxi, p. 294, 9th ed.), was also known as *Satānanda*, and was the son of *Bhaṭṭa-Vāmuka*—names peculiar to N. India. Unless these apparently diverging facts could be reconciled, no credence can be attached to the above theory.

(2) All the later rhetoricians and commentators *unanimously* call the author of *Kāvyālaṅkāra* by the name Rudraṭa, and there is not a single case where he is called Rudra(-bhaṭṭa). Even *Namisādhū* (whose commentary is so very elaborate) calls him Rudraṭa, and does not refer to this story at all, though he lived not very long after Rudraṭa.

(3) Even if the story be taken as applicable to this Rudraṭa, we will have still to identify one Rudra, a well-known rhetorician, before Rudraṭa (see above).

So far we have been discussing the earlier limits of Bhāmaha's age. Let us next consider the later limits of the same. We know from the reference (सष्टमिदं भामहविवरणे भट्टोद्भटेन) found in Pratīhārēndurāja's commentary on Udbhata's *Alaṅkārasārasaṅgraha*, ch. i, that Bhaṭṭōdbhata wrote a commentary (called Bhāmaha-vivarana) on Bhāmaha's work. Now, this Bhaṭṭōdbhata was the *sabhāpati* of King Jayāpīḍa (779–813 A.D.). Hence we may conclude that Bhāmaha should be placed not later than the first half of the eighth century A.D.

If we accept the date now usually assigned to Daṇḍin (end of the sixth century A.D.), then, leaving some margin for the intermediate authors *Mēdhāvin* and *Rudra*, Bhāmaha's age may be more approximately stated as the latter half of the seventh century A.D.

HIS RHETORIC.

Lastly, we shall briefly describe the nature and scope of the work itself, and allude to the author's views on some interesting points.

The work is called *Kāvyaālaṅkāra*, as stated by the author himself in the introductory verse already quoted (see note, p. 1); and consists of 400 verses mostly of the *Anushtubh* metre. It is divided into six chapters or *parichchhēdas*, treating of (1) *śarīra* or the body of *kāvya*, (2) and (3) *alaṅkāras* or figures, (4) *dōsha* or defects, (5) *nyāya* or the logic of *kāvya*, and (6) *śabda - śuddhi* or grammatical accuracy. The work is, on the whole, a thoroughly critical review of several scientific theories that prevailed in the author's time. Bhāmaha spares not even his own teachers as far as criticism is concerned. Having on several occasions given free vent to this critical spirit, he withdraws himself majestically in the following stanza :—

अथापि बह्व वक्तव्यं ज्ञायते तत्तु नोदितम् ।

गुरुभिः किं विवादेन यथाप्रकृतमुच्यते ॥

(IV, 7.)

He is full of originality and intelligence, and takes pride in not slavishly following his predecessors, as may be indirectly inferred from these stanzas :—

(1) गुरूपदेशाद्धेतुं शास्त्रं वरुधियो ऽप्यसम् ।

काव्यं तु जायते जातु कस्यचित्प्रतिभावतः ॥

(I, 5.)

(2) गतानुगतिकन्यायाद्भानाख्येयममेधसाम् ।

(I, 32.)

(3) अवलोक्य मतानि सत्कवीनामवगत्य स्वधिया च काव्यसङ्गः ।

सुव्रणावगमाय भामहेन यथितं रक्त्रिणगोमिसूनुनेदम् ॥

(Closing stanza, VI, 65.)

According to him the best style of composition, whether *gaudīya* or *vaidarbha*, is that which is figurative, cultured, sententious, well-reasoned, and faultless ; and it may be said that his own work fairly satisfies all these conditions. He is a man thoroughly imbued with practical common-sense, and denounces in strong terms the admixture of fantastic and superhuman events in novel-writing ; for an illustration of which the reader is referred to his series of trenchant remarks on the story of Vatsarāja, culminating in the following stanza :—

नमो ऽस्तु तेभ्यो विद्वद्भ्यो ये ऽभिप्रायं ¹ कवेरिमम् ।

शास्त्रलोकावपास्यैव नयन्ति नयवेदिनः ॥

(IV, 52.)

His learned attack of the advocates of the *Sphōṭa* theory in the last chapter of the work is very edifying, and goes to prove that Bhāmaha had a philosophic turn of mind. The under-mentioned stanzas are very suggestive of his line of argument in this connection :—

¹ This word कवि most probably refers to Guṇādhya, the author of the *Paiśāchi Brihatkathā*. If not, we should infer from this allusion the existence before Bhāmaha of some Sanskrit work based on Guṇādhya's *Brihatkathā*.

शपथैरपि चादेयं वचो न स्फोटवादिनाम् ।
 नभःकुसुममस्तीति अहध्यात्कस्सचेतनः ॥
 इयन्त इीदृशा वर्णा इीदृगर्थोभिधायिनः ।
 व्यवहाराय लोकास्त्य प्रागित्यं समयः कृतः ॥
 सकूटस्तोऽनपायी च नादादन्वस्य कथ्यते ।
 मन्दास्साङ्केतिकानर्थान् मन्वन्ते पारमार्थिकान् ॥

(VI, 12-14.)

To conclude, I may remark there are many more interesting points in this work, which I refrain from mentioning as they are out of place in this brief sketch.

XXI.

**FURTHER NOTE ON MUSALMAN COINS COLLECTED
BY MR. G. P. TATE IN SEISTAN.**

By O. CODRINGTON, M.D., F.S.A.

SINCE the note on these coins was published in the Society's Journal last year, p. 681, Mr. A. G. Ellis has been so good as to prepare the following list of the Sijistān or Nīmrūz Maliks from about A.H. 460 to 885, taken from the *Iḥyā al-Mulūk*, by Shāh Ḥusain b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn :—

KINGS OF NĪMRŪZ.

RESTORATION OF THE ŠAFFĀRĪ LINE AFTER THE DEATH OF KHALAF
B. AḤMAD (A.H. 399) AND THE GHAZNAVI OCCUPATION.

	A.H.
Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. <u>Khalaf</u>	c. 460–480
Amīr Shāhinshāh	480
Bahā al-Daulah Ṭāhir b. Naṣr b. Aḥmad	480 (?)–481
Tāj al-Dīn Abu al-Faḍl Naṣr b. Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad	483–559
Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Tāj al-Dīn.	
‘Izz al-Mulūk (Muḥammad) b. Tāj al-Dīn.	
Tāj al-Dīn Ḥarb b. ‘Izz al-Mulūk	–612
Shams al-Dīn (Yamīn al-Daulah) Bahrām Shāh	
b. Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Tāj al-Dīn	612–618
Nuṣrat al-Dīn b. Bahrām Shāh	(618)
Rukn al-Dīn b. Bahrām Shāh	(618)
Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Nāṣir al-Dīn	(619–622)
[Tāj al-Dīn Niyāltigīn]	[622–627]
Shams al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Mas‘ūd b. <u>Khalaf</u> b. Mihrbān	
b. Ṭāhir b. Naṣr b. Aḥmad	630–652
Naṣr al-Dīn b. Abi al-Faṭḥ b. Mas‘ūd	652–728
Shāh Nuṣrat b. Naṣr al-Dīn	728–731
Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd	
b. Naṣr al-Dīn	731–747

	A.H.
Tāj al-Dīn b. Quṭb al-Dīn	747–751
Sultān Maḥmūd b. Shāh ‘Alī b. Naṣr al-Dīn ..	751–753
‘Izz al-Dīn b. Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd	753–784
Quṭb al-Dīn b. ‘Izz al-Dīn	784–788
Shāh Shāhān Tāj al-Dīn b. Quṭb al-Dīn b. ‘Izz al-Dīn	788–805
Quṭb al-Dīn b. Shāh ‘Alī b. Shāhzādah	806–822
Shāh Shāhān Shams al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Quṭb al-Dīn	822–842 (852 ?)
Nizām al-Dīn Yahya b. Shams al-Dīn	842 (852 ?)–885
Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Nizām al-Dīn ..	885–
Sultān Maḥmūd	—

From this it will be seen that there was a King of Nīmrūz reigning from A.H. 731 to 747 named Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad. The coin bearing the name Quṭb al-Dīn, dated 74x, described on p. 681, may therefore be attributed to him and not to Quṭb al-Dīn b. ‘Izz al-Dīn, who was deposed and executed by Tīmūr.

Mr. Ellis has also sent me a translation of the account of this king's reign given in the Iḥya al-Mulūk, from which the following is an extract :—

“Malik Quṭb al-Dīn b. Shāh Rukn succeeded his uncle Shāh Nuṣrat on the throne of Sīstān in A.H. 731, having been duly elected by the votes of the princes of the royal house and great men of the State. His investiture with the sovereignty of Nīmrūz took place on Monday, Rabī‘ I, S., on which occasion much largess was judiciously distributed. Quṭb al-Dīn was an excellent ruler, firm, politic, just, liberal, brave, devout, a patron of learning, genius, and piety, an enemy of vice and profligacy. He was wont to encourage worth by conferring of stipends, and every day there used to issue from his kitchens thirty ass-loads of bread and ten of meat, with other necessities in proportion, which were distributed to strangers and the poor. All Sīstān acknowledged his sway. When he had completed the organisation of his kingdom, certain traitorous persons incited Malik Ḥusain Ghūrī, ruler of Harāt, to invade Sīstān, who in consequence in A.H. 734 led an army more numerous than ants or locusts against the king. When the news of this invasion reached Malik Quṭb al-Dīn he gathered a force of 80,000 veteran troops, foot and horse, together with elephants, and set out from the city of Sīstān to meet the army of Khurāsān. When the troops of Sīstān had reached كرخ كره, the army of Khurāsān being encamped by the stream

of Panj Dih, Amīr Iqbāl Sābiq, one of the trusted adherents of Shaik 'Alā al-Daulah Sīstānī, came to Malik Quṭb al-Dīn and besought him to halt his army that he might go to the King of Harāt and dissuade him from this enterprise, attacking Moslems without just quarrel. The king said, 'Go, and tell him that I have no fear or dread of him, but that I am loth to shed the blood of Moslems. If he will not relinquish this enterprise our dispute must be settled on the field of battle.' Mīr Iqbāl delivered this message to Malik Ḥusain, and showed him the overwhelming superiority of the army of Sīstān. Malik Ḥusain accepted his advice, and at once returned to Harāt by double marches. Thus the two kings returned home without fighting."

This is interesting, and bears on the subject of this collection in that coins of Malik Ḥusain of Harāt (A.H. 732–771) are included in it, as mentioned in my former note, p. 682.

Mr. Tate has lately sent another small collection which he has made in Seistan, containing some Musalman coins requiring notice, viz. :—

SĀMĀNID. Mansur b. Nuh.

Two copper fals of Bukhara dated A.H. 357, of the pattern of No. 405, B.M. Cat., vol. iii, of the year 354.

GOVERNORS OF SIJISTĀN. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad.

1. Gold. Sijistān. A.H. 343.

Obv. Area in plain circle || لا اله الا الله || محمد رسول الله ||

المطيع لله || احمد بن محمد || خلف

Margin in plain circle بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار

بسجستان سنة ثلث واربعين وثلث مائة

Rev. Area in plain circle || الله احد الله || الصمد لم يلد ولم

يولد ولم يكن له || كفوا احد

محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى Margin in plain circle

ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

AV ·9; *Wt.* 33 (looped).

A thin gold coin of good workmanship, with clear, well-formed lettering. This is, I think, the first dinar of *Aḥmad* which has been edited.

2. Four copper fals, *Sijistān*, *ا.ه.* 343; *B.M. Cat.*, vol. iii, No. 35.

3. Fals. *Sijistān*, date illegible.

Obv. Area in plain circle, arabesque letters

المطيع || لله || خلف

Margin . . . ضرب هذا الفلس بسجستان . . .

Rev. In plain circle مما امر به || الامير . . . || احمد بن

محمد || ايده الله || ●

Margin illegible.

Æ ·85; *Wt.* 20.

Khalaf b. Aḥmad.

1. Gold. *Sijistān*, *ا.ه.* 3[7]9.

Obv. Area in plain circle, two leaf ornaments below

لله || محمد || رسول الله || الطائع لله

Margin illegible, lettering corrupt.

Rev. Area in plain circle, two leaf ornaments below

الدولة || لا اله الا || الله وحده || خلف بن احمد

AV ·7; *Wt.* 25.

2. Copper fals. *Sijistān*, no date.

Obv. Area in plain circle, arabesque lettering الله || المطيع || لله

Margin . . . بسجستان . . .

Rev. Area in looped circle, arabesque خلف بن || احمد

Margin illegible.

Æ ·85; *Wt.* 21.

Harb b. Muhammad. Copper.

Obv. لا اله الا الله || محمد رسول الله || الناصر لدين الله || محمد

Rev. In plain circle || حرب || °°

Margin illegible.

B.M. Cat., vol. ix, p. 269.

This coin was first described in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1881, by H. Sauvage, in an article "Sur un Fels Saffârîde inédit," which contains an excellent summary of the history of these governors, rightly called by the writer "la seconde branche des Saffârîdes."

KINGS OF NIMRÛZ. Naṣr al-Dīn. Copper.

Obv. In circle الملك الاعظم || نصر الدنيا || والدين

Rev. ضرب || في البلد || نيمروز

‘Izz al-Dīn.

1. *Obv.* In quatrefoil الملك || الاعظم عز || الحق والدين.

Rev. In circle ضرب || نيمروز

2. *Obv.* In circle with ☉ above and circle of dots outside it

عز || الحق و || الدين

Rev. In circles as *obv.* ضرب في البلد || نيمروز

3. *Obv.* As No. 2.

Rev. As No. 1.

4. *Obv.* In circle الملك || الاعظم عز الحق || والدين

Rev. As No. 2.

5. *Obv.* .. || الاعظم عز || الحق || والدين || سكه

Rev. As No. 1.

Qutb al-Dīn.

Obv. In circle السلطان || العادل قطب || الدنيا والدين

Rev. In circle ضرب || نيمروز

Doubtful king.

1. *Obv.* In circle السلطان || دل يمين (?) || الدنيا والدين
Rev. In dotted circle ضرب || نيمروز
2. *Obv.* . . . || العادل ||
Rev. . . . || ضرب || نيمروز

These coins are all about .6 inch in diameter and weigh about 46 grains; in appearance they resemble coins of the Dehli kings of a period of from the latter end of the seventh to that of the eighth century of the Hijra. They bear only the laqab of the king and the mint name. Mr. C. J. Rodgers described some of the same type in his Catalogue of Coins in the Lahore Museum, p. 137, "Sistān Coins"; in the Catalogue of Coins purchased from him by the Panjab Government, 1895, part iv, p. 19, "Sijistan or Nimroz Coins"; in the Proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society, 1884, p. 75, "Some Coins from Candahar"; and in Bengal As. Soc. Journal, 1896, pt. 2, p. 226, "Coins of Nimroz, including coins of Tāj al-Dīn Ḥarb, Rukn al-Dīn b. Bahrām Shāh, and Nuṣrat al-Dīn b. Bahrām Shāh." A difficulty I felt in attributing these coins to the kings of Nīmruz caused by the word الحق being part of the laqab on them and not so in the list taken from the Iḥyā al-Mulūk has been removed by the dated inscription of Shams al-Dīn 'Alī published by Mr. Ellis in the Society's Journal, 1904, p. 173, where that Malik's name is given as شمس الحق و الدنيا و الدين, and by Mr. Ellis finding that Naṣr al-Dīn, the successor of Shams al-Dīn, is called in the Iḥyā al-Mulūk first نصر الدين بن مسعود, then نصر الحق و الدين, then نصر الحق, and finally نصر الدين و الدنيا.

I attribute these coins, subject to confirmation, to Naṣr al-Dīn b. Abi al-Faṭḥ, 652–728; 'Izz al-Dīn b. Rukn al-Dīn, 753–784; and Qutb al-Dīn b. Shah 'Alī, 806–822, respectively.

NIMRŪZ COINS WITHOUT RULER'S NAME.

1. *Obv.* In two interlaced triangles ضرب || روز || نیم
Rev. In eight-foil with outer band of loops and leaves سنة ٨٨٥
Æ ·7; Wt. 50.
2. *Obv.* In double hexagon within circles of lines and dots ضرب
Rev. In quatrefoil within circles of lines نیمروز || وز
Æ ·65; Wt. 52.
3. *Obv.* In plain circle ضرب || نیمروز || ٨٣٦
Rev. Arabesque ornamentation.
Æ ·7; Wt. 55.
4. *Obv.* In circle within arabesque حاک (?) || ضرب || نیمروز
Rev. Illegible.
Æ ·65; Wt. 29.
5. *Obv.* Area in square, Kufic lettering arranged in the square
بادشاه
Margin illegible.
Rev. In crenated circle ضرب || نیمروز || ٥٢٨ || سنة

The figure before the ٢ of the date is a small circle, and may be a ٩ without a tail or the second cipher of ١٠٢٨, of which the first cipher does not appear.

Æ ·65; Wt. 36.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

A STUDY OF SOME ONOMATOPŒTIC DEŚĪ WORDS.

There can be no doubt that onomatopœia and interjectional cries played a great part in the formation of our languages. It is true that the 'Bow-wow' theory alone is insufficient to trace the origin of all words; and it is not true, what Professor Noirê would have us believe, that all roots can be traced to some interjectional cries of primitive men. But it is true that a carefully instituted philological analysis can disclose the influence of onomatopœia and interjectional cries in the formation of a very large number of Vedic and Laukika roots.

When by strict, rigid, and thoroughgoing rules of grammar, an artificial check was placed upon the growth of the Sanskrit language, new words could not be coined except by the fixed rules of grammar, from the definitely established list of roots. How jealously the purity of the literary language was being guarded in the second century B.C. can be known from the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. It has been declared sinful in that book to use words other than what are strictly Vedic and Laukika.

In the Sanskrit works which have been, with considerable certainty, fixed to a time previous to the second century B.C., no words other than Vedic and Laukika (in the strictest Pāṇini sense) can be met with. Since the *Mahābhārata* abounds in words not strictly Laukik, may we not venture to say that this is evidence, so far as it goes, that the building up of the poem did not commence till at least a century

later than the time of the Mahābhāṣya. Such an orthodox work as the Mahābhārata came eventually to be, could not have departed from the much respected orthodox rules, if time had not then made the rules almost obsolete. What is true of the Mahābhārata is true also in respect of the Rāmāyaṇa, as we now have it. To my humble thinking the latter shows signs of lateness to a greater extent.

Of words formed by imitating natural sounds, and undervivable from the fixed stock of Sanskrit roots, kolāhala, kilikilā, and the like are only found in the eighteen lengthy Sarvans of the Mahābhārata. Halahalā, Gadgada, and Humbhā (lowing of the cow) are found used in the Rāmāyaṇa. In the 23rd chapter of the Aranyakāṇḍa, we find exact sounds of birds used as Sanskrit words. “Chīchīkū-chīti vaçyanto babhūbastatra sārīkā,” would have defiled the purity of language in the second century B.C. This very “Chīchīkū” we find also in the Harivaṃśa. These words, as well as the words Khaṭ-Khaṭ, Ṭhan-Ṭhan, Jhan-Jhan, and Raṇaraṇaka of still later literature, have been called Deśī words (words of provincial origin) by Hemchandra. It is known to all that Hemchandra’s Deśī Nāmamālā contains only such words as were never derived from Sanskrit roots. Some ingenious Pundits have tried a forced affiliation of many of them to some recognised roots; but I do not consider it worth while to make any criticism on this attempt.

When literature grew, the writers felt the want of words, and were forced to borrow many words from the Prākṛits. To commence with, it was only sparingly done; but when once it was tolerated and approved, the writers introduced the Prakrit words very largely. This inference receives full corroboration from the language of the old inscriptions which have now been chronologically arranged in many books.

The Deśī words of onomatopœtic origin, such as Jhankāra, maṛa-maṛa, paṭ-paṭ, and the like, are nowhere found in the works of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi. It might be plausibly argued, that the use of such words in dignified Kāvya was studiously avoided by the poets. But it is worthv of note

that Kālidāsa has not used these words even in the Prakrit dialogues in his Drama, while Mricchakatikā and Ratnāvalī abound with such expressions. It is also not true that the use of 'Gharghara' for Nirghoṣa and 'Jhankāra' for Aliruta lessened the dignity of the language. These words have been profitably used, to heighten the effect of grand descriptions, by Bhavabhūti in his Uttara-carita and Mālatī-mādhava.

The poet Subandhu flourished towards the end of the sixth century, say some fifty years after the death of Kālidāsa. We find the use of a small number of onomatopœtic words in his Vāsavadattā as nouns only. Three or four such words of this class as are found in Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa are also found used as nouns, as I have already shown. This is the sort of use made of them (though very sparsely) in the Pañcatantra. Kolāhala is the only word I have met with in the existing Pañcatantra, even though this is not exactly the book which was written in the fifth century.

In the writings of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Bhavabhūti, and Śūdraka, these words have been very freely and largely used. Verbs also were made of them, and expressions like Khaṭ-khaṭāyate, Phurphurāyati, and Maramarāyisma are found frequently. The use of these words as verbs commenced only in the seventh century, so far as I have been able to ascertain. From the seventh century onward, there is scarcely any Sanskrit composition wherein these Deśī words of onomatopœtic origin are not found.

I should like what I have asserted to be tested by reference to the books the dates of which have been fairly established. If the use of this particular class of Deśī words grew in the manner indicated in this paper, the words will have a special value in determining the chronology of some old books.

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

MOSQUITOES AND FEVER IN SUŚRUTA.

The stings of insects, together with the mode of their treatment, are discussed by Suśruta in the chapter on Insects (Kīṭakalpah) which forms the last section of the book on Poisons (Kalpasthānam). There he says: "17. There are six Makṣikās (flies or bees), called respectively Kāntārikā, Kṛṣṇā, Piṅgalikā, Madhūlikā, Kāṣāyī, and Sthālikā. If a man is stung by one of these, there will be heat, and swelling (of the part). So in the case of a Sthālikā or a Kāṣāyī, when, however, there will be, moreover, dangerous boils. 18. There are five Maśakās (mosquitoes or gnats), called respectively Sāmudraḥ, Parimaṇḍalaḥ, Hastimaśakaḥ, Kṛṣṇaḥ, and Pārvatīyaḥ. If a man is stung by one of these, there will be violent itching and swelling of the bitten part. But the Pārvatīya produces the same symptoms as deadly insects."

17. makṣikāḥ kāntārikā kṛṣṇā piṅgalikā madhūlikā kāṣāyī
sthālikety evaṃ ṣaṭ |
tābhir daṣṭasya dāhaśophau bhavataḥ |
sthālikākāṣāyībhyām etad eva piḍakās ca sopadravā
bhavanti ||
18. maśakāḥ sāmudraḥ parimaṇḍalo hastimaśakaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ
pārvatīya iti pañca |
tair daṣṭasya tivrakaṇḍūr daṃśaśophaś ca |
pārvatīyas tu kīṭaiḥ prāṇaharais tulyalakṣaṇaḥ ||

The remedies to be applied are the same as in the case of ant-stings. "32. For those stung by Pipīlikās (ants), Makṣikās, or Maśakās, an ointment mixed with cow's urine is prescribed, as well as the earth of an ant-hill of black ants."

32. pipīlikābhir daṣṭānām makṣikāmaśakais tathā |
gomūtreṇa yuto lepaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ tulyalakṣaṇaḥ ||

These quotations from the excellent edition of Suśruta

published by the late Vaidya Prabhuram in 1901, with which the earlier editions of Suśruta literally agree in the present case, show that fever is not among the symptoms produced by the stings of mosquitoes and similar insects, according to Suśruta. Conversely, in the chapter on Fever (vi, 39), he does not mention the stings of insects among the various causes of fever, and true malarial fever, such as tertian and quartan fever, is entirely due to derangement of the humours, according to Suśruta (vi, 39, 9). Nor can Suśruta's observations, at the beginning of the Kīṭakalpāḥ, regarding the derangement of air, of bile, or of phlegm, or of all the three humours together, by the four principal classes of insects, and the causation of diseases due to deranged air, etc., by the stings of these insects, be said to presuppose an acquaintance with the spreading of malaria through mosquitoes. These introductory remarks, as shown by the analogous statements on the effects of snake poison (Section iv of the Kalpasthānam), are merely intended to illustrate the dangerous nature of insect stings.

If, therefore, the native books on medicine in Ceylon have anticipated the discovery of our modern scientists of the connection between malaria and mosquitoes, their authors must have arrived at that discovery independently of Suśruta, whose doctrines seem to be generally followed in the medical lore of Ceylon. It may be added that the other standard writers on medicine in India, such as Charaka, Vāgbhaṭa, and the author of the Mādhava Nidāna, entirely agree with Suśruta on the point under notice. It is true that fever is mentioned by Vāgbhaṭa (vi, 37, 5) among the ordinary symptoms produced by all stings of insects, but this is evidently the wound-fever which is generally mentioned as one of the principal kinds of fever, and not malaria.

The point is of very considerable historical interest; and is stated, in the public press, to have been referred to at the last Anniversary Meeting of the Ceylon Branch of our Society. I have not had the advantage of seeing any official report of what was said on that occasion; but it would be very desirable that the notice taken of the question should

lead to the publication of any passages there may be in Ceylon books on medicine bearing on the point.

J. JOLLY.

Würzburg (Bavaria).

April 22nd, 1905.

THE REV. W. SCHMIDT, formerly a missionary in Assam, now of the Missionary College of Mödling, near Vienna, has lately issued two exhaustive monographs on certain of the Indo-Chinese languages. The first, entitled *Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Khasi-Sprache, in ihren Beziehungen zu derjenigen der Mon-Khmer-Sprachen*, was published at Munich (Verlag der k. Akademie) in 1904, and in addition to a very careful study of the phonology of Khasi, the speech of the natives of the Khasia and Jaintia hills around Shillong (only about 177,000 in number), has also an appendix on the languages of the Palaung, Wa, and Riang tribes of the Middle Salween. A still more elaborate monograph is the one just issued at Vienna (1905), entitled *Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Mon-Khmer-Sprachen* (pp. 233), which discusses the general phonology of that important linguistic family, in its four forms, Mon, Bahnar, Stieng, and Khmer. Students of the linguistics of Further Asia, and especially of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, will be glad to have their attention called to these minute and scholarly essays in this field of philology.

C.

THE BAILLIE COLLECTION OF ARABIC AND PERSIAN MSS.

A couple of years ago, when consulting it for other purposes, I noticed on p. 10, vol. iii of Sir H. M. Elliot's "Mahomedan Historians," a reference to the curious discovery among the Baillie MSS. of a missing portion of the rare and valuable *Jāmi'-ut-Tawārikh* of Rashīd-ud-dīn. Mention is made of this Baillie Collection being entailed property; but in 1839, though Colonel Baillie had died on

the 20th April, 1833 (aged 60), Duncan Forbes found the manuscripts still undisturbed at a house in Soho Square (Journal R.A.S., vi (1841), p. 33). Nobody could tell me where the manuscripts now were, or their history subsequent to 1841. As Colonel Baillie held high political office in Bundelkhand and at Lakhnau early in the nineteenth century, I hoped that his collection would contain some rare or unknown works bearing on the history of the eighteenth century in India, the period to which I have more particularly devoted myself.

In vain did I go to the Dict. Nat. Biog., ii, 418; there was no mention of his manuscripts, his family line, or the name of his seat. Turning to the "Annual Register" for 1833 (vol. lxxv), I found on p. 219 that Colonel John Baillie was "of Leys," Inverness-shire. In Burke's "Landed Gentry" I found that his daughter and heiress had married J. F. Baillie, second son of Baillie of Dochfour. Her two sons (known successively as "of Leys") died without issue. Seeing that the two families were closely connected, I wrote to the present J. E. Bruce Baillie, Esq., of Dochfour, and having no personal knowledge in the matter he was good enough to refer me to his brother, the Rev. Albert Baillie, of Rugby. Mr. Albert Baillie kindly informed me that the MSS. "were given to the University of Edinburgh to be kept in a place by themselves." Through my friend Mr. A. G. Ellis, of the British Museum, it was ascertained from Mr. Richard Bell that the collection had been in the University Library at Edinburgh since 1875, that the books were not catalogued or arranged, but someone had written the title, and occasionally a bibliographical note, on the flyleaf of most of them.

As I purposed a visit to Scotland in the Autumn, I opened communication with Professor Eggeling, Convener of the Library Committee, who kindly promised to let me see the books whenever I called at the Library. When I arrived at the end of August I found Mr. R. Bell at work on a Hand-list of the Arabic MSS., and he told me he intended, when that was finished, to commence a similar list of the Persian part

of the collection. I had hoped that before this time both these lists would have been submitted for publication in our Journal; but I do not know whether they are completed or not. I have heard that the deed of gift requires the collection to be properly catalogued; and as the University has now had thirty years in which to comply with this condition (if it exists), let us trust that we shall soon be put in possession of a proper catalogue. Meanwhile I place on record a few hasty notes from the Persian MSS. made at my two visits to the Library. In all I took notes from 35 manuscripts, and there were six others which do not, I think, belong to the collection.

No.

45. Qaṣā'id-i-Khāqānī, with marginal and interlinear notes.
76. Rauzat - uṣ - ṣafā. Fine folio copy, finished 1st Rabī' I, 1052 H.
81. A folio volume of letters from the 12th Jumādā I, 1222 H., to the end of Zi'l Hijjah, 1224 H. (5th February, 1810).
82. A family history of the Sayyids of Sāndī (Audh), by 'Alī Naqī Khān. Book I: Introduction, 12 *Maqālahs*, and a Conclusion. Book II: one *Maqālah* in 11 *naqls*. A family tree at the beginning, and at the end a coloured map of Fathganj. Written 23rd Rabī' II, 1230 H.
86. (a) Muntakhab of the Jahāngīr-nāmah, i.e. of the Iqbāl-namah of Mīr Aḥmad Khān. Copy finished on the 16th Rajab, 1197 H., for Nawāb Shāh Mīr Khān, by Muḥammad Amīn, on a Thursday, at Lakhnau.
(b) ff. 666 quarto of 19 lines each. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ's History of Shāhjahān.
- 668-680. Lists of Manṣabdārs.
- 680b. Dar bayān-i-tayārī-i-takht-i-muraṣṣa'.
684. Tūzak-i-taimūriyah.
- 684a. Routes and distances.
- 686b. Jama'-i-dāmī.
- 687b. Āghāz-i-muhimm-i-Sīwā, 1070 to 1085 H. (a *précis*).
- 690a. Fihrist-i-alqāb-i-Bādshāhān.
- 690b. Dastūr-ul-'amal-i-zar-i-maskūk rā'ij-i-har yak mulk, wa wazn, wa dira', wa paimāyish-i-zamīn.
- 691a. Dastūr-i-tankhwāh-i-rozdārān, etc.
- 691b. Pay, 1st, 2nd, 3rd class.
- 692a. Monthly rates of pay.

- No.
- 692*a*. Tābīnān. Table of Birth and Accession of Šāhib-i-qirān and descendants (down to 'Ālamgīr and his brothers, 1118 H.).
- 694*a*. Dastūr-ul-'amal tā chahār aspah, yak aspah.
- 694*a*. Dāgh-i-suwārān muwāfiq-i-zābiṭah-i-Rikāb, etc., fī ṣad nafr.
- 694*b*. Chahārum ḥiṣṣah-i-dāgh-i-suwārān, muwāfiq-i-zābiṭah-i-Rikāb wa ṣubajāt wa jāgīr. Siyum ḥiṣṣah-i-dāgh, etc.
- 695*a*. Tafṣīl-i-kharch-i-'imārat kih A'lā Hazrat dar ḥīn-i-ḥayāt-i-khūd namūdand. Muḥāṣil-i-kul. Account of the tent *Dalbādal*.
- 695*b*. Takht-i-muraṣṣa' [and other notes].
- 696*a*. Humāyūn Bādshāh.
- 696*b*. Petition of 'Ālamgīr to his father (ends on f. 697*a*).
87. Dābistān-i-mazāhib. Copy dated 25th Ramazān, 1215 H.; made by Dal Narāyan for his own perusal.
89. Zafarnāmah by Shekh Sharaf-ud-dīn 'Alī, Yazdī. Well written but undated.
93. Sharḥ-i-qasā'id-i-'Urfī.
99. Letters to Nawāb Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān, Muḥarram, 1228, to 20th Rajab, 1229 H., Book 3.
- No number. Letters of J. Baillie to the Nawāb Wazīr from the 22nd Rajab, 1229 H. (14th July, 1814). The last date is in June, 1815.
102. Letters of J. Baillie to the Nawāb Wazīr, Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān, Muḥarram, 1228, to Rajab, 1229 H.
103. Lord Moira, Governor-General, to the Janāb-i-Ā'lā (i.e. the Nawāb Wazīr), from his accession, 3rd July, 1814, to 18th November, 1815.
- No number. Letters of the Governor-General to Nawāb Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān, and the replies, from Jumādā II, 1222 H. (August, 1807), to 11th Shawwāl, 1228 H. (11th October, 1813).
- No number. Lord Moira's Persian Letters to the Nawāb Wazīr, from 28th December, 1810. The last letter is one from Baillie to the Nawāb dated the 10th May, 1812.
104. Muntakhab-ul-lughāt. Francis Gladwin's copy.
108. (a) Akhlāq-i-Nāṣirī.
- (b) Risālah-i-minhāj-ul-ṭālibīn min taṣnīf-i-Ḥakīm Naṣīr, Tūsī (5 ff.). Copied 27th Jumādā II, 1146 H., on a Friday, scribe Muḥammad Ja'far.

No.

110. Kulliyāt-i-khāqānī. Fairly written, not dated.
111. A Dāstān in verse, beautifully written, gold lines, with blue and red headings alternately.
112. (a) Baḥr-ul-ansāb, copied 1011 H. at Karrah by Abū'l Faṭḥ bin Shekh Fīrūz, Qurashi, Ṣiddīqī, Khojandī.
(b) Nizām-ut-tawārīkh (History of Īrān). Not dated.
113. Kulliyāt-i-ʿUrfī. Not dated.
114. Various loose papers:
(a) On Arabic grammar.
(b) History of the Afghāns.
(c) Poetic extracts (religious mysticism for the most part).
115. (a) Taimūr-nāmah. Dated 1209 H.
(b) Extracts from Kitāb-i-hidāyat ul-Muslim.
(c) Tārīkh-i-tabarī.¹
118. Qiṣṣah-i-hazār wa yak shab. Not dated; bears F. Gladwin's signature as owner.
121. Akhlāq-i-Muḥsinī, dated the 10th Jumādā II, 1216 H., scribe Muḥammad ʿAlī.
- No number. (a) Biography of Āṣaf Khān; the last date is his death in the 5th year of Farrukhsīyar (1128–9 H.). Copied in 1st year of Aḥmad Shāh (1161–2 H.).
(b) Juz 1 of Maʾāṣir-i-ʿĀlamgīrī.
(c) Part of Dahsālah-i-ʿĀlamgīrī of Muḥammad Kāzīm. Copied in the 1st year of Aḥmad Shāh.
(d) 1st to 10th year of ʿĀlamgīr. Copied in the 1st year of Aḥmad Shāh.
122. ʿĀlam-ārāi ʿAbbāsī, not dated.
123. Tūzak-i-Taimūrī, a copy made for Majd-ud-daulah, Farzand Khān, Bahādur, Bahram Jang, on the 1st Muḥarram, 1191 H.—the 18th year [of Shāh ʿĀlam].
127. (a) Qaṣīdah by Abū Ṭālib, Hindī, ul-Iṣfahānī, written after his return from Europe, title "Maʿraj-ul-tauḥīd," about the Wahhābīs (?).
(b) Another treatise composed in 1224 H., title "Zuhūriyah-i-ṣafawīyah." Patron named is Abū'l Faṭḥ, Sultān Muḥammad Mirzā, us-Ṣafawī, ul-Mūsavī, ul-harawī, Bahādur Khān, Rashīd.
128. A small treatise on Morals, ff. 14; gold illumination round text.

¹ This may be the fragment of the Jāmī-ut-tawārīkh which was, we are told, labelled Tārīkh-i-tabarī.

No number. *Ikhtisār-i-Shāhjahān-nāmah*. Copied in 1224 H. by Muḥammad 'Alī; an abstract made for Abū'l Fath Sultān Muḥammad, Ṣafawī, Bahādur Khān, Irānī.

No number. (a) *Wāqi'ah-i-Haidarābād* of Ni'mat Khān, 'Alī, not dated.

(b) Another poem.

No number. Extract from *Fawā'id-i-Ṣafawīyah*, Maqālah 5, *Dar zikr-i-ṭabaqah-i-rafi'ah-i-Qājār-i-qizilbāshīyah*. Made for 'Imād-ud-daulah, Afzal-ul-mulk, Colonel John Baillie, Bahādur, Arslān Jang in the year 1223 H.

No number. Headings of a work in forty chapters on *Akhlāq*, ornamented with a gold ground, lines in gold, blue, and red; gold-sprinkled margins. Written by Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd-ud-dīn for 'Imād-ud-daulah Afzal-ul-mulk, John Baillie, Bahādur, Arplān (*sic*) Jang, 13 ff., written on one side only.

No number. MS. bearing an English label, "The Gospel of Geronimo Xavier, An Account of the Christian Religion, a good deal of it consisting of a discussion between 'Ḥakīm' and 'Padre.'" It is in eight faṣls, the last being a summary of the whole book. Copied on the 1st Shawwāl in the time of Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Haidar by Jagannāth.

No number. Eight folios of a history of Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān of Audh (placed in an Arabic work on Mahomedan Law, No. 64).

The Library contains a few other Persian MSS., which do not seem to form part of the Baillie Collection. These are :

- (1) *Sikandar-nāmah* (verse), with paintings, in a case.
- (2) *Jāmi'-ul-ḥikāyat wa lawāmi'-i-riwāyat*. Dated 843 H., quarto, illustrated.
- (3) *Kulliyāt-i-Sa'dī*. Illustrated.
- (4) *Qur'ān*. Illuminated.
- (5) *Qur'ān*, from Maisūr. Presented by the H.E.I. Company in 1806.
- (6) *Dīwān-i-Ḥāfiẓ*.

Until some more complete list or catalogue is prepared, I hope these rough notes of a collection which has disappeared from view for over sixty years, will be of some use.

June 5th, 1905.

WM. IRVINE.

TRIKUTA AND THE SO-CALLED KALACHURI OR CHEDI
ERA.

There is a Hindū era, commencing A.D. 248 or 249, which has come to be customarily known as the Kalachuri or Chēdi era, though it was certainly not founded by any Kalachuri king or king of Chēdi.

Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji propounded the theory that this era probably owed its origin to the dynasty of the Traikūṭakas, by whom, amongst other kings and princes, it was used. He derived the name of the Traikūṭakas from a certain Trikūṭa, which he at first took to be a town in the Konkan, but subsequently proposed to identify with Junnar in the Poona District. And he attributed the actual foundation of the era to a king Īśvaradatta, held by him to be an Abhīra, who, as shewn by his coins, reigned at some time about A.D. 248-49 in Kāthiāwād.

My attention was recently drawn to some remarks made by me in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 295, in which I expressed the opinion that the Pandit's theory adapted itself so well to all the circumstances that have to be accounted for, that it might be accepted as furnishing in all probability the true explanation of them. I have, however, ceased to hold that opinion. And, pending the completion of a paper explaining the matter in detail, I give here a synopsis of what I shall eventually establish.

As regards Trikūṭa, whence, undoubtedly, there was derived the dynastic name Traikūṭaka, I will shortly give a note indicating a much more likely identification than Junnar.

As regards the history of the era, the first point is, that the use of it was confined to a territory which was separated by the river Mahī from any outlying parts, in the direction of northern Gujarāt, Mālwa, etc., of the kingdom, as it existed from even before A.D. 248-49, of the so-called Kshatrapas of Kāthiāwād.

The earliest known instances of the attachment, in any

way, of a definite name to the era, come from Central India. They are these. In an inscription of A.D. 1141–42, the date is expressed by “in the Kalachuri year 893,” or “in the year of the Kalachuris 893.” And in an inscription of A.D. 1181–82, the date is expressed by “the Chēdi year 933.”

In that part of India, we trace back the use of the era to A.D. 973, but at present to no earlier time. An opinion, first put forward by me as a suggestion in my *Gupta Inscriptions*, introd., 8 ff., and afterwards asserted as a certainty in DKD, 293,—that the dates, ranging from the year 174 to the year 214, in the records of the *Mahārājas* of Uchchakalpa, are dates of this era,—must be abandoned; at that time, the use of the era was confined to Western India.

All the earlier dates in this era,—the latest of them being one of A.D. 739,—come from Gujarāt and the Thāṇa District in Bombay, and are found in Chalukya, Gurjara, Sēndraka, Kaṭachchuri, and Traikūṭaka records. In that part of India, we trace back in those records the use of an era, which is undeniably the era of A.D. 248 or 249, without any indication of a formal appellation, to A.D. 457, at which time there was reigning there a Traikūṭaka king named Dahrasēna. Beyond that time, for the present, we have no certain knowledge about the era.

The era may possibly have been founded by a Traikūṭaka king; in which case such a king began to reign in A.D. 248 or 249.

But there is nothing to stamp the era as “the Traikūṭaka era,” and still less to prove that it was so founded. The Kaṇheri plate of the year 245 (expired), = A.D. 494–95, which has been quoted to that effect, does not mark the era in that way, or establish any such point regarding its origin. By literal translation, the passage containing that date means “in two centuries of years, increased by forty-five, of the augmenting sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas.” But the real meaning of it, in accordance with an early Hindū method of expressing dates, may just as well be “during the augmenting sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas, and in the year 245 (of an unspecified era).”

There is nothing to lead us to believe otherwise than that the era was simply taken over, as the habitual and well-established reckoning of the country, by the Traikūṭakas from some preceding dynasty; just as it was taken over from them by the Kāṭachchuris, the Gurjaras, the Chalukyas of Gujarāt, and the Sēndrakas.

Irrespective of any question as to the actual date of Īśvaradatta, the era cannot possibly have been established by him, or have had its origin in Kāṭhiāwād or in any part of Gujarāt, etc., on the north of the Mahī: partly because the so-called Śaka era of A.D. 78, of the Kshatrapas of Kāṭhiāwād, ran on without any intermission from before A.D. 248–49 to as late as A.D. 388; and partly because of the geographical limit, stated above, of the use of the era of A.D. 248 or 249. Any era may be introduced into a country in which it was not founded. But no era can have been founded in a country in which it was never used.

The circumstances which rendered possible the rise of a new dynasty, and the establishment of an era by it, in A.D. 248 or 249, and in that part of India whence we obtain all the early instances of the use of the era, are to be found in the breaking-up of the power of the Sātavāhana-Sātakāṇṇis of Paithan.

And, looking to such records as we have, I find the best prospect of recognising the founder of the era, and of the new dynasty, in the person of the Abhīra Īśvarasēna,—(not to be confused with, or identified with, the Īśvaradatta who is mentioned above),—or of his father the Abhīra Śivadatta, of the Nāsik inscription, ASWI, 4. 103, No. 12, which is dated “in the ninth year,” i.e. of the reign of Īśvarasēna, or counting from the commencement of the reign of his father if the latter did reign. This record is not in pure Sanskrit. But, as far as I can see, it is in as close an approach to Sanskrit as any of the other historical inscriptions at Nāsik. We are, therefore, quite justified in thinking that it may be one of the latest of them. And it is, in fact, chronologically very difficult, at least, to

place it at any time during the actual Sātavāhana-Sātakanni period.

As regards Īśvaradatta, whose coins, whatever exact period may be assigned to them, are, in contrast with the other early coins of Kāṭhiāwād, quite exceptionally dated "in the first year" and "in the second year," it is difficult to look upon him otherwise than as a king of Kāṭhiāwād who tried, but promptly failed, to set up his own regnal reckoning in the place of the well-established era of that territory, commencing A.D. 78.

J. F. FLEET.

June 16th, 1905.

HARṢACARITA, INTRODUCTORY VERSE 18.

The following extracts from two letters of Mr. M. T. Narasimhiengar refer to the verse of the *Harṣacarita* discussed *supra*, 1903, p. 830; 1904, pp. 155-8, 366, 544.

Mr. Narasimhiengar observes that *utsāha* means, not 'exploits,' but 'enthusiasm,' 'energy,' or 'encouragement': the published translation gives in the note 'energy,' and we may refer to the definition cited from the *Sāhitya Darpaṇa* (76. 1) by the St. Petersburg Dictionary, *kāryārambheṣu samrambhaḥ stheyān utsāha ucyate*, 'persistent energy in the prosecution of objects is termed *utsāha*.' Compare such phrases as *palāyanakṛtotsāha*, 'his energies bent upon flight,' *gamane kṛtotsāha*, 'bent upon flight.'

Although this is certainly the case, the fact that we have in this verse the plural *utsāhair* deprives the argument of its force, since plurals of qualities are constantly used in Sanskrit and other languages with the sense of manifestations of the qualities: in English, for instance, we can say 'heroisms' for 'acts of heroism.'

Nevertheless, the meaning 'feats performed' contrasts awkwardly with the common use of the phrase *kṛtotsāha*.

Accordingly, we may suggest as a possible, but by no means a certain, rendering of this obscure verse—

“By the encouragements of Ādhyarāja, though remembered, abiding in my heart,” etc., etc.

Bāṇa would thus be made to say that even the encouragement of the king, though he much appreciated it, acted as a deterrent. It is an objection (among others) to this interpretation that *utsāha* does not of itself bear the explicit sense of encouragement.

In any case there is probably a punning allusion to the sense of ‘thread,’ which the word is said to bear (*Hārāvalī*, v. 167, *ap.* B. and R.).

F. W. THOMAS.

(1) If the name Ādhyarāja refers to Harṣa-dēva, then there arises also the difficulty of explaining the term कृतोत्साहः. The word उत्साहः cannot by itself mean ‘heroic exploits’; it can only mean (1) ‘enthusiasm,’ ‘energy,’ or (2) ‘encouragement.’

For sense (1)—

Compare (1) मन्दोत्साहः कृतोऽस्मि (*Śakuntalā*, ii).

(2) ममोत्साहभङ्गं माकृथाः (*Hitopadeśa*, iii).

It is generally described as a गुण, and not as a क्रिया: cf. नीताविवोत्साहगुणेन सम्पत् (*Kumārasambhava*, i, 22). So *utsāha* cannot be spoken of as ‘done.’ The idiom then requires some such word as दर्शित (displayed) instead of कृत (done).

Taking sense (2)—the whole expression, as it is, would mean आदरानकृतोत्साहः ‘by encouragements (*utsāhas*) given (lit. *done*) (to others) by Ādhyarāja’; and this meaning is out of place here, and the compound is simply awkward.

M. T. NARASIMHIENGAR.

(2) The stanza quoted from the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharana* has enabled me to offer the following interpretation of the verse from the *Harṣacarita*, which I believe is more in keeping with the context, and removes many a difficulty that had to be confronted in the interpretations hitherto offered.

According to the commentator Ratnēśvara, the name Ādhyarāja in the verse from the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharana* refers to Śālivāhana (*vide* p. 123, *Kāvya-mālā* Series), and I see no reason to differ from him on the point, for it is an admitted fact that Prākṛit was the prevailing tongue at the time of Śālivāhana or Śātavāhana (see Introduction to *Gāthāsaptasatī*, *Kāvya-mālā* Series), while Sanskrit was the universal literary language at the time of Vikramāditya, as the commentator explains. Now we see that verse 17 of the *Harṣacarita* eulogizes the *Bṛihat-kathā*, a work written in the Paisācī dialect by Guṇādhya, the famous minister of King Śātavāhana or Śālivāhana, during his retirement. We also know in what strong terms the king condemned this work, how the disappointed author attempted to set fire to the whole work, and how only a fragment of it was providentially rescued from utter destruction (see *Kathā-saritsāgara* or *Bṛihat-kathā-mañjarī*).

If we bear these facts in mind, it is not improbable that our poet, Bāṇa, tauntingly alludes, in the verse immediately following, to this want of appreciation on the part of Śālivāhana with regard to such a meritorious work.

Accordingly I would construe the passage thus:—

हृदयस्त्रीः (हृदयान्तरवस्त्रिणीः प्रकृतिः हर्षचरितविषयीः) स्मृतेरपि
(मम स्मृतिपथं गतेरपि), आद्यराजकृतोत्साहीः (शासिवाहनकृतैः बृहत्क
थाविषयकैः प्रोत्साहभङ्गैः the ironical sense of उत्साहीः) (मम)
जिह्वा चन्तः कथ्यमाणेव कवित्वे न प्रवर्तते.

As for the objection to taking the instrumentals as not in agreement, I have to state that instances of such constructions are often to be met with in Sanskrit literature,

although they seem to be somewhat far-fetched. The prose order may be better indicated thus:—

आद्यराजकृतोत्साहैः—हृदयस्त्रीः स्मृतेरपि—विद्धा चन्तः कथमाणेषु,
etc.

Even if the instrumentals are all supposed to be in agreement, the stanza can be best interpreted by taking the expression आद्यराजकृतोत्साहैः, as before, in the ironical sense.

M. T. N.

PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS has been elected an Honorary Member of the Société Asiatique, Paris.

CASES FOR BINDING THE JOURNAL.—The Council, at the request of members, have ordered cases for binding up the Journal year by year. The cases are of green cloth with gold lettering, and can now be had at the Society's rooms at the price of sixpence each.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE EARLY HISTORY AND GROWTH OF CALCUTTA. By
RAJA BINAYA KRISHNA DEB. 4to. (Calcutta: R. C.
 Ghose, 1905.)

Over two generations ago Macaulay routed the Orientalists, and turned all educational effort in Bengal into Western channels. For many years it seemed that he was mistaken, that his hopes of a new intellectual birth were doomed to disappointment. Expert officials, prosperous lawyers, and fluent journalists were produced in scores. But of an intellectual or literary renaissance there seemed to be no prospect. Nothing came forth but a crop of school books, manuals, and digests of case law. At last there are indications that the Bengali mind and literature have been penetrated by the New Learning; and as one result of the movement, historical studies have become popular, and the younger University alumni are beginning to study the history of their own country with some regard to Western canons of criticism, original research, and the proper use of documents. It is gratifying to see a wealthy and highly-placed gentleman like the author of this "Early History of Calcutta" adding to this store of historical learning and research; though I infer from his last chapter that he is somewhat of a conservative, and not much in sympathy with the extreme advocates of change, either in social habits or in religion.

He divides his work into ten chapters: (1) Introduction; (2) Early History; (3) Capitals; (4) Topography and Population; (5) Religious, Charitable, and Educational Institutions; (6) Trade and Commerce; (7) Civil and

Criminal Justice; (8) The Press; (9) European Society; (10) Hindu Society. Under all these heads he has gathered from well-known sources a mass of interesting information. The most original chapters are, I think, those on the Religious, Charitable, and Educational Institutions and on the Press. These two chapters are, in my opinion, really valuable, being founded on otherwise inaccessible authorities, or on personal knowledge. The author's family and he himself have taken a large and meritorious share in forwarding the interests of the community in which they live, as givers of money, founders of charities, and intelligent patrons of schools, learned men, and journalists. On the charitable side the rich Hindus of Calcutta have a record of which anyone might be proud.

In conclusion, let me take up one or two points in detail. I am rejoiced to see on p. 23 that the Rajah rejects the modern Bengali attempt to explain away the Black Hole (1756) as pure myth. He says: "the arguments adduced to support the contention are, indeed, quite frivolous." The other view is, in substance, to brand J. Z. Holwell as a liar, a charge for which there is no justification. As to the derivation of the name 'Calcutta' (pp. 26, 27), is not the usual attribution of it to the shrine of Kālī, which still exists, satisfactory and unquestionable? On p. 17 I notice a curious oversight in the doubling up of two men into one, which the Rajah had better alter if he has a chance. Hamilton's first name was *William*, not *Gabriel*; Gabriel Boughton was a surgeon who went from Bombay in Shāhjahān's time to attend on some relation of that emperor. Nor did Hamilton precede the Surman mission to the Dehli Court, as said on p. 18; he formed part of it, and entered Dehli with it. On p. 74 we read, *à propos* of the missionary Kiernander, of his noble efforts "to benefit his race—the Portuguese." If I mistake not, he was a Swede, and not a native of Portugal, though probably he preached in Portuguese, the Calcutta *lingua franca* of those days. The details about St. John's Church on p. 76 are interesting, but something might have been added about the many

noteworthy monuments in its churchyard, including one to the very William Hamilton above referred to.

WILLIAM IRVINE.

HEINRICH EWALD: ORIENTALIST AND THEOLOGIAN, 1803–1903. A centenary appreciation. By T. WITTON DAVIES, B.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S. 12mo; pp. 146. (London: Unwin, 1905.)

We are glad to see the appearance, in English, of even so small a volume as this devoted to the life and work of the great scholar and teacher to whom Oriental studies in general, and Biblical criticism in particular, owe so much. We have a short but sufficiently clear account of his early life and struggles; of his rapid promotion; of his work as University Professor at Göttingen, 1831–37; of his dismissal and banishment, as one of the famous “Göttingen seven”; of his work as University Professor at Tübingen, 1838–48; of his recall to Göttingen in 1848, and his work there till 1866, when he was deprived, for political reasons, of the right to teach; and of his final years till his death in May, 1875. Then we have short chapters on Ewald’s characteristics and his famous controversies, and a longer one on his writings; and then follow two appendices, one containing interesting letters to and from Ewald, and the other a bibliography.

This is not the place to attempt any detailed discussion either of Ewald’s opinions and controversies or even of his position as a scholar and a teacher. It is enough to say that he is acknowledged, by the best authorities, to be one of the most distinguished of that small band of German scholars who, in the first half of the last century, working at a time when every Orientalist was expected as a matter of course to be as well grounded in Sanskrit as in Arabic, laid the foundations of the scholarship of to-day. We are all specialists now; and there is an advantage in the change, and Ewald himself and each one of the great scholars of

his generation came to specialize at last. But there were advantages we have now lost in the wider outlook of the days of the great pioneers. This little work shows clearly enough how much use Ewald made, in his interpretations of Hebrew literature, not only of Sanskrit, but also of his wide knowledge of and keen interest in modern affairs. And it shows us also that the greatness of Ewald was, above all, in his unbending moral rectitude, in his devotion, at every risk and at every cost, to what he imagined at the time to be truth and right.

This short appreciation, put together on the centenary of Ewald's birth, makes no pretensions to be a complete exposition of its subject, or to present an adequate discussion of the many points that would have to be treated in a full biography of Ewald. But we can heartily recommend it to anyone who wishes to have a short but careful and charming picture of a great scholar, and of a great and most interesting personality.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(April, May, June, 1905.)

GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

April 11th, 1905.—Sir Charles Lyall, Vice-President, in the Chair.

A paper by Mr. Whinfield was read by the Secretary, entitled “Hellenism and Muhammadanism.” A discussion followed, in which the Chairman, Mr. Kennedy, Professor Hagopian, Professor Rhys Davids, and Mr. Whinfield took part. The paper appears in the present issue.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

The Anniversary Meeting was held on May 16th, 1905, Sir Raymond West, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. Wilson Crewdson, F.S.A.,
Colonel Robert Elias,
Mr. T. M. Rangāchārya,
Mr. Ramanath Aiyar,
Mr. K. Mohamed Yahya

were elected members of the Society.

SIR RAYMOND WEST: Ladies and gentlemen,—I am sorry to have to inform you that, owing to his duties in the House of Lords, Lord Reay is unable to be here at the beginning of this meeting. But he hopes to come later in the afternoon. For the time being I am his substitute, and I hope you will be kind enough to give me your support.

SIR CHARLES LYALL: Sir Raymond West, ladies, and gentlemen,—I have been entrusted with the honourable office of proposing the re-election of our President, Lord Reay. Lord Amherst, who had undertaken the duty, has been detained by another engagement. The proposal I have to make does not require many words from me to commend it to your acceptance. Lord Reay has now been our President for twelve years, and has already been three times re-elected to that office. On each of these occasions you have listened to a recital of his pre-eminent qualifications, and of the great services which he has rendered to our Society, and it would be superfluous for me to go over the same ground again. He is, as you well know, a very busy man. As President of the British Academy he may be said to stand at the head of literary and historical studies in the United Kingdom. As the late Chairman of the London School Board he has discharged for many years the most onerous duties in connection with public education. In connection with the London University, under its new constitution, he has been able to promote the establishment of a school of Oriental studies leading up to degrees granted by that body; and in various other fields of work, political and non-political, his activity has been incessant. Yet he has always found time to preside over our meetings, and to give close and constant attention to our business. We owe him a great debt of gratitude, not only for his labours in the past, but also for consenting to undertake for a further term the supervision of the affairs of the Society. I have, therefore, no doubt that you will unanimously approve of his re-election as our President.

SIR ROBERT DOUGLAS: Sir Raymond West, ladies, and gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in seconding the proposition which Sir Charles Lyall has submitted to you. For twelve years Lord Reay has guided the destinies of the Royal Asiatic Society. All who have attended the meetings are aware of the wisdom and skill with which he has fulfilled the duties of his office. The eminent position in India which he held with honour added personal

experience to his knowledge of the East. We are fortunate to find so eminent a man willing to take the office to which we now nominate him.

DR. CUST: I have been a member of the Royal Asiatic Society for fifty years. During that time I have seen many Presidents, and known them intimately, but I think Lord Reay has been the best of all. His tact and charm of manner impress us all. Under his guidance there have been no quarrels, no troubles. We should be very grateful, I hope, if we may have him three years longer, and I heartily support the proposition.

The resolution was put, and was carried unanimously.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1904.

The Council regrets to report the loss by death or retirement of the following forty-three members:—

There have died—

His Excellency Geheimrath O. v. Böhtlingk,
 Mr. William Digby,
 Major-General Forlong,
 Dr. Edmund Hardy,
 Mr. Mahdi Hasan,
 His Excellency the Marquis Mahā Yotha,
 Mr. F. D. Mocatta,
 The Rev. Canon Moor,
 Field-Marshal Sir H. Norman,
 The Earl of Northbrook,
 Mr. G. Paramesvaram Pillai,
 The Hon. Sir W. H. Rattigan,
 Professor Salmoné,
 Sir John Scott,
 Shaykh Hasan Tawfiq.

There have retired—

Mr. J. D. Anderson,
 Miss C. Ash,

Mr. P. R. Avasthy, ·
 Rev. H. H. B. Ayles,
 The Hon. Moulvi Khuda Baksh,
 Mr. Salah ud-din Khuda Baksh,
 Mr. R. Chalmers,
 Mr. E. K. Corbet,
 Mr. F. C. Coventry,
 Mr. H. N. Dé,
 Mr. Aubrey Frere,
 Miss Winifred Gray,
 Colonel Holbein Hendley,
 Mr. H. Hogan,
 Mr. F. Jameson,
 Mr. P. de Lacy Johnstone,
 Mr. H. M. Kavibhusan,
 Rev. B. M. Morton,
 Mr. R. Paulusz,
 Mr. Jwāla Prasad,
 Mr. W. J. Prendergast,
 Mr. Bihari Lal Rai,
 Dr. Sangat Ram,
 Mr. C. F. Rowthorn,
 Dr. Long Scott,
 Sir W. E. M. Tomlinson,
 Mr. C. H. Wylde,
 Mr. G. Zaidan.

On the other hand, the following fifty-one new members have been elected :—

Mr. Justin Alvarez,
 Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E.,
 Mr. Amir-uddin Ashraf,
 Mr. L. D. Barnett,
 Mr. E. L. Bevir,
 Mr. C. Clements,
 Mr. E. M. Cooke,
 Signor A. Costa,
 Mr. E. Crawshay-Williams,

Mr. M. B. Davar, Ph.D.,
Mr. R. H. Hart Davies,
Mr. R. P. Dewhurst,
Mr. A. Dobrée,
Mr. John de Grey Downing,
Mr. Girindra Nath Dutt,
Mr. Maurice Ettinghausen,
M. Theodore Ferrieu,
Babu Jogendra Chandra Ghose,
Mr. Walter R. Gorn-Old,
Mr. Hem Chandra Das Gupta,
Mr. Iswar Chandra Das Gupta,
Rev. O. Hanson,
Maulavi Abu Musa Ahmad al-Haque,
Mr. Mirza Jalaluddin,
Mr. M. R. Jayakar,
Mr. R. Fleming Johnston,
Professor Julius Jolly,
Mr. Mangesh Bal Kolasker,
Mr. E. A. Khan,
Mr. M. A. Husein Khan,
Mr. Hira Lal,
Hon. Munshi Madho Lal,
Captain C. E. Luard,
Mr. Maung Tun Lwin,
Mr. Purshottam V. Manjee,
Mr. E. Marsden,
Mr. Harendra K. Mukherji,
Mr. Satis Chandra Mukherjea,
Mr. Moun Ba Hla Oung,
Mr. M. R. Apat Krishna Paduval,
Herr Saïd Ruete,
Mr. Khaja Khan Sahib,
Dr. Y. Sarruf,
Mr. N. C. Sen,
Miss A. A. Smith,
Mr. Irach Sorabji,
Mrs. Steele,

Mrs. S. Arthur Strong,
Mr. Maung Ba Thein,
Sir J. Walker, C.I.E.

Of the subscribing Libraries one has been added to the list.

These figures show an increase in our numbers of nine.

The receipts for the last year again show an increase, and amount to nearly £1,600, which is a larger total than the Society has hitherto received in one year. The following table shows the progress in the financial position of the Society as regards the principal sources of its income since the present Secretary took charge in 1887 :—

Receipts.

	1887.		1904.		Difference.
	£		£		£
Members' Subscriptions	563	...	688	...	+ 125
Rents	197	...	224	...	+ 27
Sale of Journal ...	94	...	226	...	+ 132
Dividends and Interest	33	...	54	...	+ 21
					—
Total increase	...	...	...	...	£305

The differences do not seem very large, but as the charges which the Society has to meet for rent, salaries, and the cost of the Journal vary but very little from year to year, a gradually increasing revenue is the only means which enables the Council to undertake from time to time new work of a scientific importance.

In this respect the Society is now in a far better position than it has been; and is able, besides the Journal, to keep up the two serial publications it has started—the Oriental Translation Fund and the Monograph Series. During the year a new volume of the former has appeared, the first volume of the late Mr. Watters's book on Yuan Chwang; and the second volume is already well advanced in the press.

In the Monograph Series Mr. Longworth Dames's work

on the history of the Baloch race, referred to in the last Report as about to appear, has since been published. The Council has also determined to bring out an important work by Mr. Grierson on the philology and history of the Paisāci Dialect, and it has much pleasure in announcing that the Secretary of State for India in Council has generously provided the necessary funds for the purpose.

The balances in hand for both these undertakings show a small but steady increase, and as the number of volumes on sale grows larger a further increase may be expected in future. The Council hopes, therefore, that these two series have at last been established on a permanent footing. But, as pointed out in the last Report, the only really efficient method of working such a series is for the Council to be able to offer to the most distinguished scholars in each department of Oriental research a sufficient payment for the work it wishes them to undertake.

It is no less a source of satisfaction that the increase of scholars' interest in Oriental studies is steadily widening in England, and that their sympathies with the aims of our Society is seen in their hearty collaboration with the Journal, which, thanks to the untiring efforts of our Secretary, has maintained a very high level of scientific efficiency and scholarship. As by his transfer to another field of activity the Society will soon lose his services, it is meet now at the close of his official connection to recognise the prominent part he has played in the advancement of the aims of this Society.

The Society's Public School Medal for 1904, given for the best essay on the life of Akbar, was won by Mr. W. N. Ewer, of Merchant Taylors' School. It was presented to the successful competitor by Mr. Secretary Brodrick, and a full report of the proceedings appeared in the Journal.

The Council recommends the re-election of

Mr. James Kennedy as *Hon. Treasurer*,
Dr. Cust as *Hon. Secretary*,
Dr. Codrington as *Hon. Librarian*.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS.

Subscriptions—						£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
90 Resident Members at £3 3s.	...	...	...	...	...	283	10	0			
1 „ „ in advance	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	0			
214 Non-Resident „ at £1 10s.	...	...	...	...	...	321	1	7			
18 „ „ in advance	...	...	...	...	...	27	14	9			
14 „ „ in arrears	...	...	...	...	...	30	10	0			
4 Library Members at £1 10s.	...	...	...	...	...	6	0	0			
1 „ „ in advance	...	...	...	...	...	1	10	0			
14 Non-Resident Members at £1 1s.	...	...	...	...	...	14	14	0			
						<hr/>			688	3	4
Donations	...	...	...	...	...				323	3	0
Rents	...	...	...	...	...				224	13	0
Journal—Subscriptions	...	...	...	...	...	165	5	2			
Sale	...	...	...	...	...	43	6	0			
Sale of Index	...	...	...	...	...	1	9	6			
Sale of Pamphlets	...	...	...	...	...	7	3	6			
Advertisements	...	...	...	...	...	9	4	10			
						<hr/>			226	9	0
Catalogue Sale	...	...	...	...	...				5	0	
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...	...				69	5	6
Subscriptions paid in excess	...	...	...	...	...				4	10	0
Library Subscription	...	...	...	...	...				10	0	
Dividends and Interest—											
N.S.W. 4 per cent.	...	...	...	...	...	30	11	4			
Midland 2½ „	...	...	...	...	...	5	1	3			
						<hr/>			35	12	7
Interest on Deposit in Bank	...	...	...	...	...	9	6	8			
„ „ in Savings Bank	...	...	...	...	...	0	16	8			
Local Loan Dividend	...	...	...	...	...	9	0	0			
						<hr/>			19	3	4
Total									<hr/>		
									1591	14	9
Balance at Bank, January 1, 1904	...	...	...	...	...	57	17	10			
„ Petty Cash	...	...	...	...	...	4	15	6			
„ on Deposit	...	...	£217	6	2						
„ Transferred to Monograph Fund	...	...	117	4	6						
						<hr/>			100	1	8
„ P.O. account	...	...	...	...	...	28	18	8			
						<hr/>			191	13	8
									<hr/>		
									£1783	8	5

FUNDS.

£802 13s. 10d. New South Wales 4 per cent.
£212 8s. Midland 2½ per cent. debenture.
£300 3 per cent. Local Loans.

EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1904.

EXPENDITURE.

						£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House—Rent	...	...	...	...	...	343	16	0			
Fire Insurance	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0			
Water	...	...	...	...	...	12	8	0			
Gas	...	...	...	...	...	24	9	11			
Income Tax	...	...	...	...	...	13	18	9			
Repairs	...	...	...	...	...	11	14	10			
Coals	...	...	...	...	...	4	15	0			
									421	2	6
Salaries	...	...	...	...	...				300	0	0
Wages	...	...	...	...	...				86	10	0
Journal—Printing	...	..	...	...	...	356	9	9			
Illustrations	...	...	...	...	...	18	6	0			
									374	15	9
Library—New Books	...	...	...	...	...	14	18	6			
Binding	...	...	...	...	...	17	11	3			
									32	9	9
Stationery and Printing	...	...	...	...	...				16	9	6
Postage and Parcels	...	...	...	...	...				3	10	6
Stamps	...	...	...	...	...				61	0	0
Petty Cash	...	...	...	...	...				26	13	4
Returned Subscriptions	...	...	...	...	...				7	10	0
Bank Charges	...	...	...	...	...				7	7	
Abhayagiri Dagaba expenses	...	...	...	...	...				100	0	0
Printing Colonel Gerini's Book, on account	...	...	...	...	...				100	0	0
									1530	8	11
Balance at Bank, December 31, 1904	...	...	...	...	...	46	4	1			
„ Petty Cash	...	...	...	...	...	1	12	2			
„ on Deposit at Bank	...	...	...	...	...	166	7	11			
„ P.O. account	...	...	...	...	...	38	15	4			
									252	19	6
									£1783	8	5

Examined with the books and vouchers, and found correct, March 28th, 1905. { W. IRVINE, for the Council.
E. T. STURDY, } for the Society.
D. FERGUSON, }

SPECIAL FUNDS.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Balance in hand, January 1, 1904	...	Salary ...	... 10 0 0
By Sales	...	Carriage of Vol. XIV	... 2 5 4
Interest	...	Cheque Book	... 5 0
			<u>12 10 4</u>
		Balance	... 177 4 11
			<u>£189 15 3</u>

INDIA EXPLORATION FUND.

To Balance in hand, January 1, 1904	...	For Opening Stupa, to Mr. Peppé	... 130 0 0
By Subscriptions	...		
By Foreign Subscriptions	...	Balance	... 14 1 11
			<u>£144 1 11</u>

MONOGRAPH FUND.

To Balance in hand, January 1, 1904	...	Printing Baloch Monograph	... 22 0 9
Donations (Colonel Gerini)	...	Illustrations to Mr. Le Strange's Volume	5 0 0
Sales (1903)	...		<u>27 0 9</u>
By Sales (1904)	...		
Dividends	...	Balance	... 174 18 6
			<u>£201 19 3</u>

Funds—Nottingham Corporation Stock, £600.

Total Receipts	...	Balance on Deposit	... 356 12 6
Total Expenditure	...	Balance at Bank	... 9 12 10
Balance	...		<u>£366 5 4</u>

Examined with the books and vouchers, and found correct, March 28th, 1905. { W. IRVINE, for the Council.
E. T. STURDY,
D. FERGUSON, } for the Society.

MEDAL FUND.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Balance in hand, December 31, 1903...	... 17 17 7		
Dividends, 1904 ...	... 9 15 0	Nil.	
Interest to December 31, 1904 ...	... 5 3	Balance in hand ...	... 27 17 10
	<u>£27 17 10</u>		<u>£27 17 10</u>

Funds—Nottingham Corporation Stock, £325.

PUBLIC SCHOOL MEDAL FUND.

To Balance in hand, December 31, 1903...	... 34 13 5	Medal Die ...	... 30 0 0
Dividends on £645 11s. 2d. Nottingham 3 % Stock	... 19 8 2	Prizes of Books	... 2 2 0
Interest to December 31, 1904 ...	... 8 6	Binding Prizes	... 5 18 0
Donation, A. N. W. ...	... 8 4	Cost of Medal	... 5 0 0
		Cost of Staging	... 3 10 0
		Press Cuttings	... 1 1 0
		Cards ...	... 11 3
		P. Order ...	... 3
		Balance, December 31, 1904	... 6 16 11
	<u>£54 18 5</u>		<u>£54 18 5</u>

Funds—Nottingham Corporation Stock, £645 11s. 2d.

Examined with the books and vouchers, and found correct, March 28th, 1905. { W. IRVINE, for the Council
E. T. STURDY, }
D. FERGUSON, } for the Society.

A. N. WOLLASTON.
January 2, 1905.

Under the rules of the Society Sir Mountstuart Grant-Duff and Sir Charles Lyall retire from the office of Vice-President, and Sir Frederick Goldsmid has resigned. The Council recommends the election in their place of

Dr. Cust,
Sir Robert Douglas,
Sir Charles Lyall.

Under rule 43 the following members of Council retire:—Professor Bendall, Dr. Bushell, Professor Browne, Mr. Stanley Cook, and Mr. Syed Ali Bilgrami. The Council recommends the election in their place of

Professor Browne,
Professor Blumhardt,
Dr. Pinches,
Colonel Jacob,
Professor Margoliouth.

The usual statement of accounts is laid on the table.

The Council recommends that a vote of thanks should be passed to the Auditors, Mr. W. Irvine, auditor for the Council, and Mr. Sturdy and Mr. Donald Ferguson, auditors for the Society.

DR. G. A. GRIERSON said: Sir Raymond West, ladies, and gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in rising to move the adoption of the Report just read. I think that we may all congratulate ourselves on the fact that it shows the Society as not resting on its former laurels, but as making progress. Although we claim to be members of a learned body, we must now and then descend to such mundane things as pounds, shillings, and pence, and in criticising the Report the section relating to finance is that which we must first examine. We are much indebted to the Honorary Treasurer for the admirably clear accounts which have been presented to us, and these show that our income is increasing and that our expenditure has not exceeded the necessary limits.

Although the Society is thus healthy and solvent, and although its power for usefulness has gradually increased, I do not think that any of us here can feel completely satisfied with its financial condition. It has cut its coat according to its cloth, but it has had uncommonly little cloth on which to exhibit its sartorial dexterity. Consider for a moment the enormous area over which its operations extend, and compare with this the inadequate means which lie at its disposal. It is true, it maintains a fine library and rooms which have become the homing-place for scholars from all parts of the world. It supports the necessary establishment, and produces its Journal and two series of monographs. This is not bad for a total income of about £1,600. But the Society could, and wishes, to do much more.

Oriental scholars are not as a rule wealthy people, who can give to the world the results of their researches at their own expense, and publishers are unanimous in showing a modest sense of their own unworthiness for the honour of being permitted to issue books which cannot be expected to pay. Even the Indian Nabob is as extinct as the two-shilling rupee which created him, and those of us who have been fortunate enough to return from the Land of Regrets have found but poor plucking on the branches of the Pagoda-tree. We acknowledge, and gratefully acknowledge, the help which we have received from those interested in Oriental studies, and especially the great contribution to science and accurate scholarship which will, we are confident, result from the assistance rendered by the Government of India in the publication of its Historical Series. But still we are by no means satisfied. There are many works for which the Council would be only too glad to stand as sponsors if funds were available. The gods help those who help themselves. Let us help ourselves. In the last fifteen years the total of our annual subscriptions has risen by about twenty-five per cent. That is good; but I, for one, will not be content till, instead of "twenty-five," we can say "a hundred," and that result depends in great measure on the exertions of individual members. I call to mind, sir,

that membership of this Society has not only its privileges. It has its duties. Each one of us who has joined the standard raised a century ago by Sir William Jones has taken for his motto "Ex Oriente lux," and has declared himself a missionary of the gospel of the Orient. Here, as elsewhere, there is danger of familiarity causing zeal to flag, and of the missionary subsiding into the pastor. Let that not be said of us. If each member will make but one convert and convoy him safely into our fold, the number of our members—and the resultant income derived from our annual subscriptions—will be doubled. We shall be delighted to have recruits for their own sake, but are mercenary enough to welcome them for the sake of their subscriptions too. I know from experience that there is a sort of idea prevalent in the outer world that, in order to become a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, one has to be a very "potent, grave, and reverend signior." Now, it is quite sufficient to point out the existence of our charming lady members to show that we are not all "signiors," and, for the rest, our bond of union is not so much learning as the fact that, to use Kipling's phrase, we "hear the East a' calling." But it is not on us alone that this glamour has been cast. The mysterious fascination of the lands of the rising sun is spread far and wide, but here and, in this country, here alone, can those who acknowledge the imperious summons hope to allay its peremptory insistence. This is a point of view which we cannot too often impress upon those who are not members of our Society, and if we all do so our roll of members will increase by leaps and bounds.

The Report just read shows for the year 1904 a net increase of nine members. The list of losses by death and retirement is, I regret to say, large, and includes the names of some of our most eminent fellow-workers. A fitting tribute will shortly, sir, be paid by you to the memory of those who have been removed by the scythe of him whom Shahrāzād calls the "Sunderer of Societies," and that in words far more suitable than I can offer, and I therefore

refrain from doing more than drawing attention to two who, alas! are no longer of our number. One of these was Otto von Böhtlingk—the old man eloquent of Sanskrit lore—lamented alike in Europe and in India. The other was Sir William Rattigan, the distinguished Indian jurist, to whom, three years ago, was entrusted the task which I am so unworthily attempting to fulfil to-day—the proposal of the adoption of the Annual Report.

On the other hand, I rejoice to see from the list of new members that we are not only attracting men of established reputation for learning, but also younger scholars who have lately won their spurs, and to whom the Society will be able to extend the welcoming hand of assistance and encouragement. As for the Council, under the wise provision which insists on a certain amount of new blood being introduced each year, while we regret the loss of those colleagues who have been at once ornaments and pillars of strength, we can congratulate ourselves that, as you will see from the concluding paragraphs of the Report, their vacant seats have been filled so worthily.

The work of the Society during 1904 has maintained the high standard which we have set for ourselves. Besides Mr. Watters' work on Yuan Chwang and Mr. Dames' monograph on Balōchī history, it has issued the Journal with most commendable punctuality. This last has kept to its established level of scholarship and variety. Although, as is natural for the Journal of an English Society, India occupies a large proportion of its pages, there are few regions of Asia which it does not touch. Not only is India proper, ancient and modern, dealt with, but also Further India and Siam. The ancient and modern literatures of Persia have received their due share of attention, and China, Tibet, Assyria, Armenia, Arabia, and even Spain, have formed the subjects of illuminating dissertations. Here I am only referring to the formal essays, but if we included in our survey the numerous miscellaneous shorter articles and reviews the list might be largely extended. Not the least interesting papers were those that formed the record

of the Homeric discussion, carried on through two long meetings, as to the extent to which Sanskrit was a spoken language. Here Greek and Trojan waged a mighty war of words, and, if neither side admitted itself vanquished, I, for one, welcomed the presentation of the other side of the shield, and admired the learning and dialectic skill exhibited by those with whom I had the honour of breaking a friendly lance.

Another subject which has received the constant attention of the Council of the Society is the crying need which exists for a comprehensive school of Oriental studies in this country. We keenly feel that England, with its great Oriental possessions, has nothing which can be compared with institutions long existing in Paris and Berlin. There are Indian languages publicly taught on the Continent, for teaching which there are no arrangements in this country, and this, I am convinced, is not for lack of teachers, but for want of encouragement, and, above all, of some means for bringing together those who are competent to teach and those who wish to learn. Indian officials have actually to take furlough in Germany that they may attend University lectures in Indian subjects which they cannot obtain at home. I think I could mention one who is doing so at the present moment. Out of the 150 ancient and modern languages of India, there are professed teachers of only nine attached to institutions in the British Isles. I do not for a moment suggest that teachers should be provided for the whole of the remaining 141, though there are retired Government officials, soldiers, and missionaries, each of whom knows one or more of them, and who would be ready to give instruction if he could be discovered by those who require it; but picture to yourselves that in this country, so far as I am aware, there is no official teacher of Tibetan, the great language of the trans-Himalayan tract; of Pashtō, that of Afghānistān and of our Pathān regiments; of Panjābī, the tongue of our Sikh soldiers; of the vernaculars of the workers in our Mysore gold-mines or on our Assam tea plantations. Some time ago an officer in the Staff

College at Camberley came to me about a language the acquisition of which was encouraged by the military authorities and in which he wished to pass an examination. He wanted to find a teacher. I did not know of any, and suggested likely quarters in which he might make enquiries. He did so, but failed to get the information he needed. He is now, I believe, going through a course of self-instruction. I hope he will pass, and if he does it will not be due to any assistance received from those who consider the language so important that they offer a prize to those who master it. The other day an Indian Staff officer wrote to me inquiring about the languages of the recruits of our Gurkha regiments. I gave him all the help I could, but it was not satisfactory to have to tell him that the only grammar and dictionary of the most important of them were written in German, and were based on materials collected by a professor in the service of the Russian Government. Surely there is something wrong here. An Oriental Institute, even if it did not teach these languages—and it should do so—could at least, as I said before, bring together those who wished to learn them and those who were ready and able to teach them. And then, putting the question of utility on one side, why should the great literary vernaculars of modern India be despised by those whose heritage is our Indian Empire? No one can admire the glories of Sanskrit literature more than I do, but believe me, sir, that in this country the focussing of all scholarly attention on ancient India is becoming a real peril. The language, the religion, of ancient India are to the mass of the people as dead as Latin, and as the worship of Jupiter. A thousand years ago India began to create a new literature, and has formed anew for itself an enchanted garden of poetry still almost unvisited from the West. A thousand years ago there swept across its spiritual life a mighty wave of revolution which has retained its power to the present day, which has profoundly affected the thoughts, the morals, the customs of the country, and which is ignored even by missionaries whose business it is to know it. We are sending out there men trained to

deal with extinct civilisations, and ignorant of what they will meet day by day. The old race of civilians, grown up in an Indian atmosphere, soaked in a familiarity with Indian thoughts and customs, is gradually becoming extinct, and the new generation, chained to an ever increasing round of official duties and taking its well-earned holidays out of India, runs a serious risk of ruling a people about which it knows far too little. For these reasons I heartily endorse the action of the Society in urging the foundation of an Oriental Institute.

Finally, sir, it is with great regret that I must close these remarks with a word of farewell. We are losing our Secretary, Professor Rhys Davids, to whose untiring efforts during the past fourteen years the Society owes much of the progress which it has made. There are none of us here who, when he is adorning his professorial chair in Manchester, will not miss his kindly welcome, as we enter this room to disturb him at his work, and the stores of that learning which he has made peculiarly his own, and of which he offers so generously to those who come to him for help. There is not one of us who will not wish him and Mrs. Rhys Davids all prosperity in the new opportunities which have opened out to them. Our consolation is, and I am sure that it is also a consolation to Professor Rhys Davids, that in Miss Hughes he has a successor, experience of whose gracious ability has taught us that the former reputation of the Society will with certainty be successfully maintained in future.

With these words I beg to move the adoption of the Report.

MR. STURDY : I have much pleasure in seconding the adoption of the Report, proposed by Dr. Grierson. My only fitness to speak at this meeting lies in the fact that I have recently been making a careful investigation of the accounts. They are perfectly accurate ; but I feel that they might be put into better form. I suggest that we call in a trained accountant to give them a shape in which they may be more easily handled. Changes continually take

place ; new people have to deal with the accounts, and their form cannot be too clear and precise. There is, for example, the starting of new funds, with considerable book-keeping thereby entailed ; the lists of subscribers are complicated ; they are by no means uniform, falling under several headings. The publication of books, with the keeping account of copies sold, etc., requires detailed entries. All this makes it necessary that the Society's accounts should be in better form. We should find an accountant to put them into good form and perhaps draw out our annual balance-sheet. I do not advise paid auditors ; voluntary help in this direction is usually forthcoming. But I do earnestly suggest that the accounts should be put into good shape. With these remarks I beg to heartily second the adoption of the Report.

MR. LYON : Perhaps it will be appropriate if at this juncture I make a few remarks. In deciding that the Council should be elected by the members of the Society, I would laud the good sense that has been shown by our officers in thus placing the responsibility in the hands of members. It will produce increased vitality and interest. But the machinery by which this is to be done seems to me appallingly defective and non-understandable. From the wording of the blue document received by members, one would think it was a balloting list, but if Rule 42 still exists the whole proceeding is *ultra vires*, as it is impossible that any effect can attach to papers sent in by members who are not present at the meeting. If, however, the document is merely a suggestion as to nominations, some indication of the fact should have been given. I do not wish to propose a formal motion, but would suggest that if the election is to be an effective one the machinery should be of a practical nature. Nominations should be asked for, and no nomination should be placed on the list unless seconded by ten or twelve members, so as to keep out stray nominations supported by only one or two. I would advise the revision of Rule 42 ; and if the Council will kindly give us their views it will clear up the matter.

MR. KENNEDY: As a member of Council I should like to explain what has been done with reference to certain points raised in the foregoing speeches. Mr. Sturdy says that some change is necessary in the system of keeping our accounts. This matter has long been under the consideration of the Council, for the best part of the year in fact. A change will have to take place, but whether by calling in a professional accountant I am not quite sure. On the first occasion on which I was auditor of the accounts, I found that Miss Hughes had just requisitioned the services of a firm of accountants, who had sent a youth to deal with the matter. There was an entry of £5 in the profit and loss account, and it took a very long time to disgorge that £5. Rule 42 appears to be very generally condemned; its meaning has not entered into my comprehension nor into that of my colleagues. Before the next annual meeting the Council will revise the matter. I consider that the idea of a registration of teachers is an admirable one; I only wonder that we have not thought of it before. Some time ago I was in search of teachers of hieroglyphics and of cuneiform writing. I could not find any at that time, but I knew they were to be found. It is a very useful suggestion, and I hope some practical scheme may arise out of it.

COLONEL PLUNKETT: I should like to refer to what Dr. Grierson said with regard to the difficulty of obtaining teachers of Oriental languages, and also to the loss the Society sustains by the resignation of our honoured and learned Secretary, Professor Rhys Davids. With regard to the latter point, it is not only the great Oriental scholars that will miss him, but all members of the Society. Those that live at a distance always found him ready to help in every possible way. His learning was at their disposal, and he was always ready to give time and trouble to assist them in any way he could.

My experience in the matter of finding teachers of Oriental languages in England bears out what Dr. Grierson has said. It is shameful that such difficulties should be met with by military officers and others in the study, not merely of the

less known of the one hundred and fifty languages of India, but of those that are spoken by many millions of inhabitants of our Empire and of countries with which we have constant intercourse. Good teachers are scarcely obtainable, and I think the need in this direction is greater than even the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society is aware of. The extreme importance of providing facilities for the teaching and study of these languages should be urged upon the Government and on those responsible for higher education in London.

MR. VINCENT SMITH: I should like to add my testimony to that of Colonel Plunkett on behalf of the non-resident members of the Society as to the unfailing courtesy and attention of Professor Rhys Davids. Whatever our demands upon his time and his learning, they were willingly acceded to. The Report of the Society says that interest in Oriental learning is spreading. Certainly the young scientific University of Manchester has shown that it is so in choosing our Secretary to fill the Chair of Comparative Religions.

Perhaps I may mention here a fact that is of considerable interest to the student of history. Dr. Vogel, in carrying out his excavations at Sārnāth, near Benares, where the Buddha first began to teach, or, in the Buddhist phrase, to turn the wheel of the law, has found a new Asoka Pillar. Excavations were begun more than one hundred years ago in the time of Jonathan Duncan; they were continued by Keith and Cunningham, and the latest find is both surprising and interesting. A dated inscription of the Kushān king Kanishka has also been obtained. The objects discovered by previous explorers were not earlier than the sixth or seventh century. Feeling sure it would be of interest to the members of this Society, I have ventured to tell of the discovery.

MR. J. D. REES, C.I.E.: Reference has been made to a scheme for the teaching of Oriental languages, and I should like to know particulars about this matter, if any information can be afforded. I have been present at meetings of the Society when the subject has been under discussion, and am much interested to know what is to be

done. The fact is that there are many competent teachers of Oriental languages in this country, but there is no work for them to do, with the exception of occasionally examining candidates for the Indian Civil Service. There are many who, like myself, have been examiners in various Oriental languages, but there is hardly any paid work available. As I am not in search of any myself, I take this opportunity of saying that it is not tutors who are wanted, but pupils who are willing to pay to be taught.

MR. SEWELL: I should like to call attention to one item in the accounts, namely, the expenditure of £100 on the Abhayagiri Dagaba. May I ask how that sum was expended?

PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS: In reply to Mr. Sewell, I have to say that the largest and one of the most ancient topes in Ceylon (or, indeed, in India) was in danger of destruction by the rains. Lord Stanmore, one of our Vice-Presidents, called the attention of the Council to this, and to the fact that the local engineers had reported to the Ceylon Government that nothing could be done to save it. A correspondence ensued, resulting in Mr. F. O. Oertel, a competent engineer and archæologist in the Indian Department of Public Works, being sent out to make a further report, and to suggest means, if there were any, for saving this important national monument. The expenses were to be defrayed, half by the Ceylon Government and half by this Society. The payment in question is made in pursuance of this arrangement; and the liability of the Society has been greatly reduced by the very handsome donation from Lord Stanmore, which appears on the other side of the accounts.

May I be allowed to take this opportunity of expressing my very cordial and grateful thanks for the kind and much too appreciative words which have been spoken about such work as I have been able to do for the Society and for the members of the Society. I may perhaps also be allowed, as I shall not have another opportunity of speaking as your Secretary, to say how much I feel the great kindness and the constant help which I have received during the eighteen

years that I have been here, not only from members of Council, but from members of the Society. I am glad to have full confidence that my successor will have the same experience at your hands. For without such kindness and such help the work of a Secretary is, frankly speaking, almost impossible. It is difficult enough in any case. To do what one can do in order to make the very slender means of the Society go as far as they possibly can towards the ends we all have in view; to use one's best endeavours, too often without success, to increase those slender means, feeling all the time that one is accomplishing so much less than one would wish, and yet never to lose heart, is no easy task. The discrepancy between aims and performance is too painful. Yet has it not always been so with pioneer work? And, in spite of the considerable results which have been achieved in Oriental study, we are still pioneers. Especially in England, strange to say, Oriental studies are still, as it were, out of the running. Our great schools of learning neglect them, our Government shows them little favour, the public looks down upon them with half-amused contempt. And yet what are the studies our Society is founded to promote? As I have said elsewhere, they are the study of the origins of all the great religions of the world, and the history, through the centuries, of most. They are the study of three, at least, of the most interesting and original systems of philosophic thought. They are the study of the political movements, the literary achievements, the past and present social and economic conditions, the arts and the industries, the hopes, the wants, and the ideas, of a large majority of the human race. It is a noble effort the Society is making to bring scientific order into this vast domain. The pages of our Journal show that there is no part of it which does not receive attention, if they also show that no part receives the attention it deserves. The harvest is too great, the labourers are too few. We are only making the first steps in a great enterprise. But in bidding you, with great regret, farewell, I beg very earnestly, and with much confidence, to ask for your unswerving loyalty,

in the future as in the past, to the Society, and to *the cause* which the Society represents.

SIR R. WEST: It is now my duty to put the proposition for the adoption of the Report, and, with something of a crab-like motion I will begin backwards in dealing with the observations that have been made. Mr. Rees and Colonel Plunkett have referred to a matter which is of great interest. I may say that with regard to the establishment of an Oriental College a joint Committee of this Society and the Central Asian Society has already been appointed; it has held several meetings, and will in due course report. The general idea is that it is desirable that at some place in England, in London or at one of the Universities, a School of Oriental Languages should be founded, sustained to some extent by Government, as a teaching institution and a centre of communication for scholars. We, as a Society, are deeply interested in the question, but there are also wider interests concerned. The Committee is gathering information, and hopes soon to frame a plan. In the present inchoate stage of the matter, however, it seems to me to be undesirable to say more. When a further stage of progress has been reached, a communication will be made to members. The objects to be kept in view are the promotion of Oriental learning, the organization of instruction and of communication among scholars. The *modus operandi* will need most careful consideration. I would ask you to have patience and confidence in the Council and in the Committee. In the end something feasible will probably be proposed. Whether it be adopted or not, we shall feel that we have done our duty in bringing the matter forward and in giving it the authority to be derived from the support it may gain from the approval and countenance of a learned Society.

As to the manner of taking votes in the election of the Council, I may say that with regard to the blue paper that has been circulated, the Council have concluded that it would have been better if it had not been issued. It is to be consigned to the limbo of things forgotten. As to the obscurity of Rules 41 and 42, they have, like many other

obscurities, a historical explanation. They are amendments of earlier rules, and the patchwork result is not quite so clear as the original form. I may add that the whole subject of the rules is under consideration by the Council. It is probable that a committee will be appointed charged with the duty of revising the rules. The decision that they come to will be brought before members, who will be able to suggest improvements, and in this way I think we shall gain much, and arrive at a clear solution of difficulties now existing in the rules.

As to the accounts, Mr. Kennedy has already explained the matter. They are perfectly satisfactory and are carefully audited, but it is possible to put them into a better shape. The Finance Committee of the Council will be empowered to investigate and to see whether the shape can be improved. The Society and the Council are not living in a Sleepy Hollow, nor are they Lotus Eaters reposing in a land where it is always afternoon. The only complaint that can be made by the Council is the too great activity of some of the members who suggest reforms that it is impossible to carry out as quickly as their proposers deem necessary. By degrees the affairs of the Society will assume an amended shape ; but I can assure you that there is no idleness on the part of the Council or neglect of the Society's interests.

I regret that Lord Reay was called away, especially because he intended to make some observations as to the losses by death and retirement that we have sustained during the past year. I am incompetent to take his place, but it would be ungrateful and wrong to allow some of the names to pass without observation. It is, however, only of a very few that I can speak. Lord Northbrook's is a household name, honoured and beloved for the great services he rendered to his country, and to this Society in a conspicuous degree. For a considerable period he was President of the Society, and although his close connection with us had to be interrupted because of the pressure of matters of even greater importance, he continued to take a deep interest in the Society's work and progress to the

end of his life. We owe him a large debt of gratitude. The loss of Sir William Rattigan we all deplore. He worked himself up from a humble position to a high place, and became an authority, the chief authority, on certain parts of Indian law. When he retired from the public service and came home, he continued to show an active interest in Indian affairs. It would be well if others acted on this principle. I hope that by such means this Society will become a centre of social activity with regard to all interests and institutions connected with Oriental questions. Of Sir John Scott I speak as of a beloved friend. He has left behind him both in Egypt and in India a memory revered by all who came in contact with him and who fell under the charm of his personal influence. His interest in the East and his attraction for the people were remarkable. He could not often attend the meetings of the Society, but his loss is a serious and regrettable one. Mr. William Digby rendered important service in his special sphere, and to Major-General Forlong we are deeply indebted. He was a large benefactor to the Society, to the extent of £5,000. Such generosity deserves our heartiest recognition.

I heartily concur with Dr. Grierson's speech. India's needs, and the needs of the East at large, especially where England's interests are at stake, require the Royal Asiatic Society. We at home require it, too. England has to perform work which, if done in the dark, may be done erroneously, and may lead to terrible disaster in the future. We must go forward, and gather light by the means Providence has given to us. This Society, from purely disinterested motives, endeavours to shed light; it gathers and focuses the beams that come from many sources; it serves as a centre of scholarship for both Europe and Asia; it deserves encouragement from all interested in learning, and the enthusiastic exertions of its own members. If all would contribute to its intellectual wealth by bringing more and more active members into it, we should go on increasing and prospering proportionately more and more. Our success has in recent years been largely due to the work of Professor

Rhys Davids, and I would again express our thanks and gratitude to him for what he has done. We are all bound according to our abilities to follow his example. Each member should bear in mind that it is his duty to enlist effective recruits, and thereby increase the prosperity and usefulness of the Society. We all wish Professor Rhys Davids the best of success in his new sphere, and I know he will be glad to recognise that his place here is being worthily filled and his example never forgotten.

We are grateful to the auditors for the trouble they have taken; your acclamation shows that this is the feeling of members, and probably expresses also the desire that we may have reason for gratitude next year for similar services equally well performed.

After an interval for tea the meeting resumed.

LORD REAY: Mr. Brodrick, ladies, and gentlemen,—Some time ago the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society gave their sanction to a scheme for encouraging at the great public schools of this country an interest in India and Indian history. It was arranged that a prize of books should be given annually at each of the schools selected for this purpose for an essay on a subject chosen by the Council of the Society, the award being made by the headmaster of the school; and that then the essays of the prize-winners should be examined under the direction of the Society itself, which would award to the writer of the one deemed to be the best a special medal, called “The Royal Asiatic Society’s Public School Medal.” By this scheme it was hoped to interest future citizens of the Empire, while yet at a most impressionable age, in the past, present, and future of England’s greatest dependency.

The history of the scheme is an interesting one. In 1897 the Royal Asiatic Society decided to establish a special Jubilee Gold Medal, to be awarded every third year, with the view of encouraging Oriental learning amongst English-speaking people throughout the world. For this purpose a special committee was appointed, by whose exertions, particularly by the indefatigable energy of their chairman,

Mr. A. N. Wollaston, C.I.E., a sum of nearly £450 was collected, an amount sufficient for the necessary endowment. This result was due in no small degree to the circumstance that the scheme was fortunate enough to secure the patronage and support of the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy. Meanwhile, the idea had been taken up warmly in Madras, and as a consequence a sum of £1,225 was forthcoming, to which His Highness the Rajah of Cochin, the late Maharajah Gajapatti Rao, and the Rajah of Parlakimedi, each contributed £300. The announcement of this munificent donation from the Madras Presidency reached England after the fund had been officially declared to be closed, and the question then arose as to what should be done with the additional sum thus obtained. It was at first suggested that the Jubilee Medal should be awarded annually instead of triennially, but to this there were many objections. In particular, it was not practicable to modify in any way the scheme under which a medal had been specially established to commemorate Her Majesty's Jubilee. After much consideration and inquiry the Committee finally gave their approval to the scheme which has been outlined above. In addition to this a provision has been made for encouraging scholarship, somewhat on the lines of the original proposal, by setting aside out of the proceeds of the augmented fund a sum to be devoted to aiding the publication of some work which the Society may select as deserving of its support. The scheme, which was of a thoroughly practical nature and well adapted for the purpose in view, received the approval of the donors in Madras, and is now in operation.

The medal this year has been awarded to E. W. Horner, of Eton College. Many present to-day were educated at Eton, and will be delighted to know that the great school has carried off the prize. The subject of the essay was "The Life and Times of Ranjit Singh," and I may say that it was not easy to decide between the merits of two essays sent in, namely, that of Mr. Horner and one by Mr. Jameson, of Merchant Taylors' School. This fact makes the success of

Mr. Horner all the more signal, as it was only after a severe competition that the medal was awarded to him. At the same time I would venture to congratulate Mr. Jameson on his essay, which was considered to have a great degree of excellence, and the school to which he belongs, Merchant Taylors', the school which carried off the medal last year. I must, however, express my regret that such schools as Rugby, Charterhouse, Westminster, and Winchester have not shown interest in the scheme, and have not participated in the competition. I hope that on future occasions they will put in an appearance, and that we may be able to award the medal to one of these schools. I am fully aware of the overloaded curriculum of public schools, but the subject of Indian history is one which cannot be neglected. Anyone who has read the epoch-making statement of the Prime Minister will have seen the prominent part India plays in the scheme of defence of the Empire, and no citizen can afford to be unacquainted with India's history. There are other reasons for regret at the former neglect of history in public schools. I am glad to say that history is now a compulsory subject in the curriculum of most secondary schools. The history of our Empire and of our country should certainly be compulsory. It can be made more attractive than any subject taught at school, but this depends upon the method followed. If masters adhere slavishly to text-books they will not inspire much interest. I do not wish to say anything against text-books; they are necessary, but in the teaching of history it is the individuality of the teacher which is all-important, and which alone can secure satisfactory results. History has for its object the knowledge of events in their true causes and connection, the exercise of judgment and criticism, and the recognition of the principles underlying the facts. History appeals to the imagination of schoolboys, and in all methods of teaching this factor should be taken into account. This imaginative factor, however, does not dispense with the necessary basis of the full and accurate knowledge of an epoch. But the teacher can arrange facts for future use and generalisation.

Is there a model text-book for the teaching of history, it may be asked? The answer is, Yes, there is such a text-book. No one will, I think, deny that in the Bible we have a guide as to the method of instruction in history, leaving a strong impression on the mind. We do not find in the Old Testament merely chronological data with a mass of details; but events are given in chronological order, all centreing round some eminent individual who played a great part in the history of the time. Details are given of the individual which shed light on the period in which he lived. Biography forms a great part of historical teaching in the Bible. Such figures as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, David, and St. Paul stand out with clearness. In the life of Joseph, for instance, we learn the social conditions of Egypt in his time. We must avoid teaching history by endeavouring to cover a large field, giving little detail and merely creating a confused and indistinct general impression. The teacher should select characteristic periods, and then go into as much detail as possible. In the history of England, for example, the periods of Egbert, the Conqueror, Elizabeth, the Protectorate, Queen Anne, George III are characteristic. Set them forth with distinctness and gradually fill up the gaps between. Any teacher can give a clear idea of a period, and should stir the curiosity of his scholars to gain for themselves by reading fuller and wider knowledge. History must be taught in a systematic way to be understood by the scholar. Method is all-important and must be systematic. I may give as an instance a method adopted in a certain school. Twenty dates are given to a boy in one term, and round these the teaching is grouped; the next term thirty more dates are added, and in the third the number mounts up to one hundred. So his knowledge is gradually expanded and his personal interest in the subject stimulated. I would also insist upon the value of biography in the teaching of history. The life of William of Wykeham illustrates the reign of Edward III. Alfred, A'Becket, Chaucer, Cecil, Bacon, Cromwell, Pitt give abundant materials for reading. In his leisure let a boy also read

“Julius Cæsar,” “King John”; and as a Scotsman you will not wonder if I mention also “Ivanhoe” and “Marmion,” the gems of Sir Walter Scott, as aids to his knowledge of history. I have taken the subject of English history because I am quite sure that all here will realise better my meaning; but I might equally well have taken Indian history. Let me add that the object of teaching history is to kindle patriotism. No one can be thoroughly patriotic unless he understands the history of his country. It is impossible for a man to fulfil the duties of good citizenship unless at school he has learned the causes of the greatness of the Empire which he is destined to serve and to maintain. If we would avoid the perils to which this great Empire of ours is exposed, if we would successfully grapple with waves of popular delusion and divert the people from courses which are dangerous, we must be able to appeal to the Court of History and to the lessons it contains.

It is now my pleasant duty to ask Mr. Brodrick to present the Royal Asiatic Society’s Public School Medal to Mr. E. W. Horner. Mr. Brodrick has been kind enough to come here, and it is but appropriate that the medal should be presented by an old Etonian, now holding a distinguished office in the State, to an Eton boy who may some day, perchance, be his successor.

MR. BRODRICK: I hope the admirable speech of Lord Reay to which we have just listened, and his references to the works of English literature with which a schoolboy should be familiar, have not depressed other members of the audience as they have depressed me. It has brought home to me the entire deficiency of my education, and of the way I neglected my opportunities in failing to master what I ought to have known when I left the Sixth Form. But I have not the least doubt that there is in this room one person more depressed even than I am—my old tutor, and the Headmaster of Eton, Dr. Warre. He must be thinking how handicapped we all were when we left Eton and went out into life. But in spite of that handicap, Etonians have managed to give a fair account of themselves. I must

confess that I was never inspired by the school work of the day—not under the present Head—and the only work of English literature which I was ever invited to read as a holiday task during my six and a half years at Eton was “Hamlet.” But I was never asked to write an English essay. It would have been astonishing then if anyone from Eton had competed with other schools in writing an essay on a historical subject, and much more astonishing if Eton had won the prize. All that, however, is now changed, and Eton, in this respect as in others, holds its own. I have great pleasure to-day in seeing an Eton boy come out head in a competition among public schools, and still greater pleasure because Mr. Horner has a good Eton pedigree. Horner is a name that has long been known at Eton. There have been brilliant successes on his father’s side, but I think something must be due to the mother’s side also. It reminds me of the story about a Scotchman who was being congratulated on the victory of a candidate at a Parliamentary election. “Ah, weel,” observed the old man, “he did wonderfully, but he must have had a clever mother.”

I must say that it is very encouraging to see anybody at Eton coming forward in relation to an Indian matter. Eton has lately had such extraordinary successes in India that there is a danger of its thinking it has a monopoly of the high posts in that dependency. Among other distinguished administrators it must be remembered that the Governor-General was an Eton boy; the last four Governors-General, in fact, have hailed from Eton. The present Governors of Madras and Bombay were pupils of Dr. Warre, and for six months during the absence of the Viceroy, Lord Ampthill acted in Lord Curzon’s place. All Etonians who write fluently go to India, and the boy who in my day wrote the most fluently is now Governor-General. I hope that Mr. Horner will find his way there in a no less prominent position.

I have had the advantage of reading the essay written by Mr. Horner, and I have been struck by his grasp of

the subject and his originality of expression. I must congratulate those who were responsible for giving the subject of the essay, for I can imagine none more inspiring to the imagination than the history of Ranjit Singh. The whole Sikh history has been well brought out in Sir John Gordon's recent work. The Sikhs are an extraordinarily imaginative race; they have been welded together, and have pursued an absolutely consistent policy since the time that Ranjit Singh co-ordinated them into a whole and raised them into a great power. For one hundred years the Sikh power became the chief subordinate power in India. Throughout the life of that great man, Ranjit Singh, I have remarked two things: a continuity of purpose seldom seen in rulers in these days of hasty judgments and cheap newspapers, and his absolute faith in British promises, with the strong determination to keep his promises to the British. There was no greater crisis in his history than when he had extended his dominions beyond the Indus, and was told by the British Government that he must go back. This arrogant ruler, in the face of all India, climbed down, but he remained loyal to his engagements. His loyalty stood us in good stead when the first Afghan war brought us into collision with Dost Mahomed. The absence of this continuity brought the nation to disaster after his death, but there was a recrudescence at the time of the Mutiny, when the Sikhs, standing side by side with the British, welded that good feeling between the two which has ever since existed. The Panjab was secure long before Lucknow was relieved by Havelock, and the Sikh has fairly earned for his country the title of "Guard-room of the Empire," as General Gordon called it. These events seem far back, but there are some living who remember the Mutiny, some who have even seen Ranjit Singh. Very few are living now who saw a Sovereign before Queen Victoria, but Sir Frederick Haines fought at Mudkee and Chilianwallah. So much has become ancient history which is really near to our own time, and we owe a debt of gratitude to the Royal Asiatic Society for giving us an opportunity year by year to carry our minds back

to these periods. The Society's competition will help to inspire Englishmen to give greater attention to our great dependency, which owes much to us, but to which we also owe something. It is in that dependency that so many Englishmen spend the whole of their lives, and often sacrifice their lives, and India will always remain the greatest testimony in Asia to what a conquering nation can do for a country by continued good government and by an absolute setting aside of self-interest in favour of the governed. I have now great pleasure in handing the medal to Mr. Horner; I congratulate him and his school, and I hope the winning of this medal will be the beginning of a long series of successes which will land him in one of the highest departments of the State.

LORD REAY: It gives me great pleasure to propose a cordial vote of thanks to the Secretary of State for India for coming here this afternoon to present the medal to Mr. Horner. We all know the prominent position Mr. Brodrick holds and the many duties he has to perform. But in this country we realise that the more busy a statesman is the more claims are made upon him to perform other duties; it is part of the programme of his official life.

In what I have said to-day I have carefully avoided educational controversies, but I should like to say that I have not the slightest doubt that public schools are in earnest in taking up the teaching of history, and will do well to recognise more and more the importance of the subject. Otherwise, we shall have this extraordinary state of things: boys from those classes which attend the public elementary schools, under the guidance of the Board of Education and the enlightened control of the local educational authorities, by their growing attention to historical study will be better informed on the subject than the boys of our leading public schools. Would it not be a scandal if boys at higher grade and higher elementary schools were to have greater opportunities for obtaining knowledge of history than can be obtained by the sons of the wealthier classes? No one can admit that this is a desirable state of

things ; it is impossible that it should be allowed. I foresee a useful rivalry between the public schools of England and Scotland in the teaching of this most important subject. The presence of the Secretary of State to-day has given the sanction of a distinguished statesman to the importance of this subject. Our gratitude to him for his presence to-day is also connected with hopes of favours to come, and we trust that we shall see him here again next year. I ask you to give him a unanimous vote of thanks.

MR. BRODRICK : I thank you all, ladies and gentlemen, for the most kind way in which you have accorded me a vote of thanks. I would especially thank Lord Reay for having made it clear that he means to use the whole of his great influence that no change should for some time take place in the Indian Secretaryship ! I am very pleased to be here to-day because of our hero of the afternoon, and to represent the Government to which I am proud to belong.

DR. WARRE : Lord Reay, Mr. Brodrick, ladies, and gentlemen,—I have not much to say beyond the expression of thanks to the Royal Asiatic Society for what they have done for the Public Schools in this matter. By their liberality and foresight they have laid the foundation of a competition destined to awaken the interest of the rising generation in the affairs of India. When I was approached by Mr. Wollaston on the matter, I at once acknowledged its importance, and entered heartily into the scheme. We are erroneously supposed to do nothing at Eton but Classics, and not to care for History, and I am afraid my friend Mr. Brodrick has accentuated this belief. But it is not founded on fact. We have now a flourishing history school under Mr. Marten, and I hope that the event of to-day will do something in future to disprove this imputation whenever and wherever it may be made. It should at any rate preclude that wholesale denunciation of our pedantic adherence to the Classics, and carelessness as regards other things, which seems to be in fashion. It is no wonder that I take a great interest in India, for I have had many of my pupils employed in its government, three at one time,

viz., Lord Elgin, Lord Harris, and Lord Wenlock, when I was asked to come and hold 'pupil room' in Allahabad, as the most central place in India for them all to meet me. But much as I should have liked to visit India, it would have taken too long a time to go thither and back even for 'pupil room,' and would have involved too long a neglect of duty at Eton. Well, I can only add that, notwithstanding the alleged poverty of the education of Etonians, they have managed to come to the front in India, and to give a satisfactory account of themselves to those over them, and they are the best judges. The Royal Asiatic Society also knows what Eton has done. At Eton we are naturally greatly pleased by Mr. Horner's success, and I only hope that, as I shall not again have the opportunity to come here as Headmaster to congratulate Etonians on winning the medal, my successors may often come.

DR. CUST: As a member of the Royal Asiatic Society for fifty years, I should like to say that things have progressed a good deal since I was at Eton seventy years ago, when boys did not even know where India was, much less anything about the subject of this afternoon's discussion. But a much more practical education is now given. Latin and Greek are very good, but I am not aware that they are of much use in after life. I rejoice that after my Eton days most of my life was spent in India; I have lived among the Sikhs, and I must say here that though Ranjit Singh was a great man, a still greater was Lord Lawrence. It rejoices my heart to see Eton boys coming forward and taking an interest in Indian affairs. Further progress still will be made, and I hope the Royal Asiatic Society will contribute as much as possible to it. I must express my thanks that an old Etonian has been permitted to speak.

June 20th, 1905.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The President announced that the Special General Meeting summoned to take place before the Ordinary General Meeting had been postponed until after that meeting had taken place.

Mr. G. C. Whitworth,
Mr. James W. Sharpe,
Mr. Joseph Nadin Rawson,
Mr. E. Colston,
Mr. W. H. Nicholls,
Dr. J. P. Vogel,
Babu Bijaya Chandra Mazumdar,
Pandit Gouri Datta Misra Vidyabhusana,
Mr. Rustam Jivanji Jamshedji Modi,
Mr. Jyotish Chandra Ghose

were elected members of the Society.

The Rev. S. Stitt then read a paper entitled "Muhammadan Talismans from the Maldiv Islands," illustrated by lantern slides. A discussion followed, in which Dr. Gaster, Dr. Hoey, Dr. Hirschfeld, and others took part.

After an interval for tea a Special General Meeting, convened by notice issued under Rule 57, was held to consider the advisability of altering the rules so as to allow of the appointment of Honorary Vice-Presidents.

Mr. T. H. Thornton moved that at the end of Rule 28 the following clause be added:—"Members of the Society who have filled the office of Vice-President, but do not desire re-election, or are otherwise considered worthy of the distinction, may in like manner be appointed Honorary Vice-Presidents, that is to say, Vice-Presidents without a seat in the Council. The number of such appointments shall not be limited, and, unless otherwise desired by the holder, the appointment shall continue in force so long as he remains a member of the Society."

The motion having been seconded, Mr. Fleet moved as an amendment, "That the matter shall be referred to a Committee to be appointed by this meeting, and not necessarily to consist of only members of the Council."

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Irvine, Mr. Keith, Syed Ameer Ali, Mr. Thomas, Dr. Hoey, Mr. Sturdy, Mr. Kennedy, Sir Robert Douglas, and others took part.

Mr. Thornton agreeing that the matter should be referred to a committee, it was resolved that Sir Raymond West (chairman), Mr. Thornton, Mr. Fleet, Syed Ameer Ali, Dr. Hoey, and Mr. Sturdy be a committee to consider and report to the next General Meeting in November on the motion before the meeting and matters arising out of it.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

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Sanjana. 1st series. 8vo. *Strassburg, 1904.*

From the Authors.

Foucher (A.). Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de
l'Inde. 8vo. *Paris, 1905.*

Wollaston (A. N.). The Sword of Islam. 8vo.
London, 1905.

Zambaur (E. von). Contributions à la Numismatique
Orientale. 8vo. *Vienna, 1905.*

Raja Binaya Krishna Deb. The Early History and
Growth of Calcutta. 4to. *Calcutta, 1905.*

Aiyar S. Ramanath. Brief Sketch of Travancore, the
model State of India: the country, its people, and its
progress under the Maharajah. 8vo. *Trivandrum, 1903.*

——— Mayura Sandesam, or the Peacock Messenger.
Translated from the Malayalam text of Kerala Varma
Valia Koil Tampuram. 8vo. *Trivandrum, 1905.*

Lévi (Sylvain). The Kharoshthi Writing and its Cradle.—
Notes on the Indo-Scythians.—Further Notes on the
Indo-Scythians.—On some Terms employed in the
Inscriptions of the Kshatrapas.—Notes Chinoises sur
l'Inde. 4to. (Reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary*.)
Bombay, 1904.

Manekji B. Davar. The Pahlavi Version of Yasna IX.

Jivanji J. Modi. The Ancient Iranians according to Herodotus and Strabo.—Jāmāspi.

al-Suhrawardy (A.). The Sayings of Muhammad. 16mo.
London, 1905.

From the India Office.

Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the India Office Library. Pt. vii : Sanskrit Literature, edited by Dr. Julius Eggeling. 4to. *London, 1904.*

Henniker (F. C.). The Gold and Silver Wares of Assam. 4to. *Shillong, 1905.*

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From the Publishers.

Littmann (Enna). Modern Arabic Tales. Vol. i. 8vo. *Leyden, 1905.*

Ferraud (Gabriel). Un Texte Arabico-Malgache. 4to. *Paris, 1904.*

Landberg (M. le Comte de). Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale. Vol. ii : Datīnah. 8vo. *Leyden, 1905.*

Horovitz (Josef). Spuren griechischer Mimen im Orient. 8vo. *Berlin, 1905.*

Purchased.

Geiger (W.). Dipavaṃsa und Mahāvāṃsa, und die geschichtliche Ueberlieferung in Ceylon. 8vo. *Leipzig, 1905.*

Digha Nikaya. Two vols. Pali text with translation into Sinhalese, by W. A. Sumarasekera. 8vo. *London, 2447 A.B.*

From Harvard University.

Macdonell (A. A.). Br̥had-Devata. Vol. v of Harvard Oriental Series.

JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

XXII.

NAGPUR MUSEUM

BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION OF BHAVADEVARANAKESARIN.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; Göttingen.

ABOUT sixty years ago the Rev. Dr. Stevenson, in the *Journal Bombay As. Soc.*, vol. i, p. 148 ff., published a kind of facsimile and a translation of an inscription, a copy of which had been received from Major Wilkinson, Resident at Nāgpur in the Central Provinces. Dr. Stevenson also laid before the Bombay Society a transcript of the text in Nāgarī characters, but this has not been made public.¹

¹ The translation is a literary curiosity. A few examples will show what Dr. Stevenson's text may have been like, and how some otherwise quite incomprehensible passages of the translation may perhaps be accounted for. The words *āsīt=kshītau kshītipatīh* at the beginning of verse 5 were misread *urīśīkshītau kshītipatīh*, and translated therefore by 'the Sovereign Lord of Urīśī (Orissa).' In verse 25 a king, by a well-known rhetorical figure, is described as "a preceptor (*guru*), yet striving to learn his lessons." Here the word *guru* was misread *turn*, and the translation accordingly became: he 'wandered through Turu, exerting his mind in the study of holy science;' to which was added the note that "this must be Turan or Tartary," and that "perhaps Tibet might be included under this name, and a visit to the Grand Lama one object of the pilgrimage." At the end of verse 38 we have the words *srag=ivōjvalā*, 'splendid like a garland.' The sign for *g* being similar to the sign for *ś*, the four last syllables were read *śivō jvālā*, and explained to denote, and translated by 'the year 711.' What curious meanings were derived from even quite simple verses may be seen, e.g., from the translation of verse 16: "After having for a long time journeyed patiently, enduring privations, the associate of bears, and ravenous beasts, the lord of the earth married one of the Pāṇḍava family, and a child called Udayana being born to him, he had the happiness of possessing a son."

Through the kindness of my friend Dr. Fleet I have long been in possession of excellent paper impressions of this inscription,¹ and I have briefly referred to its contents already in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. iv, p. 257. As the inscription, though fragmentary, contains several points of considerable interest, I now give a fuller account of it, together with the text so far as I can make it out from the materials at my disposal, and part of a translation.

The stone which bears this record is now in the Nāgpur Provincial Museum, where it is reported to have been brought from Ratanpur (Ratnapura), a well-known town in the Bilāspur District of the Central Provinces, about 210 miles E.N.E. of Nāgpur. It contains twenty lines of writing, which covers a space of between 4' 4" and 4' 10" long by about 1' 11" high. But as we have it now, the stone is only the remainder of a larger stone, of which a portion on the proper left was broken away and has not been recovered. The inscription being in verse, we see that between 28 and 35 *aksharas* are missing at the end of the lines, and that the writing of the inscription originally must have covered therefore a space of about 6' long by 1' 11" high. The greater part of what is left to us is in a fair state of preservation; but in the last three lines many *aksharas* are entirely effaced, and in other places single letters and groups of letters have become more or less illegible. The size of the letters is between about $\frac{1}{2}$ " and $\frac{3}{4}$ ", and somewhat less in the two last lines. Both the writing and the engraving have been done with great care and skill. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They resemble in a general way those of the Kaṇaswa inscription of Śivagaṇa of the Mālava (Vikrama) year 795, published with a photo-lithograph in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xix, p. 55 ff.; and the inscription may, on palæographical grounds, be assigned to about the middle of the eighth century A.D.² Of the consonants, *jh* and *dh* do not occur

¹ For other impressions I am indebted to Dr. Burgess and to Mr. Cousens.

² The inscription is decidedly earlier than the Shērgaḍh (Kōṭā) Buddhist inscription of the *Sāmanta* Dēvadatta of the (Vikrama) year 847 *Northern List*, No. 11), of which I possess Dr. Fleet's impressions.

in the extant part of the inscription; on the other hand, the characters include the sign of the *upadhmāniya* (in *-tatparaḥ=pratidinam*, l. 11, *darśitaḥ=pañka*, l. 12, and *ratnā-karaḥ=pañchamah*, l. 13), and a well-known form of final *t*, e.g. in *bhavēt*, l. 15 (but not in *purastāt*, l. 5, where, as in the case of final *n* and *m*, the ordinary sign of *ta* with the subscript *virāma* has been employed). The language is Sanskrit and, excepting the introductory *ōm namaḥ*, the whole is in verse.¹ The total number of verses is 43. The verses 1–38 were composed by Bhāskarabhaṭṭa, who was a good scholar and apparently familiar with works like the *Vāsavadattā* and the *Kādambarī*. Verse 39 occurs in many other inscriptions; and the four verses 40–43 (in lines 18–20), which are in a different style, may be a somewhat later addition to Bhāskarabhaṭṭa's *praśasti*. The orthography calls for few remarks. The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; before *r*, *t* is occasionally doubled, as in *mailtrī*, l. 1, and *puttrē*, l. 6; the word *vaṁśa* is spelt *vaṅśa* in l. 4 (but not in l. 7), and *mīmāṁsā* perhaps *mīmāṅsā*, in l. 19; and, as is often the case elsewhere, *sattva*, *ujjala*, and *sattra* are written *satva*, *ujjala*, and *satra*, in lines 1, 16, 17, and 19. Mistakes of the writer that may be noticed here are *chiram=vaḥ* for *chiram vaḥ*, in l. 2, and *Raghunā* for *Raghuṇā*, in l. 14.

The inscription is a *Buddhist inscription*. It opens with four verses which glorify, and invoke the protection of, the Buddha, under the names of *Jina* and *Tāyin*.² The author then, in verses 5–15, extols a king *Sūryaghōsha*, and records that that king, deeply grieved at the loss of a dear son who had died by a fall from the top of the palace, and desirous of crossing the ocean of this mundane existence, built a splendid mansion (or temple) of the *Muni*, i.e. the Sage (Buddha). Some time after *Sūryaghōsha* there came, according to verse 16, another king, named *Udayana*, born from the *Pāṇḍava vaṁśa*. A son of his is spoken of in

¹ There may have been a short prose passage, containing a date, at the end of line 17.

² This name also occurs in the Shērgaḍh (Kōṭā) inscription mentioned above; see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xiv, p. 46, lines 6 and 11. Cf. on the name M. Senart's note in the *Mahāvastu*, vol. ii, p. 543.

verses 17 and 18, but his name has disappeared. After him, verse 19 introduces the king *Bhavadēva*, who was a fourth son—it is uncertain whether of Udayana himself or, which seems to me more probable, of that son of Udayana's whose name was given in verse 17. Verses 20–32 are entirely devoted to Bhavadēva's glorification, but all we really learn from them is that he also bore the names *Raṇakēśarin* and *Chintādurga*.¹ Bhavadēva, according to verse 33, took care of “the abode of *Sugata*” founded by Sūryaghōsha; and under him two men restored that building, which had fallen into decay. One of them, whose name has been lost, in verse 34 is described as a favourite of the king's, a Brāhmaṇ (*agrajanman*) “who had studied the words (or teachings) of *Sugata* and was versed in the science of medicine, and who, free from passions as he was, might have been a *śikshāpadin* ;” the other man, according to verse 35, was a religious student (*brahmachārin*) named *Namōbuddha*, equal to a Bōdhisattva. The restored building is magnified in verse 36, where it is described as a Vihāra (or monastery); and verse 37 expresses the usual wishes for the lasting preservation of this great dwelling of the *Jina*. The name of the poet, Bhāskarabhaṭṭa, who has recorded all this, is given in verse 38. His *praśasti* is followed by a well-known imprecatory verse, and this again probably was followed by a date. The four verses 40–43 with which the inscription ends, as intimated above, may be a somewhat later addition. Unfortunately they are so badly preserved that I cannot fully restore their text. Of verses 40–42 I am giving what I have been able to read with some confidence; the last verse, of which only some words here and there are clear in the impressions, I am obliged to omit altogether. As regards the contents of these verses, I can only state that verse 40 treats of a king *Nannarāja* or *Nannarājādhirāja*, who is said to have conquered the earth, and that in the verses 41 and 42 the learning and charity either of that king himself or of some dependent of his are spoken of.

¹ Verse 28 gives another appellation of his, *apriyavaiśika*, ‘not fond of harlotry,’ but this does not look like a proper name.

Of the kings mentioned, *Sūryaghōṣha* is not known to us from any other inscription. *Udayana* of the *Pāṇḍava vaṁśa* clearly is the same king who in a *Kālāñjar* inscription,¹ which on palæographical grounds may be assigned to the ninth century A.D., is stated to have founded in former times a temple of the god (Śiva) *Bhadrēśvara* at *Kālāñjara*, in the verse :—

Udayana iti rājā yaḥ kulē *Pāṇḍavānām*
 sakalabhuvana-nāthasya = āsya *Bhadrēśvarasya* |
 pavanalulitachihnam ramyakāntiṣṭakābhir = ²
 grīhavaram = atibhaktyā kāritaṁ tēna pūrvvaṁ ||

He may also be identified with the king *Udayana* of the lunar race whose son and grandson, according to the *Sirpur* inscription published in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xviii, p. 179 ff., were *Indrabala* and *Nannadēva*, two princes who, according to the *Rājim* and *Baloda* plates of *Nannadēva*'s son *Tivaradēva*,³ sovereign lord of *Kōsala*, were of the family of *Pāṇḍu*. He moreover may perhaps be identical with the *Śabara* king *Udayana*, who, according to the *Udayēndiram* plates of the *Pallava Nandivarman Pallavamalla* ⁴ (some time in the first half of the eighth century), was defeated by *Nandivarman*'s general and feudatory *Udayachandra*. *Udayana*, as I have stated just now, had a son named *Indrabala*. I believe that this *Indrabala* is referred to in the words *jyēṣṭham ch = ānuyatā balam* of verse 18 of the present inscription,⁵ which in my opinion would make him the eldest brother of that son of *Udayana*'s whose name must have been given in verse 17. If this be correct, and if I am right in assuming that *Bhavadēva Ranakēsarin* was the fourth son of *Indrabala*'s younger brother (whose name has not been preserved),

¹ See *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. xxi, plate ix, L. I possess several impressions of the inscription.

² The original has the three syllables *ntiṣṭakā* twice, at the end of line 2 and the beginning of line 3.

³ See *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 294, and *Ep. Ind.*, vol. vii, p. 104.

⁴ See my *Southern List*, No. 634.

⁵ For a translation of the verse see below, p. 631.

Indrabala would have been the paternal uncle of Bhavadēva, and Bhavadēva himself a cousin of Indrabala's son Nannadēva,¹ the father both of the Tīvaradēva (or Mahāsiva-Tīvararāja) of the Rājim and Baloda plates and of the Chandragupta of the Sirpur inscription. Whether the *Nannarāja* or *Nannarājādhirāja*, who is mentioned in verse 40 of our inscription, should be identified with this Nannadēva or with the Nannarāja who in the Baloda plates is mentioned as a son-in-law of Tīvaradēva, I am unable to decide; he undoubtedly belonged to the same royal family.

The term *śikshāpadin* and the name *Namōbuddha* in the above deserve to be specially drawn attention to. *Śikshāpadin*, which I have not found elsewhere, appears to me to denote one who keeps the (ten Buddhist) *śikshāpadas* or rules for a religious life.² The word probably is equivalent, or at any rate very similar in meaning, to the Pāli *dasasikkhāpadika*, according to Childers³ "one who practises the ten precepts, a monk;" and the statement in verse 34, that the Brāhmaṇ there spoken of might have been a *śikshāpadin*, would thus be analogous to the remark in verse 35, according to which the religious student *Namōbuddha* was like a Bōdhisattva. *Namōbuddha* recalls the word *namōguru*, meaning, according to a passage from a lexicographical work cited in the St. Petersburg Dictionary, 'a Brāhmaṇ.' It apparently is based on the phrase *namō Buddhāya*, 'adoration to Buddha,' and would in the first instance have denoted a person habitually using that phrase. We may compare with it, e.g., the word *yadbhavishya*, which denotes one who always is saying *yad bhavishyati bhavishyati*, 'a fatalist,' and occurs as a proper name in the *Pañchatantra*.⁴ *Namōbuddha* would have been an appropriate name for a follower of

¹ According to a Khārōḍ inscription Indrabala had another son named Īśānadēva; see Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in *Progress Report of Archaeological Survey of W. India for the year ending 30th June, 1904*, p. 54, No. 2038.

² Compare e.g. Kern's *Manual of Ind. Buddhism*, p. 70; Warren's *Buddhism in Translations*, p. 397.

³ See his *Dictionary*, under *sikkhā*.

⁴ Cf. Professor Wackernagel's *Altind. Grammatik*, vol. ii, 1, p. 327.

Buddha, and there can be no doubt that the person spoken of in the inscription *was* a Buddhist.¹

Taken as a whole, our inscription (like similar records) bears testimony to the existence of Buddhism in Central India down to about the middle of the eighth century A.D., and proves that the Brāhmaṇs were by no means hostile to that creed.

A detailed account of the contents has been given above. To show what kind of poetry is here presented to us, I have considered it sufficient to translate only those verses the text of which has been fully preserved.

¹ In addition to the above, there is a passage in the mutilated verse 42 of this inscription to which I should like to draw special attention. The words *chakrē = sau vāyasānām sphurad-urukaruṇaḥ satram* of that verse seem to me to be certain, and the only way I could translate them would be: "full of great compassion, he made a *sattra* (i.e. place of refuge, asylum, etc.) for crows." From those who are better acquainted with Buddhist literature than I am myself I should like to hear whether there would be any objection to such a translation, and whether similar acts of compassion are recorded elsewhere.

TEXT.

[L. 1.]

Om 1 namaḥ ||

Anuttarajñānachāpa-yukta-maittrīśilīmukhah |

jayaty=a[ja]yy[ā]jānīka-jayī Jina-dhanurddharah || [1*]

Strī-saṅgād=viratō=si chēt=katha[m=i]yam muktiḥ sadā prēyasi

²satv[ā¹rthai?]karasā tathā cha karuṇā [tvach²-chē]ta[si] sthāpitā |

dukhkā[nanta ?]radu ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ —

— — — — —

[L. 2.]

nah pātu vah || [2*]

Nirjīvaś = chētanāvān = hata-sakalagatir = lōka[dhā] tvanta-gāmī

sarvvam = paśyaty =³ adrishtih kṛita-jagadabhayō bhīti-hētuḥ

Smarasya |

dīptō nirvvāṇa-[vā]hī [su]ra-nara-[la]pitai[r=la]vdha(bdha)-mānō

=py=amēyah

pāyāt = [T]āyī chiram = vah⁴ [sa virachi?] ta-mahādharma[va?]

- - - [11 3*]

• • • • •

• • • • •

[L. 3.]

[vaʔ]r[shʔ]aṁ⁵ rakshatu sarvvaḍā || [4*]

Āsīt=kshitau kshitipatir=nṛipamaulimālā-

māṇikya-bhṛīṅga-parichumvi(mbi)ta-pādapadmaḥ |

śrī-Sūryyaghōsha iti sūryya iv = aikachakra-

yāna-prasādhita-jagat=prathit-ō[rudhā]mā || [5*]

Khadḡaya[shṭ]yām śritō yasya bhramann=urvīm na rōchatē |

ativṛiddhō ripu-strībhyaḥ [pra]tāpō . ◡ — ◡ — [|| 6*]

— — — — —

¹ Denoted by a symbol.

2 Read *sattu*^o.

³ I should have expected = *pa's'yaann=*.

4 Read *chiram vah.*

• The reading is quite doubtful.

[L. 7.]

vat || [14*]

Tēna vīkshya phaṇibhōga-bhaṁguraṁ

jīvitam bhavasamudra-lamghinā |

dhāma kāritam=idaṁ munēr=mahat=

kānti-nirjita-himāchaladyuti || [15*]

Gachchhati bhūyasi kālē bhūmipatiḥ kshapita-sakalaripupakshaḥ |

Pā[ṇḍa]va-vaṁśād=guṇavān=Udayana-nāmā samutpannaḥ || [16*]

.
¹

[L. 8.]

sya tanūjanmā || [17*]

Akrūrē kṛita-saṁgamēna dadhatā chakraṁ dvishām bhītidam

dūrōtsārita-raudranārakabhayēn=ātmānam=utkarshatā |

jyēshtham ch=ānuyatā va(ba)lam suva(ba)huśaḥ śattru-kshayaṁ
 kurvvatā

Kṛishṇēn=eṣa nṛipēṇa yēna [dha]raṇēr=bhārāvatārah kṛitaḥ ||
 [18*]

Suvihita-vṛisha — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —

[L. 9.]

lōk[ō]pakārī

Bhava iva Bhavadēvas=tasya puttras=turiyaḥ || [19*]

Kṛipāṇa-nakharēṇ=aśu vikramya dalayan=raṇē |

abhavad=vairi-mattēbhān=sa ēkō Raṇakēsarī || [20*]

Śēshaḥ klēsēna mūrdhnā katham=api dharaṇīm dhārayan=bhāra-
 gurvīm

śakta[h] kampān=na pātum na cha kulagirayō nischalatvē sa
 — — [1]

— — — — —
 — — — — —

¹ The exact number of missing syllables cannot be given here, because the metre is Āryā.

[L. 10.] iva nṛipō yō=sṣṭamō=nyah kulādriḥ || [21*]

Kara-graham=akṛitv=āpi maṇḍala-bhramaṇād=vinā |

apūrvvō yah kṣhitēr=bharttā jātō Lakshmī-patir=bhavan || [22*]

Svikṛita-śilīmukhēna priyēṇa hṛidayasya surabhi[nā] śasvat |

madhun=ēva yēna lōkō navakusumē¹ [|| 23*]

.
.

[L. 11.] lōkasya svām[i]tā[m] sth[i]rah || [24*]

Sadvṛittō=pi dhṛitāyatir=gurur=api prāravdha(bdha)-śikṣhōdyamō

dōshōnmūlana-tatparaḥ=pratidinam pūrṇṇaḥ kalāvān=api |

drīṣṭaḥ kāñchanapuñja-piñjara-tanur=yō rakta-varṇṇō=pi san=

nirdagdha-dvi[sha]dindhanō=pi nitarām dīptō nṛiṇām bhūtayē ||

[25*]

Yēna

. [|| 26*]

[L. 12.] Pūritāśam samunnamya y[ē]na sarvvatra varshatā |

na kvachid=darśitaḥ=pañka iti kasya na vismayah || [27*]

Jan-ābhirāmō nayan-ābhinandī

dānēna Karṇṇam Dhishaṇam dhiyā cha |

jayan=sa śatrāv=api sāntvavādī

gītō ja[ga]ty=apriyavaiśik-ākhyah || [28*]

Yēna nagnaga[lē?]

. [|| 29*]

— — — — —

[L. 13.] yasya satatam mādhuṛyam=ēv=ādhikam

vṛiddhir=na kshayam=ēti n=āpi cha jalair=ātmā bhṛitaḥ sarvvadā |

nityam nāgasanāthatām=upagatō yō na dvijihv-āśrayah

sa śrīmān=Rānakēsarī vijayatām ratnākaraḥ=pañchamah || [30*]

[Gāmbhī]ryyam vārīrāsēḥ sthitim=avanibhṛitām sapta-[sam] — —

— — — — —

— — — — —

— — — — —

¹ Here, again, the exact number of missing syllables cannot be given.

[L. 14.] hṛita-vapushaḥ Sūryya-puttrasya dānam¹
 yaḥ svair=ētair=ajasraṁ laghayati Raghunā(ṇā) tulya-kīrtti-
 prabhāvaḥ || [31*]
 Janayati śatrushu chintāṁ yōdhair=durggaś=cha saṅgarē yasmāt [1*]
 tēna raṇa-ghasmarō=sau Chi[ntād]urggākhyatām=agamat || [32*]
 Bhūmir=yyasya ya — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — —

[L. 15.] Sugatasya sadma kṛitinā dhīrātma[nā] pālitaṁ
 dharmmē vā suralōka-saṅga-sumukhē kō na tvarāvān=bhavēt ||
 [33*]
 Tasya prēm-ādhivāsaḥ śruta-Sugatavachā vaidyakē ch=ābhiyuktaḥ
 śāntaḥ śikshāpadī syāt=sakalajanahi[t-ā]bhyudyatō yō=grajanmā|
 tēn=ālaṁ jīrṇa — — — — —
 — — — — — [|| 34*]

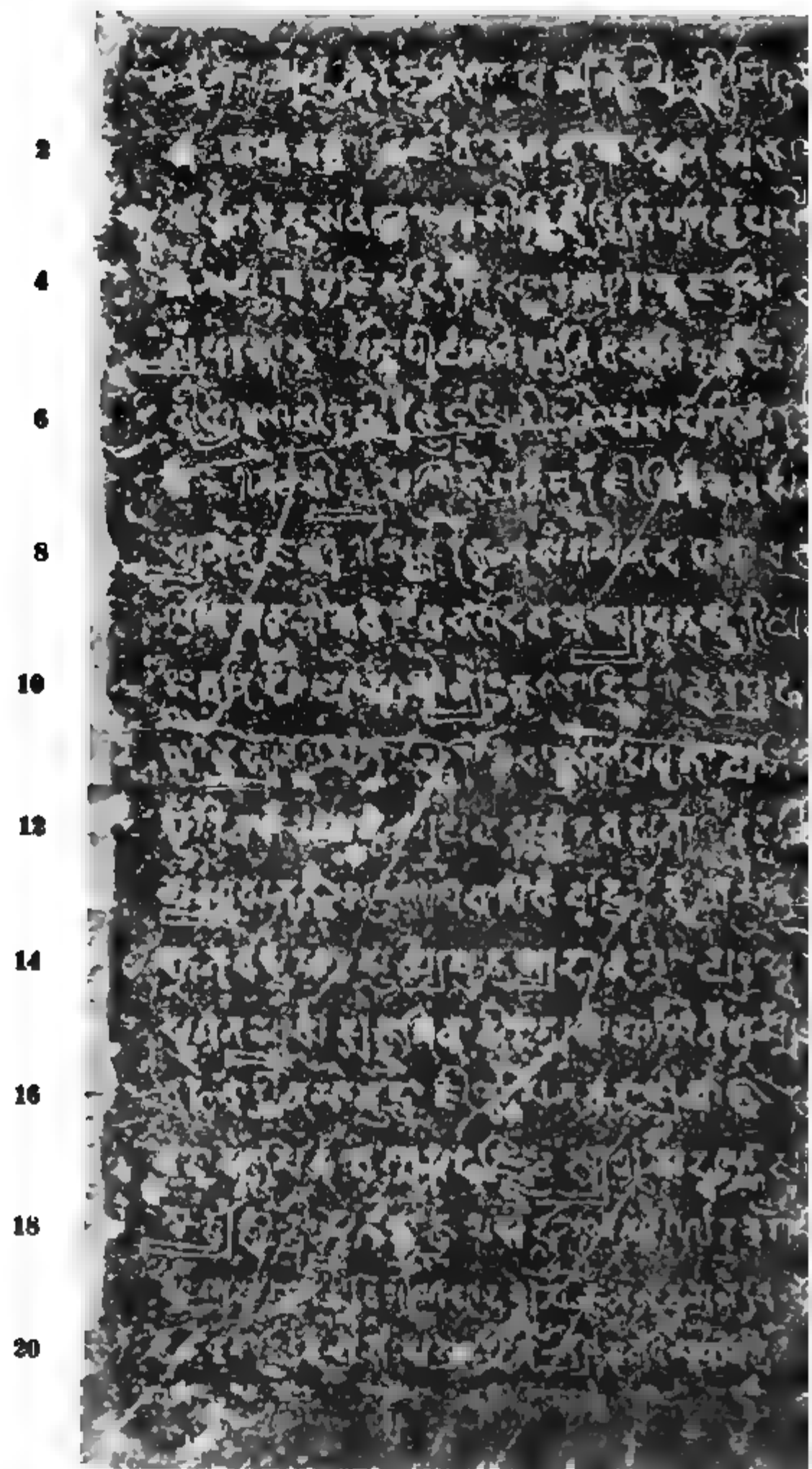
[L. 16.] Vra(bra)hmachārī Namōvu(bu)ddhō jīrṇaṁ=ētat=tad-āśra-
 yāt [1*]
 punar=navatvam=anayad=vō(bō)dhisatva-samaḥ² kṛitī || [35*]
 Vāpī-kūp-ōdyāna-sā(śā)l-āṭṭa-chaityair=
 nētr-ānand[y]air=bhūshitō bhūri-bhūshaḥ |
 jītvā kāntyā sarvva-śōbhāṁ [vi]hārō
 hās-ōnmiśrō=bhūd=iv=āyaṁ sudh-ā[ktaḥ] [|| 36*]
 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —

[L. 17.] vad=
 āstām=idam vēśma mahaj=Jinasya || [37*]
 Sad-varṇṇā jāti-subhagā vidvan-madhukara-priyā |
 kṛitā Bhāskarabhaṭṭēna praśastiḥ srag=iv=ōjvalā³ ||)ᱚ(|| [38*]

¹ Read *dānam*.

² Read *°sattva-samaḥ*.

³ Read = *ōjvalā*.



F Kielhorn

TRANSLATION OF COMPLETE VERSES.

Om ! Obeisance !

(Verse 1.) Victorious is the bow-bearer, the *Jina*, who, with the arrow benevolence fixed on the bow unsurpassed knowledge, conquers the unconquerable host of the Unborn (*Aja*¹).

(V. 4.) There was on the earth a king whose lotus-feet were kissed by the bees—the jewels of rows of diadems of princes,² the glorious *Sūryaghōsha*, who, as he subdued the earth by the progress of his unrivalled army, and with his great power renowned, was like the sun (*sūrya*) [who adorns the world with his one-wheeled³ chariot and spreads great lustre].

(V. 8.) Not seeking the shelter of a fortress (*durga*), and with men versed in the arts (*kalārat*) paying homage to his

¹ I.e. *Kāma*, *Māra*.

² The idea of course is, either that many princes bowed down at *Sūryaghōsha*'s feet or that he placed his foot on the heads of many princes. For various ways of expressing this idea compare e.g. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 185, l. 19, *bhūpāla-chūdāmaṇi-chchhāyādambara-chumbit-āṁhrikamala*; *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. lxvi, pt. 1, p. 289, l. 8, *bhūpāla-maulimaṇi-chumbita-pādapiṭha*; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. iv, p. 60, l. 15, *anēkāvanibhṛin-maulimaṇi-chumbi-pādāmbuja*; *ibid.*, p. 340, l. 4, *parabhūpāla-maulimālā-līdh-āṁghridvandvāravinda*; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 12, l. 16, *praṇamat-samastasāmantaśekhara-śirōmaṇi-ramjit-āṁhri*; *Unā plates of Mahēndrapāla*, l. 47, *pratāpapraṇata-samastasāmanta-maulimāl-ārchita-charaṇayugala*; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. v, p. 116, l. 28, *akhilakshitipāla-maulisrēṇi-nighṛishṭa-charaṇa*; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. i, p. 197, l. 3, *aśēshanarapati-maulishu viśrānta-kāntapadakamala*; *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. lxvii, pt. 1, p. 110, l. 45, *bhūbhṛichchhirō-nivēṣita-pāda*; *Harshacharita*, p. 215, *kṣmā-patīnām śiraḥsu . . . prayachchha pādanyāsān*; etc. In this *Journal*, 1904, p. 654, Dr. Hoernle has objected to my having translated the similar epithet *vikhyātakshitipāla-maulirachanā-vinyasta-pādāmbuja*, in a *Khajurāho* inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. i, p. 127, l. 16), by "who had put down his lotus-foot on rows of diadems of famous princes." According to Dr. Hoernle, the passage should have been taken to mean "he made himself notorious by putting down his lotus-foot on (i.e. preventing) the coronation of *Kshitipāla*." But if this were the meaning, the Indian author would have formed a wrong compound, and would have used the words *maulirachanā* and *vinyastapāda* in senses which these words in my opinion cannot convey. The word *rachanā* being synonymous, in one of its senses, with *vrinda* or *vyūha*, *maulirachanā* undoubtedly is equivalent to *maulimālā*, *maulisrēṇi*, *maulipālī*, *makuṭagaṇanikara*, and other compounds in similar epithets.

³ Compare *Ep. Ind.*, vol. vii, p. 159, note 2.

feet, he presented here quite a novel appearance of a lord (*īśvara*), one not stained by the application of ashes.¹

(V. 10.) His sharp-edged sword, splitting open the frontal globes of fierce rutting elephants, and uneven with² the blood-stained pearls (shed by them), acted in battle the part of the lion's sprout-like claw.

(V. 13.) When his dear son had died by falling from the high top of the palace, then this king was overwhelmed with most heavy grief. Powerful indeed is repeated birth;³ of one who takes his stand in this world, even of a wise man, love endeavours to make a fool.

(V. 15.) Having seen that life is mutable like a serpent's coil, crossing the ocean of mundane existence he caused to be built this great mansion of the Sage, the loveliness of which surpasses the splendour of the mountain of snow.

(V. 16.) After the lapse of a long time there was born from the *Pāṇḍava* race an excellent king, named *Udayana*, who destroyed all enemies opposed to him.

(V. 18.) Associating with the gentle, possessing an army that inspired adversaries with fear, raising himself after driving far away the terrible fear of hell, and, while attending his eldest brother [*Indra*]*bala*, frequently causing the destruction of enemies, this king⁴ had appeared on earth

¹ It is impossible to bring out the full meaning of the verse by a translation. *Īśvara* is a common name of the god Śiva; this *Īśvara* is *durgāśrayin*, i.e. attached to his consort *Durgā*; he bears the moon (*kalāvat*) on his head; and his body is stained with ashes (*bhūti*). Applied to the king, *abhūtiparusha* would also convey the notion that his sternness brought misfortune (*abhūti*).

² Literally 'bearing teeth' (*danta-dhārin* = *dantura*). Compare, in the Pathārī pillar inscription of Parabala, *varavāraṇa-kumbha-mukta-muktāphala-pratatu-nirmala-dantamālā kṛipāṇa-pālī*, "the sword-blade, on which rows of spotless teeth are spread by the pearls shed by the frontal globes of choice elephants."

³ I.e. re-birth in a new existence, transmigration (to put an end to which is the goal of a religious life).

⁴ The king here spoken of is that son (*tanūjanman*) of *Udayana*'s who must have been mentioned in verse 17, but whose name is lost. My translation of the words *jyēshṭhani ch = ānuyatā balaṁ*, as applied to the king, is conjectural. I take *bala* to denote, on the one hand, *Indrabala* (whom we know to have been a son of *Udayana*'s), and, on the other, *Balarāma*. This seems to me preferable to taking the words, when applied to the king, to mean 'following his excellent forces,' because the king would have led his forces, not followed them. That *Bala* might stand for both *Indrabala* and *Balarāma* is, of course, proved by the classical instance *Satyabhāmā*, for which we may say either *Satyā* or *Bhāmā*.

like (the god) Kṛishṇa [who associated with Akrūra, carries a disk that inspires enemies with fear, raised himself after putting an end to all fear from the terrible (demon) Nāraka, and frequently caused the destruction of enemies while attending his eldest brother Bala[rāma]].

(V. 20.) In battle (*raṇē*), full of valour, he¹ with his claw-like sword quickly cut down the rutting elephants of adversaries, and became thus a unique *Raṇakēsarin* (i.e. battle-lion).

(V. 22.) Being the husband of Fortune, he became the unparalleled lord of the Earth, even without taking her hand and without walking round² (the fire).

(V. 25.) Though the past was his, he held the future;³ a preceptor though he was, he strove to learn his lessons; although the full moon, he day by day was intent on destroying the night; though coloured red, his body appeared yellow with a mass of gold; and though he had completely consumed the fuel—his adversaries—he shone intensely for the welfare of men.

(V. 27.) Who does not wonder at the fact that, when he had risen, he rained everywhere so as to fill the quarters and yet produced nowhere any mud?⁴

(V. 28.) He is sung of in the world as pleasing men, gladdening the eyes, surpassing Karna by his munificence and Dhishana⁵ by his intelligence, and speaking kindly even to an enemy—he who is called “not fond of harlotry” (*apriyavaiśika*).

¹ Viz. Bhavadēva, who is mentioned in verse 19 as the fourth son (in my opinion, of the king spoken of in verse 18).

² In another sense, ‘without levying taxes and without any commotion of the realm.’

³ The first words of the verse might also perhaps convey some such meaning as ‘though a circle, he was a straight line.’ The *virōdha* or *virōdhābhāsa* in the description of the king may be removed by translating the verse thus: “He was of good conduct, endowed with majesty, worthy of honour, intent on chastising (the wicked), day by day eager to eradicate blemishes, fully conversant with all arts, in person yellow with a mass of gold, and beloved of the castes; he had completely annihilated his adversaries, and beamed with brightness for the welfare of men.”

⁴ The wonder finds its explanation in the fact “that he showered (gifts on people) so as to fulfil their desires (*āśā*), and was not sullied (by vice).”

⁵ I.e. Bṛihaspati.

(V. 32.) Since he causes anxiety (*chintā*) to his enemies and is difficult to assail (*durga*) by warriors in combat, therefore, a very glutton of battle, he has come to be called *Chintādurga*.

(V. 35.) With his help¹ the religious student Namō-buddha, that virtuous person who is like a Bōdhisattva, has again renovated this (building) which had fallen into decay.

(V. 36.) Adorned with tanks, wells, gardens, halls, turrets, and sanctuaries to be enjoyed by the eyes, (and thus) rich in adornments, and having in its loveliness appropriated every grace, this Vihāra, covered with white-wash as it is, is as it were full of smiles.

(V. 38.) This eulogy, containing excellent letters, charming with its figures of speech² and dear to the learned, has been composed by Bhāskarabhaṭṭa—(an eulogy) splendid like a garland which has excellent colours, is charming with its jasmine flowers, and dear to bees.

¹ Viz., with the help of the Brāhmaṇ spoken of in verse 34, whose name has been lost.

² *Jāti* really is a particular figure of speech; it might also have been translated by 'metres.' With the whole verse compare e.g. verse 9 at the beginning of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*.

XXIII.

NOTE ON A JAIN INSCRIPTION AT MATHURA.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

ON page 230 above, and in this Journal, 1904, p. 706, I have had occasion to refer to an inscription at Mathurā which was edited by Dr. Bühler in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. i, p. 396, No. 33, with a plate giving a reproduction of the original from an ink-impression.

It is an undated Jain inscription, in the Brāhmī characters, and in a language which is conveniently known as a mixed dialect, meaning neither exactly Prākṛit nor exactly Sanskrit. And according to the published reproduction it runs thus:—

Text.

- 1 [Na]mō arahatō Vardhamānasya Gōtiputrasa Pōṭhaya-
Śaka-kālavāḷasa¹
2 Kōsikiyē Śimitrāyē āyāga-paṭō p[r]a[ti]
.

Translation.

Reverence to the Arahāt Vardhamāna! A tablet of homage [has been set up] by Śimitrā, the Kōsīkī, [wife]² of Gōtiputra who is (*or was*) a black serpent to Pōṭhayas and Śakas.

¹ The *ka* of the word *śaka* stands right at the end of the line. A portion of the right-hand part of the central stroke is broken away. And the remainder of the letter is shewn as not having been so boldly engraved as the rest of the record. Also, the lithograph seems to be not altogether an actual mechanical facsimile. But, in all the circumstances, there is no good reason for questioning the reliability of the reproduction. And the position of the word *kālavāḷasa*, between the lines and immediately under the syllables *pōṭhayaśa*, indicates that there was not anything following after the *ka*.

² The three syllables which are broken away and lost at the beginning of line 2, are quite appropriately understood to be *bhāryāyē*.

The important detail in this record is the word Śaka. The question before us is :—Does this word here denote the foreign invaders known to the Hindūs as Śakas?; or does it mean something else?

* * * * *

Dr. Bühler was of opinion (*loc. cit.* 394) that the record may be allotted on palæographic grounds to the first century B.C. Guided by the fact, established by various ancient records, that queens and princesses were frequently known by appellations derived from the names of *gōtras* or clans,—as shewn, for instance, by such names as the Gautamī, the Vātsī, the Vāsishṭhī,—coupled with the explanation afforded by the practice, indicated by the Śrautasūtras, that kings were affiliated in ancient times to the *gōtras* of their Purōhitas or family-priests, he inferred that the description of Śimitrā¹ as a Kōsikī marks her as a descendant of a royal race. Without proposing to actually identify the two persons,² he noted the point that Gōtiputa occurs as the metronymic of a prince mentioned in one of the Bharaut inscriptions, of the Śunga period, which, engraved on one of the pillars of the eastern gateway of the Stūpa, registers the fact that the *tōraṇa*, or ornamental arched part of the gateway, was caused to be made, and the completion of the masonry-work was effected, by Vāchhiputa-Dhanabhūti, son of Gōtiputa-Āgaraju, son of the king Gāgīputa-Visadēva (IA, 14. 138; 21. 227). And he considered that the epithet *Pōṭhaya-Śaka-kūlarāḷa* also points to the Gōtiputra of the Mathurā inscription being of the warrior tribe; “for, “according to the analogy of other well-known epithets, “such as *vairi-mattēbha-simha*,”— [meaning, a lion to the rutting elephants which are his foes],— “it can only mean “that he fought with the Pōṭhayas and Śakas and proved to “them as destructive as the black cobra is to mankind in “general.” He identified the Pōṭhayas with the Prōshṭhas,

¹ Dr. Bühler restored this name into Śivamitrā. But it seems preferable to cite it exactly as it stands in the original record.

² As a matter of fact, while the Gōtiputra of the Mathurā record was a Jain, the Gōtiputa-Āgaraju of the Bharaut record was of course a Buddhist.

a people mentioned in the Mahābhārata, and (as he thought ; but see page 653 below) also in the Vishṇu-Purāṇa, and there in connection with the Śakas. He considered that the inscription alludes to “wars” which “may have occurred “either before the Skythians” (Śakas) “conquered Mathurā, “i.e. before the time of Kanishka, or when their domination “had passed away.” And he decided in favour of the former alternative, on the ground that the characters of the inscription “are particularly old-fashioned and may belong to the first century B.C.”

* * * * *

We do not differ from Dr. Bühler's opinion that the record may be referred to the first century B.C. It is, indeed, not easy to fix within a century or so, on simply palæographic grounds, the time of an undated record which does not present the name of a well-known king, or some other specific guide. But the characters of this record distinctly place it at some time between B.C. 100 and A.D. 100. And, in the particular word which it presents, we shall find a good reason (see page 653 below) for taking B.C. 14–13 as the latest limit for the drafting of it.

For the rest, we are now in a position to deal more conclusively with the record than was practicable when Dr. Bühler handled it, some thirteen years ago.

* * * * *

We may consider first the name Gōtiputra, the first component of which denotes a woman belonging to some race, or perhaps some *gōtra*, the Sanskrit name of which has been held to be Gaupṭa.

There are certainly cases in which metronymics, of which the second component is the word *putra*, ‘a son,’ and the first is a word which denotes a woman of a certain *gōtra*, or of a certain race, were attached to the personal names, or were even used instead of the personal names, of sovereign kings. Those cases are well established ; and it is not necessary to cite any of them here.

But the use of these metronymics was by no means confined to such cases. And such metronymics do not in

any way necessarily mark the persons distinguished by them as kings or princes, or as being of any royal or noble descent at all. We have cases in which such metronymics were used with the personal names of territorial governors and other high officials. Thus, in inscriptions we have the instances of the Mahārāṭhi Kōsikiputa¹ - Viṇhudata (ASWI, 4. 83, No. 7); the Mahārāṭhi Gōtiputra-Agimitraṇaka (*ibid.* 90, No. 2; EI, 7. 49, No. 2); the Mahārāṭhi Kōsikiputa-Mitadēva, and his son the Mahārāṭhi Vāsīthiputa-Sōmadēva (*ibid.* 107, No. 17; EI, 7. 61, No. 14); the Mahābhōja Kōchhīputa - Vēlīdata (*ibid.* 87, No. 20); and the royal physician Vachhīputa-Magila (*ibid.* 84, Nos. 5, 6, 7).

And there are also quite enough instances, both in epigraphic records and in literature, Jain, Buddhist, and Brāhmaṇical, to shew that such metronymics do not of necessity mark even a connection with official rank, or in some other way with the prerogatives of the Kshatriya or warrior caste.

A list of forty-two metronymics of Brāhmaṇical teachers, commencing with Bhāradvājīputra, and all ending with *putra*, but some of them presenting in the first components appellations based on names of *charaṇas* or sects instead of *gōtras*, has been given by Max Müller (HASL, 440 f.) from the tenth book of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.

In an inscription, we have the mention of the Brāhmaṇ Vārāh[i]putra-Aśvibhūti, the seller, or perhaps the agent in the purchase, of a field which was bought for purposes of donation by Ushavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna (ASWI, 4. 99, No. 5).

And in two other epigraphic records, closely connected with each other, we have the mention, as donees, of two Brāhmaṇs bearing names of the same kind: [Hāri]tīputta-

¹ In the large majority of cases, the final long *ī* of the mother's designation was shortened in the Prākṛit form; as, indeed, seems to have been frequently the case in Sanskrit also, under Pāṇini, 6. 3, 63. Here, however, and in a few other instances, the long *ī* seems to have been retained. Sometimes, when the characters are at all ornamental, it is not easy to decide whether the long or the short vowel was intended.

The second component is in some inscriptions *puta*, in others *putra*.

Koṇḍamāṇa of the Koṇḍinya *gōtra*, to whom king Hāritīputta - Sātakaṇṇi made a grant (EC, 7. Sk, 263) ; and Kōsikiputta - Siri - Nāgadatta of the same *gōtra*, to whom king Śiva[khada]vamma renewed that grant, and who is described as “an ornament of the Koṇḍamāṇa family,” and perhaps as a maternal uncle of the king (*ibid.* Sk, 264).

In Buddhist literature, we have the famous names of Sāriputta-Upatissa, one of the chief disciples of Buddha (*e.g.*, MPS, ed. Childers, JRAS, 1875. 58 ; SN, ed. Fausböll, 121 ; Vinayapitaka, ed. Oldenberg, 1. 42) ; and of the Thēra Moggaliputta-Tissa, the president of the third so-called “Council” (*e.g.*, Milindapañha, ed. Trenckner, 3 ; Dīpavaṃsa, ed. Oldenberg, 5. 57, 70).

These two names occur in Buddhist inscriptions on relic-vases, etc., as Sāriputa (*e.g.*, *Bhilsa Topes*, plates 22, 25) and Mōgaliputa (*id.* plate 20, box No. 4), and Mōgalīputa, pupil of Gōtiputa (*id.* plate 29, No. 9). And Sāriputta is mentioned in Sanskrit as Sāradvatīputra in the record on the plate found in the Kaṇheri Stūpa (ASWI, No. 10, *Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, 58).

From similar Buddhist inscriptions we have the names of Kōtīputa-Kāsapagōta (*Bhilsa Topes*, plate 24, No. 3), who was the leader of the mission sent to the Himālayas by Moggaliputta-Tissa in the time of Aśōka, and of Kōḍiniputa-Majhima (*ibid.* No. 2) and Gōtiputa-Dudubhisara, or Duṃdubhisara (*ibid.* No. 1), who were two of the four companions attached to the mission.¹

From similar records, again, we have such names as those of Hāritīputa (*Bhilsa Topes*, plate 20, No. 1 ; plate 30, No. 6) ; Kōsikiputa (plates 20, No. 4 ; 24, No. 4) ; and Vāchhiputa, pupil of Gōtiputa (plate 29, No. 6).

Other Buddhist inscriptions give us the names of the monk Gōtiputa-Bhaḍuka or Bhaṃḍuka, who made gifts at the Sāñchi Stūpa No. 1 (EI, 2. 98, No. 16 ; 384, No. 256) ; of Gōtiputa-Subāhita, a *Rājālipikara* or royal scribe, who also made a gift there (*ibid.* 102, No. 49) ; of Vāsīthiputa-Ānanda,

¹ Regarding these three names, see a separate article, “Notes on three Buddhist inscriptions,” page 679 below.

an *Āvēsani* or foreman of artisans of king Siri-S[ā]takani, who again made a gift there (*Bhilsa Topes*, plate 19, No. 190); and of Vāsīthiputa-Kaṭahādi, who presented the façade of a cave-temple at Ajaṇṭā (ASWI, 4. 116, No. 1).

And another early inscription, from the Rewa State, which may or may not have to be classed amongst Buddhist records, gives us the name of H[ā]ritiputa - Sōnaka, who founded a cave-dwelling which was named Pukharinī (Pushkarinī) from a natural pool that lay below it (IA, 9. 121).

Finally, in Jain inscriptions, and at Mathurā itself, in addition to the Gōtiputra of the record under notice, we have the names of Mōgaliputa-Puphaka or Puḍhaka, whose wife made a gift (IA, 1904. 151, No. 28); of the disciple Vachhīputra-Utaradāsaka, pupil of the Samana Māharakhita, who gave a *tōraṇa* for a temple (EI, 2. 198, No. 1); of Haritiputra-Pāla, whose wife Amōhini, the Kōchhi, together with her sons, set up or founded an *āyavati* in honour of the Arahāt (*ibid.* 199, No. 2); and of Gōtiputra-Īdrapā[la], who apparently gave an image in honour of the Arahāt Vardhamāna (*ibid.* 201, No. 9). And Dr. Bühler was inclined (*ibid.* 196) to identify the last-mentioned person, Gōtiputra-Īdrapāla, with the Gōtiputra of the inscription which is the subject of my note. Except in that way, however, there has not been made in these cases any suggestion of an indication of connection with the warrior caste; because there is not in these records any such word as Śaka, to give rise to the idea.

From the instances given above, we may infer that the metronymics which we are considering were usually employed in the cases of persons who achieved a certain amount of distinction in some line or another. But it is also plain that they do not necessarily mark anything in the direction of royal or noble birth or official grandeur, or indicate any fighting propensities which might not be simply natural to any active member of any Church Militant.

* * * * *

We will consider next the value of the metaphorical epithet *Pōṭhaya-Śaka-kālavāḷa* applied to Gōtiputra.

As explained by Dr. Bühler, *vāḷa* is certainly a Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit *vyāḷa* in the sense of ‘a snake, a serpent.’ Thus, *kāḷa-vāḷa* is equivalent to the usual terms *kāḷa-sarpa*, *kṛishṇa-sarpa*, *kṛishṇ-āhi*, *kṛishṇ-ōraga*, ‘a black snake.’ Whether these words are or are not to be taken, as is sometimes done, as denoting only the Coluber Nāga, the black variety of the cobra, the “black snake” was held to be especially venomous; see, for instance, the Rāmāyaṇa, 3. 53, 55, where Sītā says to Rāvaṇa:— *Kṛishṇa-sarpam=atikruddham niśvasantam mahā-visham | sprashtum=ichchhasi hastēna yan=mām tvam=abhikāṅkshasē*; “in desiring me, thou seekest to touch with thy hand a black snake, extremely angry, exhaling with a hiss a great poison.”

Gōtiputra, “a black serpent to Pōṭhayas and Śakas,” is therefore indicated as being particularly deadly to some people named Pōṭhayas and Śakas.

But here, again, there is nothing to mark Gōtiputra as belonging to either the royal or the military class. Epithets like this one, and like the *vairi-mattēbha-simha*, “a lion to rutting elephants in the shape of foes,” which was adduced by Dr. Bühler, were by no means confined to kings and warriors.

I cannot, indeed, quote just now a case exactly analogous to *Pōṭhaya-Śaka-kālavāḷa*; the metaphor usually runs the other way, in the direction of the destruction of snakes, not of destruction by them: for instance, a Jain teacher named Kanakanandin is described as *vādi-vishōraga-Tārکشyaka*, “a Tārکشyaka (king of the eagles) to venomous serpents which are disputants” (IA, 14. 17, line 33), and a very similar epithet is applied to the great Śaiva teacher Lakulīśvara (see the next page). But of other instances there is such a plethora that the difficulty is only to make a selection from them. A few typical ones, based upon similes which embrace both animals and other objects of comparison, may be cited:—

The same Jain teacher Kanakanandin is further described as *pararād-ibha-pañchānana*, “a lion to the elephants which are hostile disputants” (*ibid.* 18, line 34). Śrutakīrti-

Traividya, who shared the same religious rites and duties with him, is described as *paravādi-pratibhā-pradīpa-pavana*, “a wind to (*extinguish*) the lamp which is the intelligence of hostile disputants,” and as *paravādi-śikhari-śikhara-nirbhēdan-ōchchanda-paridaṇḍa*, “a most terrible handle of a thunderbolt for cleaving the peaks of the mountains which are hostile disputants” (*ibid.* line 35). A verse which presents Vādībhakaṇṭhīrava, “a lion to the elephants, (*viz.*) the disputants,” as a formal *biruda* or secondary appellation of a Jain teacher named Ajitasēna, speaks of “the loud roar of him, by whom the elephants, (*viz.*) the disputants, are quickly precipitated into the pit of the ruined well of refutation;” while a subsequent verse, which presents the variant Vādībhasimha, says that he was one “who split the temples of all the *most* mighty elephants, (*viz.*) the disputants” (EI, 3. 205, verses 55, 57). And in respect of one of his disciples, Vādīkōlāhala-Padmanābha, it is said that “not knowing to which direction to turn,— the elephants, (*viz.*) the opponents in disputations, ah! run away trembling at the (*very*) smell of the *most* elephant, (*viz.*) the holy scholar Padmanābha” (*ibid.* 206, verse 62).

A Śaiva teacher, Bhairavapaṇḍita, is mentioned with the *biruda* Vādimahāpralayakāla, “a great time of cosmical destruction to disputants” (IA, 10. 130). And a description of the great Śaiva Lakulīśvara praises him (EI, 5. 229) as being “a young lion in tearing open with his claws the heads of the elephants which are disputants; a jungle-fire to the great forest of disputants; a cruel and very crafty tiger to those who dispute unfairly; a submarine fire in the ocean of the Buddhists; a thunderbolt to the mountains which are the Mīmāṃsakas; a saw to cleave asunder the great trees which are the Lōkāyatas; a great Garuḍa (king of the eagles) to the large serpent which is the Sāṃkhya-doctrine;¹ an axe to the trees which are those who propound the Advaita-philosophy; a very Śiva to burn the three cities in the form of Akalaṅka; ; the grindstone of

¹ Compare the preceding page.

Mādhavabhaṭṭa; ; a fierce fire of cosmical destruction to Viśvānanda; a cosmical fire to Abhaya-chandra; a *sarabha*¹ to (*the lion which is*) Vādībhasimha; ; a very god Brahman in darbār; a very Viṣṇu in discrimination; a very Śiva in making things clear;” and so on.

There is not anything in the shape of a regal or official title attached in the record to the name of Gōtiputra. And thus, so far, there is nothing to require us to regard him in any light except in that of a Jain who had a reputation for being victorious in disputation.

* * * * *

We come now to the consideration of the crucial word Śaka. And we will notice it first from the point of view of a meaning in which it is well known both from inscriptions and from literature; that is, as the name of a foreign people, who were among the early invaders of India, and who, according to Hindū belief in one form, and according to the view of modern inquirers based thereon, founded the well-known era commencing A.D. 78.

Dr. Bühler took the word in this record in that meaning. But he was chiefly, if not entirely, led to do so by a belief, shared by various other scholars, which was created by the original interpretation of the inscription P. on the Mathurā lion-capital. That record runs:— Sarvasa Saka-stanasa puyaē. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji rendered it as meaning: “In honour of the whole Sakastana;” that is, Śakasthāna as “the country of the Śakas.” And the record was accordingly understood to establish the point that, at a shorter or longer time, according to individual opinions, before the Kushana king Kanishka, there was in the Pañjāb and at Mathurā a dynasty of Śaka rulers, some of the members of which were, in one line, at Taxila, the *Chhatrapa* Liaka-Kusuluka and his son Patika of the Sir-Sukh or Taxila copper-plate of the year 78, the latter of whom is

¹ A *sarabha*, *śarabha*, is a fabulous animal, supposed to have eight legs and to inhabit the snowy mountains, which is represented as stronger than the lion and the elephant.

mentioned as the *Mahachhatrava* Kusulaa - Patika in the Mathurā lion-capital inscription G.; and in another line, at Mathurā, the *Mahakshatrapa* Śodāsa of the Mathurā inscription of the year 72, who is mentioned as the *Chhatrava* Śudasa in the Mathurā lion-capital inscriptions B. and M., and his father, who is mentioned as the *Mahachhatrava* Rajula in the inscriptions A. and B. on that same stone, and as the *Mahakshatrapa* Rājuvūla in the Mōra or Mōramēyi inscription from the neighbourhood of Mathurā.

I have, however, shewn (JRAS, 1904. 703 ff., and 154 ff. above) that the real meaning of the inscription P. on the Mathurā lion-capital is simply :— “ (*A gift*) of Sarva, in honour of his home.”

There is, thus, no reference in that record to the Śakas. And nothing else has ever yet been obtained, tending to mark as Śakas either Liaka-Kusuluka and Kusulaa-Patika or Rajula-Rājuvūla and Śudasa-Śodāsa.

Further, the Śakas did figure as invaders of Western and Southern India; and their appearance there is traced back to the second century by one of the Nāsik inscriptions, of about A.D. 150 (ASWI, 4. 108, No. 18), which speaks of king Gōtamīputa-Siri-Sātakani as *Saka-Yavana-Palhavanisūdana*, “the destruction (the destroyer) of Sakas and Yavanas and Palhavas.” But in Northern India, setting aside any possibility in the record which we now have under examination, the first epigraphic mention of the Śakas is two centuries later. It is found in the Allahabad inscription, of about A.D. 385, which recites the glories and the conquests of Samudragupta. And it consists of only the vague impersonal statement that tribute in various forms was paid to Samudragupta by “the Daivaputras, Shāhis, Shāhānu-shāhis, Śakas, and Muruṇḍas, and by the people of Simhala (Ceylon) and all (*other*) dwellers in islands” (F.GI, 14).

There is nothing in that statement to mark the Śakas as settled even then in Northern India. As the result of the exposition of the real meaning of the inscription P. on the Mathurā lion-capital, there remains no epigraphic basis,

unless it may be found in the record now under consideration, for thinking that the Śakas ever figured as invaders of Northern India, or ever played a leading historical part there. And no real grounds for thinking so can be found anywhere else. There are no other bases for the history that has been built up in connection with the name of the Śakas, except in indefinite references to them in the epics, the Purāṇas, and other Sanskrit works; in stories which culminated in a belief in a destruction of the Śakas in B.C. 58, or in A.D. 78, or at both times, by an alleged king Vikramāditya of Ujjain who had no actual being; and in the existence of an era, known to have commenced A.D. 78, with which the name of the Śakas was coupled from the beginning of the sixth century onwards, but in so uncertain a way that, while one belief, of the sixth century, was that the era dated from the anointment of a Śaka king to the sovereignty, another belief, certainly existing in the tenth century and perhaps traceable back to the seventh century, was that the commencement of the era marked the destruction of the Śaka power.

* * * * *

So much as regards the word Śaka as the name of certain foreign invaders of India. We have now to consider an equally well established application of the word in quite a different meaning.

I have recently had occasion to make a study of the use, both in epigraphic records and in literature, of the various vernacular forms of that tribal appellation, of the kinsmen of Buddha, of which the Sanskrit form was Śākya. The details of that study may be exhibited on some other occasion. Here it is sufficient to adduce the following points, the importance of which has hitherto been overlooked; chiefly, it would seem, because of an uncritical habit of restoring into the form Śākya, in the translations of inscriptions, other forms presented in the originals themselves, and of frequently using, according to the caprice of the moment, in certain translations of Pāli works, almost any forms rather than those which actually stand in the texts.

A very early epigraphic record, probably the earliest of Indian records, namely the inscription on the Piprāwā vase (JRAS, 1898. 388, 586), presents the name of the kinsmen of Buddha as Sakiya, with, in the first syllable, the dental *s* and the short *a*.

The next epigraphic mention of the name is in the Rummindēi inscription (EI, 5. 4), which is dated when Piyadasi- (Aśoka) was twenty-years-anointed, and on an occasion when, according to the real meaning of the words *atana āgūcha mahāyitē*, "he did (*the place*) the great honour of visiting it in person." The name is here presented in the form Sakya, with again the dental *s* and the short *a*, in the word Sakyamuni, "the Sakya saint," as an appellation of Buddha.

We have the name next as Saka, again with the dental *s* and the short *a*, but without the *y* in the second syllable, in the same appellation in the form Sakamuni, "the Saka saint," in one of the inscriptions of the Śunga period at the Bharaut Stūpa (IA, 21. 231, No. 46, and Sir A. Cunningham's *Stupa of Bharhut*, plate 54, No. 28, and plate 13, the left side).

As far as known records of certain date are available, the name first appears with the palatal *ś*, but still with the short *a*, in a Brāhmī inscription of the time of Huvishka (JBBRAS, 20. 269), dated in the (Mālava-Vikrama) year 45, = B.C. 14-13. Here we have the same appellation of Buddha in the form Śakyamuni, "the Śakya saint." And we have precisely the same form, Śakyamuni, in the Brāhmī inscription from Kāman, near Mathurā (EI, 2. 212), dated in the (Mālava-Vikrama) year 74, = A.D. 16-17.

On the other hand, against this form Śakya of two Brāhmī inscriptions, in Kharōshthī inscriptions of the same period we have the form Śaka, again with the palatal *ś*, but without the *y* in the second syllable, occurring in the same unmistakable manner in the same appellation of Buddha in the form Śakamuni, "the Śaka saint." This is found in the inscription A. on the Mathurā lion-capital (JRAS, 1894. 533), which, we know,—from the mention therein of the

Mahachhatrava Rajula-(Rājuvūla), and from the mention of the *Chhatrava* Śudasa-(Śodāsa), son of the *Mahachhatrava* Rajula, in the inscription A. on the same sculpture, and from the mention of the *Mahakshatrapa* Śodāsa in the Mathurā inscription which is dated in the year 72 (EI, 2. 199, No. 2, and regarding the reading of the year see *id.* 4. 55, and note 2),— is to be placed shortly before the Mālava-Vikrama year 72, = A.D. 14–15. We have it again in the Sir-Sukh or Taxila plate of Patika (EI, 4. 55), dated in the (Mālava-Vikrama) year 78, = A.D. 20–21.

And in view of the fact that the characters are the same, Kharōshthī, in the case of the inscription on the Wardak vase, dated in the (Mālava-Vikrama) year 51, = B.C. 8–7, and registering the installation of a relic of Buddha in honour of Huvishka, it can hardly be doubted that, where Professor Dowson, making a great advance on previous decipherments of that record, but prevented by the materials before him from arriving at a final version, read Śakyamunna (JRAS, 1863. 258), we have in reality precisely the same appellation, Śakamuni.

And the point must be noted here, though the record is not a dated one, that the same form Śaka occurs unmistakably, in the appellation Śakamuni, in an early Brāhmī inscription at Mathurā. Professor Dowson, indeed, in his treatment of this record, gave the appellation as *Sakyamuni* (JRAS, 1871. 188, No. 25). But the published reproduction (*ibid.* plate 3, No. 25) shews quite distinctly that the first component is Śaka.

The records mentioned above, whether in Brāhmī or in Kharōshthī characters, are all in the Pāli, Prākṛit, or mixed-dialect language. And none of the records of that class present the form Śākya. This form, with the palatal ś and the long ā, appears first in the Sanskrit period. And, in records which present actual dates, we first meet with it in Northern India in the Mathurā inscription of the (Gupta) year 230, = A.D. 549–50 (F.GI, 273), wherein mention is made of Jayabhaṭṭā, a Śākyabhikṣuṇī or Buddhist female mendicant or nun, and in Southern India in the Kaṇheri plate

of the (so-called Kalachuri or Chēdi) year 245 (expired), = A.D. 494–95 (ASWI, No. 10, *Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, 58), wherein mention is made of Buddha as Śākyamuni, “the Śākya saint.” Some of the undated Sanskrit inscriptions which present such terms as Śākyabhikṣu and Śākyōpāsikā, may quite possibly be somewhat earlier than these two records of A.D. 549–50 and 494–95. But at any rate they do not go back to the Pāli, Prākṛit, or mixed-dialect period. And A.D. 494 and 549 are the earliest known dates for the occurrence of the form Śākya in epigraphic records, in, respectively, Southern and Northern India.

To this there may be added a brief indication of the results obtained from literature, in which department, however, we are, until a comparatively late time, without the guide of actual dates.

The Pāli books present only the forms Sakka, Sakya, and Sākiya. In view of the fact that, according to the *Abhidhā-nappadīpikā* as cited by Childers, the word *vākya*, ‘a speech, a sentence,’ occurs in Pāli, there appears to be no reason why they should not present also a form Śākya, with the dental s but with the long ā; it is not, however, as yet found in them, any more than it is in inscriptions.¹ The form Śākya is of course not found in them, because of the absence of the palatal sibilant from Pāli.

¹ The only suggestion that I have been able to find for the occurrence of the form Śākya in Pāli writings is in Dr. Muller’s *List of Pali Proper Names*, in JPTS, 1888. 94, where he has given the word Śākyaputtiya, citing for it *Mahāvagga*, 1. 24, 7 ff. Referring, however, to the text, *Vinayapitaka*, ed. Oldenburg, 1. 44, 57, 72–77, 79, 86–88, I find that the reading is always *Sakyaputtiya* with the short a. Dr. Muller seems to have taken his entry, without verification, from the index (2. 338b), where the word is shewn, but evidently only by some mistake, as if the text gave Śākyaputtiya.

As regards epigraphic records, Professor Dowson, in his treatment of certain undated Brāhmī inscriptions from Mathurā, gave the form Śākya, in the word Śākyabhikṣu, in his texts and translations of one mixed-dialect record and two Sanskrit records (JRAS, 1871. 186, No. 14; 187, No. 18; 188, No. 24), and in his translation of a third Sanskrit record (187, No. 19). But the published reproduction of the mixed-dialect record (JASB, 39, 1870. part 1, 130, plate 5, No. 7) shews distinctly that the original has Śākya, with the palatal ś and the short a. And the published reproductions of the three Sanskrit records (JRAS, *loc. cit.* plate 3, Nos. 18, 19, 24; JASB, *loc. cit.* plate 5, Nos. 11, 12, = Dowson’s Nos. 18, 19) shew that they all have Śākya, with the palatal ś and the long ā.

The form Śākya appears first in Sanskrit works, and, amongst Buddhist works, in the Buddhacharita, the Divyāvadāna, and the Lalitavistara. The last-mentioned presents also in a few places the forms Sākiya and Śākiya; but, I think I may safely say, only in verses in mixed dialect. Elsewhere in that work, and in the other two specified Buddhist works, the only form found is Śākya.

During the Sanskrit period, we have in Prākṛit passages the forms Śakka and Sakka. The latter is taught by the Pāiyalachchhī of Dhanapāla (composed A.D. 972-73); verse 20 (ed. Bühler) mentions Sakka as one of the names of Buddha. The former, Śakka, is found in the Mṛichchhakatika, in the term Śakkaśamaṇaka, Śakkaśśamaṇaka (ed. BSS, 117, lines 359, 360; 470, line 457); and, it may be remarked, in the first two places there is the various reading Śaka, with the single *k*. It occurs in passages spoken by the repentant gambler Samvāhaka, who became a Buddhist mendicant priest. And the palatal *ś* is perhaps only due to all his talk being composed in the Śākārī dialect.

But in Sanskrit passages in non-Buddhist Sanskrit works, and in Sanskrit inscriptions, the only form found is Śākya. And in illustration of the point that, whether in Sanskrit, after a certain date, say roughly about A.D. 300, the word Śākya continued to be a tribal designation or not, it came to be used, or to be also used, as simply equivalent to Bauddha, Saugata, or any other name for Buddhists in general, I may quote a verse of Varāhamihira (died A.D. 587), which is of interest from more points of view than simply that one. The verse in question is verse 19 of the chapter of the Bṛihat-Saṃhitā which in the Benares edition in the Vizianagram Sanskrit Series is entitled Pratimā-pratishṭhāpana, “the setting up of images” (ed. Kern, chap. 60; Benares ed., chap. 59). It runs:—

Text.

Vishṇōr=Bhāgavatān=Magāms=cha Savituḥ Śambhōḥ
 sabhasma-Dvijān=
 Mātrīṇām=api Mātri-maṇḍala-vidō ¹ Viprān=vidur=
 Brahmanah |
 Śākyān=sarva-hitasya śānta-manasō Nagnān=Jinānām
 vidur=
 yē yaṁ dēvam=upāsritāḥ sva-vidhinā tais=tasya
 kāryā kriyā ||

Translation.

They know (*the followers*) ² of Viṣṇu as Bhāgavatas, and as Magas (*those*) of the Sun, (*and those*) of Śambhu as Ash-smeared Dvijas, and (*those*) of the Mothers as They who Know (*the methods of worship of*) the circle of the Mothers, (*and*) as Vipras (*those*) of Brahman; they know as Śākyas (*the followers*) of Him (Buddha), of tranquil mind, Who was Good to All People, (*and*) as the Naked Ones (*those*) of the Jinas: they who betake themselves to any (*particular*) god, should practise the observances of that (*god*), (*each*) according to his own rule.³

¹ The Benares edition presents:— Mātrīṇām=api maṇḍala-krama-vidō.

² These words in connection with the genitives *Viṣṇōḥ*, etc., are to be supplied in accordance with the idea contained in the words *yē yaṁ dēvam=upāsritāḥ* in the last line of the verse.

³ In connection with this passage, a few remarks may be added from Bhaṭṭōtpala's commentary (finished A.D. 966) as given in the Benares edition.

He has explained the names Viṣṇu, Śambhu, and Brahman by the specific appellations Nārāyaṇa, Mahādēva, and Pitāmaha.

He has specified the Magas more distinctly as Maga-Brāhmanas. The commentary says:— Magān=Maga-brāhmanān.

He has given to the worshippers of Śambhu, the "ash-smeared Dvijas," the more specific name of Pāsūpatas. The commentary says:— dvijān=brāhmanān=sa-bhasma-sahitān=Pāsūpatān=ity=arthah.

On the other hand, in respect of the name Vipra for the worshippers of Brahman, he has only said:— viprān=brāhmanān.

He has allotted to the worshippers of the Mothers the appellation Sthāpakas. Following the reading *maṇḍala-krama-vidō*, the commentary says:— yē maṇḍala-kramāṁ pūjā-kramāṁ vidanti jānanti tān=Sthāpakān=viduḥ.

On the reference to the Śākyas he has given us the following comment:— sarva-hitasya Buddhasya śānta-manasō jit-ēndriyasya Śākyān=raktapaṭān=viduḥ. And he has thus given *raktapaṭa*, 'red, blood-coloured, robes,' in the place of

As regards the form Śākya, illustrated so well by this verse in the sense of Buddhists in general, we are not concerned here with the question whether it may have existed in Sanskrit all through the Pāli, Prākṛit, and mixed-dialect period, and may have been the basis of the epigraphic forms Sakiya, Sakya, Saka, Śaka, and Śākya, and of the literary Pāli forms Sakka, Sakya, Sākiya, and Śākiya, and of the Prākṛit forms Sakka and Śakka, or whether it was evolved from them towards the end of that period. Nor are we concerned with the question whether the epigraphic forms Sakiya, Saka, and Śaka stand, simply by a peculiarity of spelling, for, respectively Sakya or Sākiya, Sakka, and Śakka. We are concerned with only the forms which actually stand in the epigraphic records.

My point so far is this. The epigraphic records are much more instructive in matters of this kind than literary works are; not only because of the recorded or otherwise known dates of them, but also because we have in them writings which have not been, since the time when they were framed, altered in any way by vagaries of copyists or emendators. And in two at any rate, and probably in one more, of the epigraphic records of very closely about the time to which belongs the inscription which we have under review, we have the unmistakable use of the word Śaka in the sense of the tribal name of the kinsmen of Buddha. Those two or three instances occur, it is true, in Kharōshthī records, whereas we are dealing with a Brāhmī record. That very

the usual Buddhist word *kāshāya* (Pāli, *kāsāya*, *kāsāva*), which, I think, is more customarily rendered by 'yellow, or reddish yellow, robes.'

He has specified the Nagnas, "the Naked Ones," more distinctly as Nagna-kshapaṇakas. Here the commentary runs:— Jinānām=arhatām nagnān=nagna-kshapaṇakān=viduḥ.

On the last line of the verse he has given the following comment, explaining the proper guide to the correct rites in each case:— yē narā yaṁ dēvam=upāsritāḥ śaraṇyaṁ bhakti-bhāvēna praptās=tair=narais=tasya dēvasya sva-vidhinā ātmiya-darśan-ōktēna vidhānēna | pañcharātra-vidhinā Vishṇōḥ | saura-darśana-vidhānēna Savituḥ | vātulantr-ōktēn=ānya-tantr-ōkta-vidhinā vā Śanibhōḥ | Mātṛiṇāṁ sva-kalpa-vihita-vidhānēna [*] brāhmaṇair=vēda-vihita-karmaṇā [*] Buddhasya pāramitā-kramēṇa | Arhatām tad-darśana-vidhinā kriyā kāryā iti ||

point, however, helps, as we shall see just below, to fix more closely the date of the inscription.

* * * *

The result at which we arrive up to this point, from this fuller consideration of the inscription, may now be stated, as follows:—

The record is marked by its characters as belonging to the period B.C. 100 to A.D. 100. And we can in fact fix B.C. 14–13 as its probable latest date (see the next page).

The record is shewn by its opening words, “Reverence to the Arahāt Vardhamāna !,” to be a Jain record.

There is nothing either in the name of Gōtiputra, or in the epithet applied to him, or in any other expression, to mark him as either a prince or a warrior. And both his name and the epithet are entirely compatible with the view that he was a religionist, who was notoriously successful in disputation.

Now that the real meaning of the inscription P. on the Mathurā lion-capital has been made clear, there remains no epigraphic evidence, unless it is to be found in the present record,—and no authentic evidence can be obtained from any other sources,—to shew that any of the Śakas, the foreigners, ever invaded and settled in Northern India.

In the inscriptions of Northern India, in two Kharōshthī records of shortly before A.D. 14–15 and of A.D. 20–21, and in one certainly early though undated Brāhmī record, and, we can hardly doubt, also in a third Kharōshthī record, that on the Wardak vase, of B.C. 8–7, we have the word Śaka meaning undeniably, because of its occurrence in the term Śakamuni, “the Śaka saint,” as an appellation of Buddha, first the kinsmen of Buddha, and so, like Śakya in such expressions as Śakyamuni and Śakyabhikshu during the same period, and like Śākya in similar expressions in later times, secondly Buddhists in general.

And in these circumstances we can only understand that the record marks Gōtiputra, so far, as a Jain who had a reputation for being particularly successful in disputation with Buddhists.

There is the point that other Brāhmī inscriptions, of B.C. 14–13 and A.D. 16–17, present the form Śākya against the Śaka of the record under consideration. This, however, simply fixes B.C. 14–13 as the probable latest limit for the drafting of this Brāhmī record, and of the other undated Brāhmī record in which the same form Śaka is found.

* * * * *

There remains to be considered the word Pōṭhaya; Gōti-putra was “a black serpent to Pōṭhayas and Śakas.” The meaning of this word cannot be established so conclusively at present. But there can be little doubt, if any, as to what it denotes.

Dr. Bühler said:— “The Poṭhayas are the Prōshṭhas, “whom the *Mahābhārata*, vi, 9, 61, and the *Vishṇupurāṇa* “(ed. Hall), vol. ii, p. 179, name among the southern “nations. In the latter passage they appear together with “the Śakas and the Kokarakas.”

But here there is a mistake. In the ninth chapter, “the narration of the rivers, countries, etc., of the land of Bhārata,” of the sixth book, the Bhīshmaparvan, of the Mahābhārata, mention is made, in verse 61 (Calcutta edition, 6. 369), amongst the nations of the south, of the Bakas, Kōkarakas, Prōshṭhas, Samavēgavaśas, Vindhachulakas, Pulindas, and Kalkalas. The Śakas are there mentioned, with other tribes, in verses 44 and 51 (Calcutta edition, 352, 359), without any specification of their locality.

The passage cited by Dr. Bühler as if from the Vishṇu-Purāṇa, is not a part of that work. It is the same passage in the same list of the Mahābhārata, given by Wilson (Vishṇu-Purāṇa, translation, 2. 156–190), from the Bhīshmaparvan, in between his translation of the Vishṇu-Purāṇa, aṁśa 2, adhyāyas 3 and 4. But, as translated by Wilson from some other text, instead of mentioning Bakas, Kōkarakas, Prōshṭhas, etc., as above, it mentions Śakas, Kōkarakas, Prōshṭhas, etc., with also some differences in the remaining names. And it would seem that in the Vishṇu-Purāṇa itself there is not any mention of a people named Prōshṭha.

However, we need not, I think, pursue that point, or Dr. Bühler's argument that the accuracy of any statement, placing the Śakas and the Prōshthas in the south, instead of the north, may be doubted; because the word Pōṭhaya is at any rate not a form of the word Prōshthā.

More to the point is Dr. Bühler's remark (*loc. cit.* 394, note 3, and errata) that the word Pōṭhaya corresponds literally with Prōshthaka or Prōshthya. For Prōshthya, indeed, I cannot obtain any reference. But Dr. Bühler's Prōshthaka seems to be the Prōshthika which, with Prōshthā, figures as the name of a man in the *gaṇa Śivādi* under Pāṇini, 4. 1, 112. From Prōshthā and Prōshthika we should obtain, under that rule, the patronymics Praushthā and Praushthika. And thus Praushthika, from which we could obtain Pōṭhiya, Pōṭhaya, might come to indicate first a family and then a people. But, I must say, I cannot find any indication that that was the case.

A better help to a possible meaning of the word is supplied by the fact that we have Pōṭhaka as the proper name of a Buddhist in an inscription at the Sāñchi Stūpa No. 1 (EI, 2. 106, No. 87):— Pōṭhakasa bhikhunō dānam; “a gift of the monk Pōṭhaka.” Of this proper name Pōṭhaka, we might easily have Pōṭhaya as another form. And thus the record might be understood to describe Gōtiputra as “a black serpent to the Buddhist Pōṭhaya.”

I think, however, that we are to find the explanation of the word in the direction of its denoting, like Śaka, not an individual, but a group of people; in fact, in the direction of its being, like Śaka, a sectarian designation.

Now, Dr. Bühler established very clearly that:— “The “agreement of Mathurā inscriptions with the Kalpasūtra “shows further, that the Jainas of that town were Śvetām- “baras and that the great schism which divided the Jaina “community into two hostile sections, took place, not as the “modern tradition asserts, in 609 after Vira, but long before “the beginning of our era:” see the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, 1, 1887. 180; and compare Dr. Bühler's *Indian Sect of the Jainas*, 1887, translation by Dr. Burgess, 1903, p. 44.

The present record, therefore, is a Śvētāmbara record. Along with the Buddhists, the natural enemies of the Śvētāmbaras were of course their rivals of the other branch of their own faith. And the conclusion seems irresistible; that, be the etymological explanation what it may be, the word Pōṭhaya was used in this record to mean Digambara Jains.

Further, the Digambara sect is said to have owed its origin to Śivabhūti, otherwise known as Sahasramalla, in, according to tradition, A.D. 82, namely in the year 609 after the death of Vīra, Mahāvīra, Vardhamāna (see Dr. Bhandarkar's Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1883–84, pp. 144, 146). And another appellation of the sect was Bōṭika, from Bōṭika either as a third name of Śivabhūti, or as the name of a pupil of Śivabhūti (see *ibid.* 140). It seems to me not improbable that, in the word Pōṭhaya of this record, we have a form of an original name which was in later times transformed into Bōṭika.

* * * * *

In short, taking with the record the liberty of substituting the ultimate meaning for the literal translation of the epithet *Pōṭhaya-Śaka-kālavāḷa*, I render it thus :—

Translation.

Reverence to the Arahāt Vardhamāna ! A tablet of homage has been set up by Śimitrā, the Kōśikī, [wife] of Gōtiputra who is (*or was*) as deadly in disputation as a black serpent to Digambara Jains and Buddhists.

XXIV.

THE PAHLAVI TEXTS OF YASNA XIV, XV,
XVI, XX, XXI,FOR THE FIRST TIME CRITICALLY TRANSLATED.¹

By PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS.

YASNA XIV (Sp.).

Appeals and Invocations.

FOR the sake of² (or as 'belonging to') Aūharmazd
I proclaim (or 'I address')³ that Chief, the House-chief
of the House, and also that Chief, the Vīs-chief of the Vīs
(the village), the Zand-chief of the Zand (the sub-province
or 'county'), and the Dāhyu-chief⁴ of the Province.

(2) And I proclaim (or 'I address') the Chief of women,⁵

¹ The texts upon which these translations have been made appeared in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, in the first Heft of 1903 and second of 1904 as edited with all the MSS. collated. Translations into Sanskrit, Parsi-Persian, and Gujrati from texts not collated, and otherwise of an uncritical character, have alone preceded this. The glosses are enclosed within brackets [], my own explanations within parenthetical curves ().

² Rāi is rather a clumsy rendering for the *ā* of *āmrūve*. C., the Parsi-Pers., MS. om. *rāi*. Nēr. has the dative.

³ Hardly in the full sense of 'invoke.' Nēr. has, however, *bravimi* with the accusative = 'I address.' See Nēr.'s *svāmine mahājñānine*.

⁴ The Parsi-Pers. translator has 'rad' here. He has *ṣāhib* for *-pat*. Nēr.'s 'collection of fifteen men and women' as an explanation of the Vīs (the Pers. here merely renders Vīs), of 'thirty men and women' as that of the Zantu, and of 'fifty men and women' as that of the Dāhyu, are entirely artificial and incorrect. *Grāma* is also an inadequate word for Dāhyu. The Parsi-Pers. has only Vīs here for Vīs, *shahr* for Zantu, and *pādšāh* = 'king' for *dāhyūpat* (so B.).

⁵ Why the 'Dēn' in general should be especially called 'the Chief of women,' so the orig. also, is not clear; perhaps that part of the Dēn which refers to the following names in the feminine is meant, or the mere feminine form of the word D(a)ena.

the Dēn of the Mazdayasnians¹ and Aharišvang (Ašī Vaŋghuhi), the Good Riches (so here meaning; see the original also and Nēr.) and (?) (or 'even') Pārendī.² [That is,³ I proclaim (or 'I address') them as Chiefs of women (especially watching over their lives and happiness), (3) and her who is the holy one⁴ of bipeds (i.e. 'of human beings'); that is to say, her do I proclaim (or 'address') who is a (typical) good woman,⁵ the Chief of human females]; and I proclaim (or 'I address') this Earth also, which is our supporter,⁶ [her also do I proclaim (or 'address') as the Chief of female objects of creation in general].

(4) And I proclaim or ('I address') the Fire of Aūharmazd, the Chief of (i.e. 'representing') the friendly supporting person (stoiš). This was the fire of Aūharmazd, [which is endeared⁷ to (or 'which is the friend of') Aūharmazd; also in His body⁸ it is the guest; also I proclaim (or 'I address') the Chief of the Fire as His].

(5) And I proclaim the one most abundantly coming to the struggle⁹ (of our toil), the most efficient worker in our agriculture, the Chief of the saintly husbandmen.¹⁰

(6) And I proclaim (or 'I address') him who has the

¹ The Parsi-Pers. has '-yasnān'; was this accidental? so the orig. and E. (K⁵).

² Pārendī (so the Pers.) seems to refer the A.V. in the original, which is important as showing the advanced concept in the concrete. Nēr. has arçiçavaŋgha lakšmīm . . . pārinda-nāmnī nik'ātarakšakā = 'guardian of treasures.'

³ The Pers. has aē for aēy.

⁴ Nēr. fails to see the general force of the position of dōpatištān; see the original, the Parsi-Pers. has no 'one.'

⁵ Nēr. adds çudd'aṭṭadayām, 'merciful,' as the Chief of human females.

⁶ C., the Parsi-Pers., has 'dār,' reading yansegun for dahešn'.

⁷ Nēr. has also -mitra (-tro) again for the dōst' of the original; the 'fire Vāzišt' of the original is omitted by the translators.

⁸ 'His body' should refer to the person of the faithful disciple, though by syntax rather to Ahura.

⁹ Nēr. has bahukleçaharšatamañ kārjakartṛtamañčā nareb'yaḥ (sic) puṇ-yātmab'yaḥ sasyaṃ sphīṭayatām kuṭumbinām gurum bravīmi, 'the one who cheers the most much trouble.' C., the Pers., has: 'ū bisyār ranz* rasīdantar (so),' taking 'ranj' too literally, and the most efficient one for the doers of duty (so more flatly, but meaning 'agriculture'). Or did he consider 'more efficient than other doers of duty'? 'The Chief of the fatteners,' 'ripeners, or growers' of agricultural produce, the agriculturists.

¹⁰ The Pers. has kār varzīdārtar az mardān (so) (ī) ašōān vāstryōšān rad gūyam.

most shot¹ [arrow (sic), i.e. the best archer), the Chief of Warriors (literally of 'charioteers')].

(7) And I proclaim (or 'address') him² who has (or 'that which is') the knowledge of the greatest³ ones which is in accordance with the Dēn of the Mazdayasnians, the Chief of the Fire-priests, which is the most a teacher⁴ of those (i.e. 'of them all')⁵; (8) and I proclaim (or 'I address') the (ritual) Chief of⁶ the Amešaspendis, and I would cause⁷ him (the Chief) to be present and remain (literally 'to stand') here, that Chief⁸ the most intelligent (probably meaning 'endowed with supernatural intelligence'), the most truth-speaking, the one most coming on (to help us), the one who most exercises great wisdom.

(9) And I declare (or 'I address') that which has been said⁹ to be the greatest power¹⁰ in accordance with the Law of the Mazdayasnians (or 'him who possesses the greatest power,' 'mahist'-amāvandīh' as a possessive compositum),

¹ Read šustōtartūm (better 'šust'tartūm'), 'the most having the shot (arrow)'; reading a hvastemā (so) for hastemā. As to a possible vindītartūm (so) = 'most found,' as 'seated' on the bow-string,' it will hardly do, had = sad seeming to have been seen in hastemā, which is possible; so C., the Parsi-Pers., may have valā min nišast vadārtūm = 'the one most turning from the occupied ('seated on' string)' again to 'had' (or was -šust) meant for this nišast? If he has 'nišust,' he would then translate nišust guzāštar (? sic). Nēr. has lag'u-hastatamāni častreṇa, 'the one most light-handed with his weapon' ('arrow' not indicated). C., the Parsi-Pers., has merely 'tīr' for tīr.

² So, failing to see the instruction of the original, or regarding it as a 'sociative,' which may be an improvement on my former version; see S.B.E. xxxi, p. 251.

³ Read my text 'mahīstān' here; (a hasty false emendation was made).

⁴ The original looks more like 'the pupils of them'; but 'the teachers' is also possible here; so the Parsi-Pers. Pahl. text, čāšīdārtūm (sic). Nēr. has pariñāpkatamāniča.

⁵ Notice Nēr.'s ablative after the superlative in the sense 'than them'; or is it 'of them'; see 'min.'

⁶ The 'min' is not correct for the accusative of the original.

⁷ Nēr. misses the causative form of the original and of the Parsi-Pers. He has gurauča sāmtišt'āmi. The Parsi-Pers. also has its peculiar 'ēstam.'

⁸ The original has the plural throughout; but Nēr. gives us the singular, beginning with jñānitamāni, as qualifying gurum understood; yet see the original plurals, and in fact we have no signs of the plural in the Pahl. after sūtēmandān = 'beneficent,' 'bringing advantage,' so I hardly venture to render the plural.

⁹ So curiously for āmrue, but Nēr. bravīmi.

¹⁰ Nēr. saw a form of 'man'—to think in amān (sic); hence his mahāmanasam, which also contains a second rendering of the maz-, no uncommon occurrence; no trace of it in the Parsi-Pers.

the Mōbed of the Mōbeds¹; that is to say, [the Chief] of the Fire-priests, the Warriors, and the husbandmen.²

Dedications to the Amešaspentas.

(10) Forth³ to You, O ye Amešaspentas, who are the right-rulers, the well-disposers, do I give my body and that which is my very life⁴ (literally 'my own': see the original 'life,' or possibly 'my life itself').⁵

(11) Yea, all the amenities of life [root and fruit] (so with great error).

(12) Thus, I think⁶ in my mind; thus I say⁷; and thus I do.⁸

Dedication to Ahura.

(13) So therefore as thou, O Aūharmazd,⁹ art occupied in reflection concerning the two (interests) [the heavenly and the earthly]; that is to say, Thine object of chief interest is to receive careful attention from Thee (to be closely thought out); and as Thou art occupied in speech, [that is to say, as Thy (supreme) interest is to be expressed in (revealed) words of doctrine and precepts], and as Thou art occupied as regards giving, [that is to say, the person

¹ So the Parsi-Pers. Nēr. has āčāryānāmča (= 'teacher') for magōpatān.

² Nēr. adds gloss referring to his mahāmanasam above; sa mahāmanā . . . yo dīnau višaye kasyā'pi sähāyāni nā'pe'kšate. 'He is the magnanimous one who, the Dēn being his sphere (of action and of duty), does not regard the friendship of anyone.' Did he really mean 'having no respect of persons'?

³ Barā somewhat clumsily renders pairi; Nēr. has, as usual, prakrṣtam.

⁴ Nēr. nijamča. See Y. XXXIII, 14; S.B.E. xxxi, p. 252; Gāthas, pp. 130, 497.

⁵ The Parsi-Pers. has simply nekī, or nek (so); the rest was omitted by accident, as he has elsewhere zāyišni.

⁶ The Parsi-Pers. follows it, as does Nēr.

⁷ Nēr. has samuččarāmi for yemalelūnam.

⁸ This translation is one of the worst conceivable, entirely missing the rare dual form of the original, which is itself one of the finest expressions of its kind in the Avesta. Yet, with this failure, it affords us the root ideas present. Nēr. follows it without suspicion, as does C., the Parsi-Pers. For the original see S.B.E. xxxi, p. 252: 'thus the two spirits thought; thus they spoke; and thus they did.'

⁹ Notice that the translator sees Aūharmazd as the 'One occupied in word, thought, and deed' here, whereas in 12 he missed the dual sense which includes Aūharmazd as the thinker, speaker, and doer; such fluctuations are common.

(on the other hand) is to be presented to Thee (fully given up to Thee, hardly 'by Thee'); and (as Thou art occupied in) action [that is to say, the matter (which supremely concerns) Thee is to be thoroughly executed] (the interest) which is beneficial [and which is the business (possibly that of 'agriculture') is for ever again¹ (to be carried out under Thine administration)],

(14) so to Thee do I give myself; and so do I inculcate [upon others]; and so do I assiduously (yal) sacrifice to Thee in my advance,² [when I would go forward in the world, and when I would go (or 'come'³) (to Thee)], so I would assiduously sacrifice to Thee.

Reciprocations.

(15) So also do Thou⁴ make (?) me praise⁵ [the benefits of the world] (or possibly on the contrary, 'so also do Thou praise⁴ me with the benefits of the world; i.e. assign them to me with approbation'); so also do Thou⁴ bring⁵ me into debt (or, on the contrary, express a debtor's obligation⁵ to me), [that is to say, upon me (or 'toward me') may there be a debt as (O Aūharmazd) regards Thee].

¹ Nēr. om. this gloss after šapir, which the Parsi-Pers. has, omitting however, kār.

² Aiš, so rendered as if from a form of i, ae—'to go'; so elsewhere frequently; Nēr. follows, and C. (the Parsi-Pers.).

³ Vazlūnam looks as if it were here used as 'come' in antithesis to yātūnešn; cf. the use of sātūn = 'raftan' in the same sense in Y. XLII; and Nēr. adds dīnyā gataḥ san . . . 'having arrived with' (or 'through,' meaning 'at') the Dīn; Pers. om. it.

⁴ Mistaking a 1st plural in -mahī for a 2nd singular in -ahī; so in each verb, as elsewhere; also the indicative for the imperative.

⁵ The grammatical form is either a causative or a denominative, more probably the latter, offering a reason for an expected return benefit for the assiduous sacrifice on the present occasion; see yal yezbexūnam. In the original, however, the sense is that of 'praise,' gifts and confessions of debt offered to Ahura; so Nēr. also, with his mām praṇāminam kuru. C., the Parsi-Pers., is no more decisive, but looks more like the sense of the causative than the Pahl. translation, marā ēdūn niyāyiš i nekī(i)gētī; marā edūn āvām; kū āvām pah tū bād Hōrmuzd. Does the Pers. translator purposely avoid expressing the blundering 2nd personal of the Pahl. and of Nēr.? Not altogether. Niyāyešnēnih is not here probably a nominal form. His Pahl. text seems meant for niyāyešin with no -ēn infixed; but this form in -in (-ēn) might be meant for a 2nd sing. imperative, and he has āvāmīni (for -mēnih) in his text, rendered apparently, however, āvām, which certainly looks as if he avoided a 2nd singular.

Results.

(16) For the sake of the good relationship¹ and continuous progress in this relationship (or possibly meaning 'for the sake of the good possession and continued progress in the possession of its advantages'), [thus your own¹ I am (meaning 'in order that I may be thus your own')], and, for the above reason, in Thee (or 'in a stable relation to Thy (Cause)) do I take my stand; and for the good consideration (of the reward) will I come on to Thee, [that is to say, for the good consideration in regard to that interest which is Thine will I do good (or 'effect a benefit')].

(17) And for the sake of (or 'in accordance with') the good Chieftainship² [of Haurvatāt³ and Ameretatāt³ (would I thus come on)], and in accordance with perfect-mindedness (in accordance with Ār(a)maiti), [that is to say, for the sake of an interest which is beneficial will I be of perfect mind] (or, with the text of A. (D.J.): 'for him who is the good Chief of Haurvatāt and A. for him who is the good one of perfect mind'⁴ etc. . . .).

(18) And I sacrifice to the Fravaši of the Herd⁵ which is of bountiful gift,⁶ and to that of Gaya-maretan (the Life-man, the Iranian Adam), the Holy; (19) and I sacrifice here to the Fravaši of Zaratuštra Spitāma, the holy personality,⁷ and to Aša⁸ also, [that is to say, to Aša which is his duty done and his good works . . .].

¹ Nēr.'s svād'īnatayā may mean 'in relationship.' Aside from this, original 'possession' would be more natural; the Parsi-Pers. has *χvēš*, u *χvēš* *raftanī*.

² *Fsēratavō*, so rendered; so Nēr., no account of *fsē-*; so the Pers.

³ Not in the Av. text of Sp.

⁴ Notice that no suggestion of the meaning 'earth' is here made for Ār(a)maiti.

⁵ The genitive in the original shows that 'The Fravaši of the Herd' was also meant.

⁶ No sign of 'butter' here; but see note in S.B.E. xxxi, p. 252.

⁷ So *χayā*, 'body,' to be read as after *aharūv'*.

⁸ So for *ašimča* of the original; should this mean in the original 'his wealth'; 'I sacrifice to the wealth and to the Fravaši of Z.S. Nēr., who elsewhere renders *Aši* with *lakšmī*, 'wealth,' at least when accompanied with *vañghuhī*, has here *pūnyam*

YASNA XV (Sp.).

Acknowledgments.

(1) I would accept¹ (going on, as it were, with reciprocating affection to meet the honour of your) praising (which ye permit to me), O ye Amešaspends, and the office of Zaotar and the invocation (of your presence) at our sacrifices, and the (official) intoning of the Yasts, and the recitals² of the Yasna which are from³ you (that is to say, inspired and authorised by you (so Nēr., or simply ‘which are yours’)), O ye Amešaspends, and I would thoroughly fulfil a complete acceptance⁴ of your sacrifice⁵ and praise,⁵ ye who are the August Immortals.

(2) And this is (so, as the dative is not expressed; see, however, Nēr.,—and this is) done as (or ‘this subserves’) our enlightenment of soul⁶ and in, or ‘for’ our sanctity,⁷ (ours) who [are] the Holy Benefactors (of the Saints).

The Offering of All.

(3) Forth⁸ to you, O ye Amešaspends, the well-ruling and the well-giving, do I offer this my person and even mine own (meaning ‘my very’) body⁹;

(4) even forth to you (I offer) all the (blessings of) amenity [root and fruit (in return for what ye give me)¹⁰].

¹ Visāi, Nēr.’s pratikurve must also be so understood, the invitation of Ahura being reciprocated with affectionate acceptance.

² Fravāmešn’, better here as genitive; so elsewhere.

³ So Nēr., but was not min lekūm here meant merely to express the genitive; so elsewhere.

⁴ A great blunder, seeing some verb = ‘to take’ in the root of jaretā = singer. Nēr. follows, as does C., the Parsi-Pers.

⁵ No datives as in Nēr. and as in the original, but the genitive by position was seen.

⁶ So hu + ahū in this sense rather better than ‘good conscience,’ which is somewhat advanced for the document. Nēr. uttamohāya = ‘for our highest (meaning ‘our good’) reasoning,’ so preserving the dative.

⁷ Notice aharūv’ih for ašavastāiča.

⁸ Früz is hardly good for ‘pairi,’ which latter is a mere auxiliary term. Nēr. follows früz.

⁹ Xayā, and not aiš (?). Nēr. jivam, so for uštanem, which looks as if it were meant for ustanem, ud-tanem = ‘the stretched-out (skin).’ See Y. XXXIII, 14.

¹⁰ Nēr. prakṛṣṭam viçvāḥ sujīvanīḥ samagraṁ mūlaṁ p’alam

Invocations to the Sacrifice.

(5) With this Zaoθra (Zōhar)¹ and baresman I bid² every holy [and heavenly³] Yazat as a Chief (for the moment) to this sacrifice; (yea) every Chief of Aša (as the ritual, whomsoever, whether heavenly or earthly) do I bid to it.

(6) And I bid (so meaning) Hāvani⁴ at the ritual time (of it) and Sāvaŋghi and Vīsyā at this, the proper ritual time, and the Chiefs, all who (are) great, at (this⁵ their) ritual time

Proclamations of Devotion.

(7) I proclaim the Mazda-Yašt-worship of Zartušt⁶ (or 'I proclaim as an adherent to the Mazda-worship of Z.⁶) [that is to say, I interdict⁷ the wicked (or, with the 'ī' of Sp. 'I declare it among (?) the wicked')],⁸ (I), as demon-free and demon-severed, (so proclaim it) . . . (yet Nēr. has the acc. in both cases; and, as Pahlavi aside from the Av. text, we should undoubtedly render: ' . . . I proclaim the Mazdayašt system,' which is (vendīdād, i.e.) severed from the Demons); [that is to say, in connection

¹ Notice Nēr.'s prāṇena for 'pavan zōharak', as if he saw (?) a form of zan = 'to produce' in z.; or did he merely see a zavar = zōr in the sense of 'vital strength'?

² 'I desire.'

³ Notice the gloss mēnavad (so), added since Nēr. wrote his text, which does not show it. It was inserted to differentiate the concluding sentence.

⁴ Nēr., naturally led away by the positions, puts their names in the genitive.

⁵ Nēr. may have understood: 'from (i.e. 'on account of') the Chieftainship' more immediately than 'at the time,' but 'the time' was the moment of the especial sacrifice to each as the 'ritual Chief.'

⁶ The nominative case was naturally missed by Nēr., but the adjective force of -θriš was seen. This nominative of the original recalls the strikingly repeated 'I who' of Y. XXVIII and elsewhere. We must, of course, render all the forms of the Pahl. as nominative, in accordance with the original, where it may be at all possible, even if we hold that the last redactor of the Pahl. texts did not understand them thus, as did not also Nēr. For Nēr. 7-10 here see Y. 1, 65-68, incl.

⁷ Nēr. has the very doubtful and spiritless: kila mad'ye pāpakarminām bravīmi. I repeat the above translation from J.R.A.S., Oct., 1904, as being treated more fully and alternatively varied.

⁸ Notice the reiteration of abjurations. Was this occasioned by the overshadowing presence of the Deva-worship in Bombay and elsewhere in India? I should say 'hardly'; it is an echo from the Gāthic places.

with him, the reciter (or 'with it, the M. system), the Demons do not exist,'—(I) ?, as an Aūharmazd-lore (man), proclaim it (or 'I proclaim it as the system with A.'s lore and legal opinion'); [that is to say, his 'the reciter's system' (or 'its (the system's itself') religious opinion) is totally Aūharmazd's].

(8) Also for the sacrifice, praise, and propitiation, and the continuous blessing-prayers of Hāvani¹ do I proclaim (it?), the holy, the Chief of Aša (9) and for the sacrifice, praise, and propitiation and continuous blessing-prayer of Sāvaṅghi² and Vīsa,³ the holy Chief(s) of Aša (as the ritual law),

(10) and also for those of (see the original) the ritual Chief³ of this (particular) day, and hour (of the day-divisions, the Asnya) (and for those) of the (particular) month-Chiefs (which correspond); [and (for those of) the (particular) Gasāmbars], and (of this particular) year, which are (necessarily involved) for the sacrifice, praise, propitiation, and continuous blessing-prayer (āfrīn) (of each).

Intervening Antiphonals.

The Zōt (Zaotar) speaks: "As is the will of the Lord, as is the will of Aūharmazd, O Zōt, speak⁴ forth to me." Response. The Ratu: "As is the will of the (Ahu) Lord, as is the will of Aūharmazd, Thou who art the Zōt speak forth⁴

¹ Nēr. has hāūananāmnyāḥ prātaḥsaṇḍ'yāyāḥ puṇyātmakāyāḥ puṇyagurvyāḥ ārād'anāya namaskāraṇāya mānanāya prakāṇāya; see Y. I. 66, using the genitive intelligently for the datives of the original, so correctly recognising the form of the Pahl. as being genitive by position; cf. pavan yazešn' va nīyāyešn' va snāyēnītāriḥ va frāz afrīgānīh. Aside from the original and Nēr. we should, of course, render: 'I proclaim Hāvan, S. and V.'

² So upon 9 he continues in the genitive, amplifying sāūaṅghanāmnyāṇā yā samam hāūanasand'yayā samakāryinī yā ča yūt'āni gavām pravard'ayati vīsi-nāmnyāṇā puṇyātmakāyāḥ puṇyagurvyāḥ yā manuṣyeṣu moibadeṣu mad'ye satkāryinī ā. na. mā. prā. . . . Sāūaṅgha—is Sāvaṅghi, 'who is co-operative with Hāvani, and who increases the herds of cattle . . . visi . . . who is co-operative in the midst of priestly men' (or meaning 'men (and) priests, mōbeds').

³ Nēr. is closer to the original with his gurūpām saṇḍ'yānāmča dinānāmča māsānāmča gahambūrāpāmča samvat sarāpāmča ā. na. mā. prā.

⁴ Notice that mrūtē is rendered by the Pahl.'s imperative; did the translator regard mrūtē as an infinitive for imperative? Nēr. has brūhi.

to me.” The Zōt: “So with ritual exactness and with priestly legal authority in every particular forth do I address the Saints with knowledge; that is to say, ‘I declare this to be knowledge, that duty and good works are so ever to be done in accordance with the Destoor’s authority, as Aūharmazd desires¹ that they should be done.’”

YASNA XVI (Sp.).

Appeals to the Amešas.

(1) With learning,² since I am instructed in (or ‘since I have learnt’) the proper³ matter³ (of our religious interest), and with the friendship [of the Amešaspends], and with my own (that is to say, ‘with my personal and spontaneous’) joy (partaking of the delight of the holy act and not with stolid thoughtlessness),

(2) I call upon the Amešaspends by⁴ their beautiful [and good] name(s),

(3) and I sacrifice to them with (fervent) desire⁵ for the desired (aim) of the good Aša [which is the desire for duty and good works (the longing willingness to perform them)], and with the desire of a good Mazdayasnian [with a thoroughly (regulated) desire in accordance with this Dēn (the Holy Faith)].

Citation from Y. LI, 22.

(4) He⁶ whose best (act) is for me in accordance with the accompanying aid of Aša, [that is to say, on account

¹ Notice avāyat in an active sense. This text appears in B. (D., Pt. 4).

² So also Nēr., çikšayāča; the original, however, indicates ‘with teaching’ sastiča.

³ The Pers. has a čiš for čiz (so elsewhere), for a translation of the Pahl. mindavam. Nēr. renders šapīr with uttama-, meaning merely ‘good,’ and nēvak’ with sundara-, hardly meaning by it the usual Sanskrit definition ‘handsome,’ but merely another word for ‘good.’ I should not here prefer ‘for a benefit.’

⁴ I still render the original ‘together with the beautiful ones in name,’ (meaning merely ‘also the beautiful by name’).

⁵ I prefer the idea of ‘blessing’ for the original; Nēr., however, abīpsayā. C., the Parsi-Pers., has xvāhiš.

⁶ Nēr. has curiously the plural ‘ye.’

of the accompanying aid which is derived from Aša (as the embodied law)], from¹ the sacrifice [from² the sacrifice of my great one] on, (5) of that one Aūharmazd is cognisant. Who have been, and who also are, (6) to those do I sacrifice by their own names, and to them do I come on in friendship, [that is to say, I would act as in complete friendship to them; and I would present (gifts³ of offering to attest it)].

Citation from Y. LI, 1.

(7) The good King is (one accordant) with (our) desire, (that is, 'to be desired (vairyam)'); (he is) the (good) portion (of our luck which is) the bringing-on (of prosperity).⁴ (So, in view of the original), [that is to say, I offer wealth to him who desires a sovereign political power which is beneficial]. (8)⁵

YASNA XX.

The Pahl. translator's Commentary⁶ upon the Ašem Vohū.

[The Av. text of the Ašem Vohū is as follows:

Ašem vohū vahištem astī
Uštā astī uštā ahmāi
Hyat ašāi vahištāi ašem.]

¹ Nēr. has no rendering for the second li; and has 'in the most excellent ijisni (Yasna)'; so perhaps better than 'in my great Yasna.' See Gāθas, Y. LI, 22, for a slightly differing version.

² 'Min' hardly renders the loc. of the original; yet see Nēr.'s locative. Nēr.'s vettur svāminah is astray as to case. Nēr. differs considerably here from his rendering at Y. LI, 22.

³ Nēr. did not have γal yehabūnam in his Pahl. text. It was probably a characteristic addition made since his time.

⁴ As ordinary Pahlavi we should render: 'The advantageous means of one who is a king according to (our) choice is to be furthered'; but see the original. Nēr. has pārt'ivatvam here in the gloss. Nēr. has uttamām svāmikāminīm vib'ūtim upari varšāmi (sic; what Av. text?) [kilā'ham pārt'ivatvam tasmai dadāmi yasmāt mamača çub'am]. See Gāθas for the rest, pp. 340, 341, 594, 595.

⁵ For Y. XVI, 8, see Y. LV (LVI) in the Srōš Yašt, July number of this Journal, 1905. Texts Z.D.M.G., — 1905 (?). For XVII, J.A.O.S., July, 1905.

⁶ The critical reader should understand, as a matter of course, that these Pahlavi texts of translations and commentaries have been worked over times without number from the primitive epoch. An absolute break in the chain of tradition may have taken place; but as the texts have survived, their comments also for the most part must have survived with them, although in a constantly varied and imperfect condition. They generally alternate with the texts.

Translation of the Pahlavi Text.

(1) The Declaration¹ of Aūharmazd was this (that is, the text was as follows). Aša (the ritual holiness,¹ the religious rectitude in its totality) is the best benefit, (vohū vahištem), (as we should say, 'the highest good')² . . .

Comment.

Forth on by Him (Aūharmazd the originator, and proclaimer of the Ašem Vohu) the best benefit (vohū vahištem) has been assigned (literally 'taught') to that one (Aša; see the original Ašāi in accordance with it (the meaning of the formula) [that is to say, by Him (Aūharmazd) a benefit has been effected (i.e. brought to pass) in relation to³ him (Aša as recipient)] through whom [they (the people) would effect (each of them) his (or 'their') own individual spontaneous⁴ progress⁵; (so with much error; this would be as much as to say 'a blessing from Aūharmazd follows upon each man's individual effort'); that is to say, what it is just and necessary to give he (the individual pious

¹ At first sight we should say that Nēr. meant by his puṇyam an 'interior righteousness' alone; but 'puṇyavān asmi' used to mean almost 'I am in luck,' 'having in store an accumulation of ceremonial merit.' It is generally better to go beyond the abstract idea in rendering Aša. The 'moral idea' was included, and ceremonial merit was not excluded. The Archangel was also often held in view, but not here.

² So according to the original and Nēr. Otherwise the more natural rendering of the words would be 'the benefit of Aša is the best.' The rest of the text occurs as the Comment progresses.

³ C., the Parsi-Pers., renders 'az ū' curiously for pataš—original Av. ahmāi. Nēr., however, has tasmai, as we should expect. But Aša must here represent the human recipient.

⁴ This interesting idea of spontaneity and individualism in religious action arises, as I hold, from a misconception of the original, as to which see S.B.E. xxxi at the place. I hardly think that the idea of 'self' is directly indicated in the Avesta text of the Ašem Vohu. Nēr. has, however, sviye svayaṁ; the Parsi-Pers. xvēš.

⁵ The idea of 'progress' (so also the Parsi-Pers. raftanī) arises, as elsewhere, from a misconception occasioned by the form of the term 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌, which may have been read by the earlier translators in its semi-Pahlavi Av. value as aitem, suggesting a form of i, ae, 𐬎𐬌, 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌 = 'to go,' so in other places. Nēr. follows it with -pravṛttan (so).

effect]; that is to say, to bring on as an act of religious duty), [the active energy] of a man’ But such a neglect of the original is not permissible; (see *Gāθas*, Introduction); and this is fully indicated (*činasti*) to all the Saints; [that is to say, according to it¹ (this sentence), this benefit is to be effected for this one (also here representing the recipient orthodox citizen)].

(3) (*Hyat ašāi vahištāi*) and to him *Aša V.*: (see the dative); by it (this formula) (or ‘by him, Ahura’²) all [duty and good works] have been indicated; which is clearly contained in the *Manθra*; even to that one (*Aša* as representing the pious Saint) all the *Avesta* and *Zand* is taught (yea, to the *Ašavan*, the lawful Saint) by whom the *Avesta* and *Zend* have been made familiar; [that is to say, they would make that which is the doctrine of the *Avesta* and *Zend*, duty and good works, manifest (‘let their light so shine before men’?)].

(4) whereby (or ‘when’³) the sovereign authority (the political preponderance) is ascribed to *Aša* (*Ašāi*); [that is, when they (his Saints) would carry on the government with propriety; (the point of) the doctrine is (simply) this, that he, (the ruling disciple of *Aša*, the Head of the State)] inculcates (or ‘professes’ sovereign authority in pious propriety); [that is to say, (it should be also understood) that he (actually so) maintains the sovereign authority in propriety],

(5) whereby⁴ also (one) inculcates righteous regularity (*Ašem*) upon the invoking worshipper (the *Aša*-one). [That is to say, (in accordance with the formula) they would execute

¹ *Pataš* (*padaš*) is here translated by the Pers. *padaš*, elsewhere above *az ũ*.

² It is obvious that we must adhere to a sense as close as possible to the original, where *Aša* is the recipient; yet the glosses plainly show that the translators felt the difficulty. *Nēr.* breaks through it at once, and differs much; yet we must again be on our guard against seeing too thoroughly deep ideas in his *puṇyapračārayitā utkr̥ṣṭataram puṇyam āsvādayann āste*. It simply means ‘that the righteous one teaches.’

³ For *yaθa*.

⁴ *Nēr.* *Yah* (so, not being aware that *man’ič* could equal ‘*yaθa*’) *ākārayitre muktātmane satyam āsvādayati; kila, nyāyam satyam kurute*.

a just decree¹ (in matters ecclesiastical (so), or perhaps merely meaning: 'they would make a just distinction as to the procedure in the ceremonial invocations') . . .]

(6) whereby (one) even ascribes righteous justice (Ašem) to you, O ye (who) are² benefactors,³ [that is to say, they would effect a just religious⁴ legal opinion]. There has been a threefold point of religious legal opinion (in discussing the formula as above; see the three sections of the Ašem Vōhū), [that is to say, in (the course of discussing) it three⁵ distinctive judgments have intervened].

The entire statement [was] a proclamation; and every word [was] Aūharmazd's.

Catechetical Addition to the Commentary.

Aūharmazd proclaimed (a proclamation): *Quest.* On what account (or 'for whose sake'⁶) did He proclaim it? *Ans.* For the sake of the saint of Heaven and of the World, for the sake of the benefit(s) of (both) Heaven and of Earth.

Quest. On account of what, (as) his especial(ly) desired object, did he make his proclamation of the Ašem V.? (So, with great error as elsewhere, Nēr. following: 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀» (= vās) in 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀»𐬨𐬀 (= č v ā s) having become separated from 𐬨𐬀 (= č), was rendered as if to a form = Indian vānčč' = 'to desire'; see elsewhere; in Z.D.M.G.). *Ans.* That there might be a reign of an augments (so again with error, seeing a form of vaχš in vahištō, the Pers. follows with afzūnidār here; elsewhere it does not translate), the reign of one (or 'merely one') who should be a monarch

¹ Persian hukm.

² See Nēr.'s st'a.

³ The Parsi-Pers. has fāyandahmand here; but sūdmand elsewhere.

⁴ Dātōbarih, better dāt'barih. Nēr.'s mad'yešt'am looks like 'mediator' 'in the middle standing.' Nēr. is again personal with yaḥ . . . triṇyāyī b'ūtaḥ.

⁵ The Pers. omits 'si'; hukm andar būd.

⁶ So unnecessarily, Nēr. following the original with kasmai. Or does the rāi merely express the dative? Rāi would be rather 'strong' for it.

of desire¹ (so, taking up the false *kāmakīh* from above, but meaning 'a Lord able to fulfil his purpose,' an *aešaχšaθra*; cf. Y. XXIX).

Quest. How much is it fully necessary to say for the sake of the Saints? *Ans.* So, until when he becomes an increaser of prosperity, one even who may be a lord beyond desire (i.e. having nothing left to wish for).

YASNA XXI.

The Pahlavi Text² of the Yeñhyā Hātām translated.

[An Introduction is here inserted by the present writer, the Av. text of the Yeñhyā Hātām being cited from Yasna IV.

Yeñhyā hātām āat yeṣnē paitī vañhyō
Mazdāo Ahurō vaēθā aṣāt hačā
Yāonhāmčā tāscā tāoscā yazamaide.

Translation of the Pahlavi Text from Y. IV.

Aūharmazd (is) cognisant (vaēθā = ākās) of that benefit³ for that one⁴ (which appertains to the worshipper) whose (yeñhyā) devotion is (continued) on (mē'im)⁴ among (or 'of') beings (hātām) in the sacrifice (Nēr. *ijisniyā*) (so), [that is to say, they would perform the sacrifice on account of that benefit³] of (so, mistaking the case; Nēr. follows) Aūharmazd, [the King⁵ (He (A.) knows this to have been done effectively)]. From the assisting help of Aša (the Angel of the ritual Law) He is cognisant of this merit of whatsoever kind from (that is to say, 'on account of') His exact sanctity in the ceremonies (aṣāt hačā) of whatsoever description.

¹ Nēr. *akāmarājānam*, or 'without wanton desire'; but this, while good (?) for the original, would be flat for the Pahl. The Parsi-Pers. follows.

² See for the Pahlavi text as edited with all the MSS. collated, Z.D.M.G., Heft ii for 1904.

³ So for *vahyō*, which I render more in the moral sense.

⁴ *Mē'im* seems to have been rendered aside from *yeṣne*, which is rendered by *pavan yazešn'*. Nēr. has *uttame loc. absolute* with *vettari*.

⁵ Whence the King of the Avesta Comm. text as compared with the Yeñhyā?

[That is to say, Aūharmazd is cognisant (and mindful) of that duty and of those good works¹ which have been done by him, the worshipper, for the sake of the recompense and the reward]; to (them?) all in a company² together (so for 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀 yāonhām), both males and females (to them) do I sacrifice, [to the Amešaspends (?) on do I sacrifice, to the males; they are good; and to the females³ those (are also good).]

(A translation of Nēr.'s text of the Yeñhyā Hātām would run somewhat as follows; but it must as usual be interrupted with comment, as it was hardly intended to be a fluent reproduction: 'Those who of (or 'from') existing beings' (see ablative for genitive (Pahl. min) hardly 'those who for existing beings'), precisely through the Yasna (instr. for pavan yazešñ with upari referred to what follows; yet see its place in the Av. original, which was however not immediately the original of Nēr.) of Hormijda, the Lord (how else shall we treat this gen. in view of the Pahl. and the gloss.?).

[That is to say, those who, as pre-eminent (pračurāḥ. Does it refer to χvataī or [-tiyā?]) celebrate Yasnas in honour of Hormijda] on account of (upari helping out a loc. absolute) the Good One (uttame = šapīr = vahyō, this last perhaps conceived of as a loc. of va(n)hu (so vohu) = 'the Good One,' Hormijda) being aware (lit. 'being a knower' = vaēθā as if read as the verbal noun) from (His) sanctity (possibly meaning 'as regards sanctity') [which (is, yat = an ī = 'which means') that Hormijda is cognisant (veti) of the matter (? kinčit) which is a giving of the reward of (or 'for') sanctity]; to these altogether, males and females, do I sacrifice [that is, to the Amešaspends, male and female (so, with error, and referring as usual to the non-feminine and feminine elements in their names)].)]

¹ In the gloss. the moral idea becomes more prominent.

² Did he mistake yāonhām for a form of yuj (sic!)?

³ I think that the Amešas are not in place here; 'males and females' are intelligently taken from tāsča, tāosča, but erroneously referred to the Amešas.

(YASNA XXI continued.)

The Pahlavi Text of the Commentary upon the Yeñhyā Hātām translated.

(1) There was a word of the Yasna of Zartušt the Saint (as follows in the Yeñhyā): ‘Yeñhyā Hātām’ (text; translation); ‘to him of beings do I sacrifice whose (yeñhyā) (benefit) in the sacrifice is thus continuous’ (so, mēim; or, merely meaning ‘in it’ = paiti). Comment: Here Aūharmazd has described the Yasna (or, ‘here Aūharmazd’s¹ Yasna is indicated or described’ (literally ‘is taught’ this for yasnem činasti) by Him (Aūharmazd, or by the Authoritative religious teacher)) [that is to say, they would make it his] whose is the instituted law of Aūharmazd (meaning, ‘by whom that law is cherished’), [that is, his is the correct(ly) instituted law whose is the Yasna (meaning, ‘that the sacrifice is the one all-important centre of established religious and civil regulations’; compare the Vedic idea of the sacrifice as the centre of everything)]. (So this much, as now stated) has been now indicated by him, the Commentator (or by Him, Aūharmazd). (Cf. the Yeñhyā Hātām. This was the first distinction.) That is to say, they would make it more his² (or ‘they would offer it further on to Him’); (2) according to³ which (man = yaθra) one expresses continuously (bastān as a mistake; so the Pers. hamišah for haḍbīš, haḍa- seen as = Indian saha = ‘always’) a wish for the birth⁴ (meaning ‘for the life,’ so, for jījīšām) [of men; that is to say, one declares to them the matter (of the duty and the reward; see above), since (or ‘in order that’) it may be possible (ašaconinām Ār(a)maiti)

¹ Nēr. has ‘Yaḥ (yo)’; ya itra, Mahājñānin (i.e. voc.?).

² C., the Parsi-Pers., has zyādah, with which he renders frāz above.

³ Nēr. yaḥ (?) kuṭumbinām jīvitasya ākāṅkṣī. C., the Parsi-Pers., does not translate zāyešn. Notice the correct etymology of zāyešnī x̌vāhešn (together with its egregious error as a translation for jījīšām).

⁴ While bastān seems to render haḍbīš, yet it (haḍbīš) seems to be again rendered with anšūtān, quite a common circumstance with the translators; in fact, this was their idea of an alternative.

for them to live aright]¹ Yāonhām (iḍa . . . paoiryanām) (Text, comment follows): Here he has fully indicated the sacrifice of the Saints² [male and female] who are the first through their perfect mind³ (sic). (Or ought we not to see the sense of the original: 'who (which females) holy ones (the Amešaspends) are the first with Ār(a)maiti (i.e. having A. as their first in the course of an enumeration of these feminine names'⁴)? But there is the erroneous gloss; ašaoninām cannot include the male or non-feminine names.) This would be the second 'distinction,'

(3) through which⁵ is the praise of the Amešaspends [that is to say, they would thus celebrate the Aūstōfrīt of the Amešaspends]. (This, as above explained) was the threefold point of doctrine (expressed in the formula Yeñhyā Hātām) [that is to say, his⁶ threefold distinction was within it (comprehended) within all this Yasna-saying (the Yeñhyā)].

Catechetical.

Question 1: 'To whom⁷ [was] this Yasna (addressed)?'

Answer: 'To the August Immortals in the course of this (full) Yasna'

¹ Nēr. has sād'u; see vahyō as neuter.

² The fem. of ašaoninām is carefully indicated by this gloss. Nēr. did not see the fem.; see muktātmanām; and he omits the gloss.

³ As might be expected, Nēr. is here abstract with his 'saṃpūrṇamanasā prāktanānām.'

⁴ Perhaps I was too objective in S.B.E. xxxi, at the place; but it was tempting to write 'with Ār(a)maiti at their head.' Why is Ār(a)maiti mentioned in the original of the Comment? Was it in view of the following verse, and possibly because she begins the group of the feminine names of the Amešaspends, the first three being neuter and the last three feminine. Here we should have a glance toward ašaoninām or vagdān.

⁵ Nēr., as ever, 'yaḥ,' missing only the formal point of the syntax. Aūstōfrīt' (or Aūšta'frīt (? N.B.)) seems to have been a sacred term expressing a prayer, supplicating a blessing; cf. uštā ahmāi + frīt'. It has technical meaning for Nēr. Was it another name for the Ašem Vohū?

⁶ Nēr., as ever, personal triṇyāyī b'ūtaḥ; kila nyāyoṣu triṣu mad'ye b'ūtaḥ. His yo (yaḥ) must refer to Zaraθuštra as representing the typical worshipper; see yo datte svāmine Vāk, which otherwise might be the subject, is feminine. The threefold distinction has reference to the subject of the Yeñhyā conceived as divided into three points for discussion; see the three lines; though we may ourselves divide it variously.

⁷ Nēr. this time has an oblique case: kasyo 'pari ijisniḥ? Ans. amarāṇām gurutarāṇām upari ijisniḥ (upari = pavan = paiti here).

The Uštā Ahmāi.

Avesta text: uštā ahmāi yahmāi uštā kahmāičit . . .

Thereupon spake Aūharmazd thus: 'beatified¹ (is he, nēvak' for uštā) from whom is (derived) a benefit (nēvakih = uštā) for him (the ordinary worshipper) whosoever² (he may be)'

(As ordinary Pahlavi, and in fact in this case we must render): 'Also upon him (whosoever he may be), Aūharmazd bestows a sovereign authority according to his desire³ [according to the desire of the former (literally, 'of *that* (person)']. But, with the original in view, the earliest commentators may well have meant: 'also upon him does the one possessing an absolute sovereign authority (an authority according to his desire) bestow it (the benefit expressed in uštā²),' (so, as a possessive compositum)

Further Catechetical Zand.

(*Question*) What was in that saying? What was the answer to the statements which was uttered? What was that subject-matter? What was said? He answered (that is, 'the meaning of his answer was'): 'A beneficial future'⁴ (so with great error); (and that) a beneficial future progress⁵ (for) every kind of saint, (for those) living (lit. 'for those who are'), and for those who have lived

¹ Nēr. seems anxious to notice the formally inflected uštā; so he uses the dative, sundarāya, 'for a beneficial (hardly 'for a handsome') result': Hormijda spoke 'to him to whom there is a benefit for everyone.' As to this fine sense reported by the translators, I fear it cannot be defended; see Gāthas at the place, texts, trls., and comm.

² C., the Parsi-Pers., has kudām.

³ So Nēr., 'a kingdom with his own wish,' Svečč'ayā rājyaṃ mahājñāni dadāti svāmī [kila samīhitena nijena (this last explaining Nēr.'s svečč'ayā)]

⁴ As elsewhere the termination 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 of uštātātem must have been read as = Pahl. . . 𐬀𐬀 = ai . . . , so misleading the translator, who saw a form of i, aē = 'to go' in it, hence his rōvešnīh (sic). Nēr. follows with his vṛttimā.

⁵ Nēr. rather tamely inserts 'the reward.'

(lit. 'who were'), and for those who are to be (lit. 'who are becoming' (yehvünd in this sense)).¹

According to the Pahlavi the answer continues: 'the augmentor (of prosperity) is [that man]'; and he answered in the sense of 'prosperity increasing' (so for vahištem, seeing, as elsewhere, a form of vakš = 'to increase' in vahišt = 'best,' also erroneously a masculine instead of a neuter²); and he made answer in (the sense of) 'increasing prosperity' [that is, he uttered a reward of Aūharmazd's for the increasing of prosperity (as his answer)] (Or 'Aūharmazd (omit i) uttered the reward,' so Nēr., and the original; but did the latest Pahl. translator understand it so? See zag gabrā = 'that man' which Nēr. omits) that increasing of prosperity which is sacred; but I (would) say (this is a note of the last editor of the future commentary, and perhaps intended as rejecting a reading in the plural which Nēr. may have followed): 'through these is an increase of (future) prosperity for the Saints.'

¹ So Nēr. satāmča atitānāmča b'avišyānāmča. The Parsi-Pers. gives us a valuable item, confirming the sense of yehvünd; he has xvāhad būd. Notice this expression of the future.

² The accuracy of the translation is destroyed, as elsewhere where vahišt occurs, by the curious misapprehension of 'vahišt.' The Parsi-Pers. translator does not translate vaḡsēnītār here, as if he felt its incongruity; elsewhere he renders it by the same word which occurs in the other language.

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XXV.

NOTES ON THREE BUDDHIST INSCRIPTIONS.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

The inscription on the Piprāwā vase.

FOR representations of the now well known Piprāwā relic-vase, reference may be made to this Journal, 1898. 579, plate, bottom; to *Antiquities in the Tarai*, plate 28, fig. 2, and see plate 13, fig. 1; and to Mr. Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, 14, plate.

The inscription on it has been figured in this Journal, 1898. 577, and in *Antiquities in the Tarai*, plate 13, fig. 2. But it is to be hoped that it may prove practicable to prepare, from the plaster cast which was sent to this Society (see this Journal, 1898. 868), a facsimile reproduction which would enable us to judge the inscription properly from the palæographic point of view; that cannot be done from those two representations of it.

The record itself has been handled, in respect of its text and translation, in this Journal, 1898. 388, 586, 588, note; and 1899. 426.

I have lately had occasion to examine this record for myself. And I find much to say in connection with it which has not as yet been said. For the present, however, I only draw attention to two preliminary points.

In the first place, the record is not inscribed in two lines, though it has been so treated in this Journal, 1898. 586. It runs round the body of the upper part, the removable top, of the vase, in one line, but with two syllables, *yanam*, above the line.

In the second place, the record does not begin with the word *iyam*, though it has hitherto always been treated as if that were the case. It begins with the word *Sukiti-bhatinam*.

The commencement of this record is, indeed, not marked by any special device, such as the vertical line between the first and last words which is found in the inscription on the Sōnāri vase, dealt with on the next page. But it is marked with equal plainness by the fact that the syllables *yanam*, of the word *Sakiyanam*, stand above the line, over the syllables *suki* of the word *Sukiti-bhatinam*. The word *Sakiyanam* was manifestly engraved last, as the final word of the record. There was no room for the syllables *yanam* on the line. Therefore, as in the case of the final syllables *yasa* of the Sōnāri record, they were placed above the line. But, there being here no impediment, such as the vertical line which stands there, they were not unnaturally placed so as to be read straight on, with an avoidance of any looking back, after the syllables *saki* of the word which they complete.

With the assumption that the original shews the *Anusvāras* throughout, the Piprāwā record therefore runs thus:—

Text.

Sukiti-bhatinam sa-bhaginikanam sa-puta-dalanam iyam
salila-nidhanē Budhasa bhagavatē Sakiyanam.

And the exact meaning of it, according to the order of the words in the original, is as follows:—

Translation.

Of the brethren of the Well-famed One, together with (*their*) sisters (*and*) together with (*their*) children and wives, (*is*) this receptacle (or deposit) of relics of Budha, the Blessed One; (*namely*) of the Sakiyas.

Why the order of the words should have been thus arranged, is not altogether apparent. But it is just possible that the word *sakiya* was used in a two-fold sense; first, as the tribal name, and secondly, as equivalent to the Sanskrit

svakiya, 'own.' In that event, the translation would be:—
 " of relics of Budha; (*namely*) of the own Sakiyas
 of the Blessed One;" that is, of the members of that
 particular line of the Sakiyas to which Buddha himself
 belonged.

The inscription on a vase from Sōnāri.

The record with which I deal here was first brought to notice by General Sir Alexander Cunningham, in his *Bhilsa Topes*, 121, 317. It is on a relic-vase which was found by him in the Stūpa No. 2 at Sōnāri, near the well-known Sāñchi in the Bhōpāl State, Central India, and which appears to be now in the British Museum.

The inscription on the vase is figured in *Bhilsa Topes*, plate 24, "box" No. 3. And an excellent illustration of the vase itself, shewing the whole of the inscription very clearly, has been given in this Journal, 1898. 579, plate, above the illustration of the Piprāwā vase. I work from that illustration of the record.

This record commences with the word *sapurisasa*. We know that, not only because various other similar records begin in the same way, but also because here there is a vertical line, extending both above and below the line of writing, before that word. As in the case of the Piprāwā record, the inscription runs in one line round the body of the upper part, the removable top, of the vase. And the final syllables *yasa*, for which there was no room in the line of writing, stand before the vertical line, and over the syllables *vatāchari* of the word which they complete.

Text.

Sapurisasa Kōtiputasa Kāsapagōtasa sava-Hēmavat-
 āchariyasa.

Translation.

(*Relics*) of the sainted (literally, the good man) Kōtīputa,
 (*namely*) of Kāsapagōta, the teacher of all the Himavat
 region (or, of all the people of Himavat).

Now, tradition tells us that, after the third so-called "Council," which was held in or about the eighteenth year after the anointment of Aśōka to the sovereignty, Moggaliputta-Tissa, the president of the "Council," sent forth certain Thēras to establish the Buddhist doctrine in *pachchanta*-lands; that is, in border-lands, in territories bordering, it may be, on the dominions of Aśōka, or, it may be, on the Madhyadēśa, the middle region, the central land, the special sphere of Buddhism.

Nine missions are said to have been sent out. And the assertion is, as we shall see, so well authenticated to a sufficient extent by inscriptions, the best evidence of all, in respect of a mission to the Himavat region, the Himālayas, that, as nothing to the contrary is known, and as nothing improbable is involved, there really seems no reason for refusing to believe the whole statement.

At the same time, there is nothing to lead us to suppose that the missions were sent out by king Aśōka, and to speak of them by any such appellation as "the missions of Aśōka."

The earlier Ceylonese chronicle, the *Dīpavaṃsa*, says (ed. Oldenberg, 8. 1, 2):— "The far-seeing Moggaliputta, having by supernatural vision beheld the establishment of the doctrine in the future in the border-land, sent out the Thēras Majjhantika and others, each with four (*companions*), for the establishment of the doctrine in the border-land (*and*) for the enlightenment of sentient beings."

The same is said by Mahānāman in the earlier part of the other Ceylonese chronicle, the *Mahāvamsa*, written by way of being a commentary on the *Dīpavaṃsa*, which certainly needed, and still needs, elucidation in various respects, though it does not deserve a somewhat scathing criticism which has been passed upon it. Adding a little detail of his own, regarding the time of year at which the missions are supposed to have started, Mahānāman has said (Turnour, 71):— "Having accomplished the (*third*) joint rehearsal (*of the scriptures*), (*and*) being engaged in viewing the future, the Thēra Moggaliputta, the illuminator

of the doctrine of the Jina, having perceived the establishment of the doctrine in border-lands, sent out, in the month Kattika, these and those Thēras hither and thither.”

So, again, from India, Buddhaghōsha, who wrote some forty years before Mahānāman, has said in the introduction to his Samantapāsādikā (Vinayapitaka, ed. Oldenberg, 3. 314):— “We are told that the Thēra Moggaliputta-Tissa, having accomplished the (*third*) joint rehearsal of the faith, reflected thus: ‘How, indeed, may the doctrine become well-established in the future?’ Then it occurred to him, thinking over matters: ‘Verily, it will become well-established in the border-countries.’ (*And so*), having weighed (*the merits of*) these and those Bhikkhus, he sent these and those Bhikkhus here and there.”

Thus, all the three authorities attribute the despatch of the missions entirely to Moggaliputta-Tissa. And nothing is known from epigraphic sources, tending to render that attribution questionable.

It may be remarked that the Dīpavaṃsa rather curiously omits, so far at least as the published text goes, to state the name of the country to which the Thēra Rakkhita was sent; it says (8. 6):— “Then another (*Thēra*) Rakkhita, skilled in magical transformations, having risen into the air, preached the Anamataggiya (*doctrine*).” The name of this country, Vanavāsi, is supplied by Buddhaghōsha (*loc. cit.*), and by Mahānāman (*loc. cit.*), who obtained it from him.

For the rest, though the Dīpavaṃsa states that four companions were given to each leader of a mission, it names companions in only the case of the mission to the Himālayas. It says (8. 10):— “And the Thēra who (*was*) Kassapagotta, Majjhima, Durabhisara,¹ Sahadēva, (*and*) Mūlakadēva,— they evangelised the tribe of the Yakkhas in Himavanta.”

On the other hand, Mahānāman has said nothing about each of the leaders being supplied with four companions; and he has named companions, four in number, only in the case of the Thēra Mahā-Mahinda who was deputed to

¹ Regarding this corrupt name, see page 687 below.

Laṅkādīpa, Ceylon. In respect of the mission to the Himālayas, he has said in the first place (Turnour, 71):— “He sent the Thēra Majjhima to the Himavanta region.” But further on in the same chapter he has said (Turnour, 74):— “Having gone with four Thēras, the sage Majjhima taught the Dhammachakkappavattana (*discourse*) in the Himavanta region: they caused eighty crores of living beings to reach the fruition of the paths (*of sanctification*); those five Thēras evangelised five countries, each of them one: in the presence of each of them, a hundred thousand men became wandering religious ascetics, through faith in the doctrine of Him who fully attained perfect knowledge.” He has not, however, named the “four Thēras.” The names given in brackets by Turnour as “Kassapo, Mālikā-dēva, Dhundābhīnno and Sahasadēvo,” and by Wijesinha (48) as “Kassapa, Mūlakādēva, Dhandhabinnassa, and Sahasadēva,” seem to have been taken from the commentary.

Buddhaghōsha, however, like the Dīpavaṃsa, has stated that each leader of a mission was attended by four companions (*loc. cit.*). And he has named the companions in the case of the mission to the Himālayas, as well as in the case of the mission to Ceylon. In respect of the mission to the Himālayas, he has first said (*loc. cit.*):— “He sent the Thēra Majjhima to the region of Himavanta.”¹ But, further on, he has said more fully (*op. cit.* 317):— “Again, the Thēra Majjhima, with the Thēra Kassapagotta, the Thēra Alakadēva, the Thēra Dundubhissara, and the Thēra Sahadēva, went to the region of Himavanta, and evangelised that territory (*dēsa*) by narrating the Dhammachakkappavattana-Suttanta, and caused eighty crores of living beings to obtain the treasures of the fruition of the paths (*of sanctification*). And

¹ The expression in the original is *Himavanta-padēsabhāga*, which might be rendered “a part of the region of the Himavanta;” especially in view of the fact that, according to Buddhaghōsha, the Thēra Majjhantika, who was deputed to Kashmīr and Gandhāra, converted also numbers of Yakkhas, Gandhabbas, and Kumbhaṇḍas, dwelling on Himavanta. But that appears to have been done by Majjhantika *en route* to the country or countries —(the Dīpavaṃsa mentions only Gandhāra)— to which he had been sent. And *padēsabhāga* seems to be constantly used in Pāli in the sense of simply the Sanskrit *pradēśa*, *dēśa*, ‘region, country.’

these five Thēras evangelised five countries (*pañcha ratṭhāni*); in the presence of each of them, a hundred thousand people became wandering religious ascetics. Thus they established the doctrine there." Finally, he has summed up the account of this mission in a verse, which says (*loc. cit.*):— "The Thēra Majjhima went to Himavanta, and evangelised the band of the Yakkhas, expounding the Dhammachakka-ppavattana."

Thus, we see that the Dīpavaṃsa plainly indicates Kassapagotta as the leader of the mission to the Himālayas, and marks Majjhima as one of his companions. Next, Buddhaghōsha reverses the relative positions of these two persons, and finally marks Majjhima as the leader of the mission. And then Mahānāman ignores Kassapagotta altogether, and mentions only Majjhima in this matter.

Owing to views propounded when only the Mahāvaṃsa was known to European inquirers, Mahānāman's version of the matter has been generally accepted. And two recent writers of high authority have even cited, in support of it, a Sāñchi inscription, adduced by them as describing Majjhima as *sava-Hēmavat-āchariya*, "the teacher of all the Himavat regions." That, however, is a mistake, which must be attributed to an omission to make a personal examination of the epigraphic records.

There is not, in reality, any known inscription, either from Sāñchi or from any other place, which speaks of Majjhima in the terms which have been alleged. And, on the other hand, the inscriptions distinctly shew what the real facts were.

In the Sāñchi Stūpa No. 2, there was obtained a relic-casket which bears inscriptions (*Bhilsa Topes*, 119, 287, and plate 20, "box" No. 1) to the following purport. On the outside of the lid:— "(Relics) of the sainted Kāsapagōta, the teacher of all the Himavat region;" matching exactly, except in the omission of the metronymic, our Sōnāri inscription. On the inside of the lid (the word "outside" in *Bhilsa Topes*, plate 20, is a mistake; see pp. 119, 287):— "(Relics) of the sainted Majjhima." And on the outside of the lower part of the casket:— "(Relics) of the sainted Hāritiputa."

It is, in fact, simply a combination of the first two of these three records, which has led to the belief that there is an inscription which characterises Majjhima as the teacher of all the Himavat region. And that combination seems to have been made as the result of taking the rather exceptional personal name Kāsapagōta in a different sense; namely, as meaning 'belonging to the Kāsapā clan,' and as qualifying Majjhima. But, if Majjhima was Kāsapagōta, the teacher of all the Himavat region, it is difficult to understand why there should be two separate inscriptions for relics of him deposited in one and the same box. And, as regards the personal name Kāsapagōta, it may be remarked that it occurs as such in also the Vinayapiṭaka, Mahāvagga, 9. 1 (ed. Oldenberg, 1. 312):— Kassapagottō nāma Bhikkhu; "the monk by name Kassapagotta."

The other inscriptions, however, make the distinction between the two persons perfectly unmistakable.

First, there is our Sōnāri inscription, the subject of the present note, which mentions Kāsapagōta, the teacher of all the Himālaya region, with the metronymic Kōtīputa.

In the second place, from the same deposit in the Sōnāri Stūpa No. 2, there was obtained another relic-vase bearing an inscription (*Bhilsa Topes*, 317, and plate 24, "box" No. 2) to the following purport:— "(Relics) of the sainted Majjhima, (*namely*) of Kōḍiniputa."

This latter record marks Majjhima, Majjhima, as a Kōḍiniputa. Our record marks Kāsapagōta, Kassapagotta, as a Kōtīputa. These two different metronymics stamp the two persons as perfectly distinct individuals. And nothing remains to support the belief that Majjhima is mentioned in an inscription as the teacher of all the Himavat region.

These Sāñchi and Sōnāri records, probably of the third century B.C., certainly not later than the early part of the second century, are of considerably greater authority than the statements of Buddhaghōsha and Mahānāman, written some six or seven hundred years later. In fact, in any matter of disagreement, they would be valid even against

the *Dīpavaṃsa*, though we may perhaps carry back some portions of that work to even the same early time. But there is no such disagreement here. The inscriptions are exactly in concord with the *Dīpavaṃsa*.

In what circumstances the Indian tradition, recorded by Buddhaghōsha and then accepted by Mahānāman, came to depose Kassapagotta from the leadership of the mission, and to put Majjhima in his place, is not at present apparent. But the inscriptions distinctly endorse the statement of the *Dīpavaṃsa*, and establish the fact, that Kassapagotta was the leader of the mission to the Himālayas.

Mahānāman's treatment of the whole account of the missions is very instructive. He omitted anything which apparently did not interest him. But, otherwise, he followed Buddhaghōsha very closely; adopting a great deal of his phraseology, but adapting it, by changing words and making little additions, to his own composition in verse against Buddhaghōsha's prose. The result is quite enough to make it obvious that, for the original Ceylonese tradition in other matters also,—and, as regards the period from the time of Buddha to the arrival of Mahinda and Saṅghamittā in Ceylon, for the earlier Indian tradition, carried to Ceylon, and preserved for us there,—we must go to the *Dīpavaṃsa*.

Another inscription from Sōnāri.

There is another epigraphic record which gives further corroboration of the *Dīpavaṃsa*, 8. 10, in respect of another of the four companions, there named (see page 683 above), of Kassapagotta, the leader of the mission to the Himālayas. The companion is that one whose name stands in the published text in the form *Durabhisara*, which, however, Professor Oldenberg has in his index marked as corrupt or doubtful. In Buddhaghōsha's introduction to his *Samantapāsādikā*, the name appears in its correct form, *Dundubhissara* (see page 684 above); but with the various reading *Duddabhiya*. Judged from the forms given by Turnour and Wijesinha (see page 684 above), it seems to have been

corrupted in Ceylon into something like Dundubhinasa or Dhundhurinasa.

The record in question is the inscription, found and brought to notice by Sir A. Cunningham (*Bhilsa Topes*, 121, 316), on the front and back of a small piece of stone about $\frac{3}{4}$ " in length by $\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth, which had been deposited inside a crystal relic-casket in the Sōnāri Stūpa No. 2. I edit it from his reproduction of it in *Bhilsa Topes*, plate 24, "box" No. 1.

As regards my reading of the proper name presented in this record,—there is a temptation to restore an Anusvāra, which very possibly stands in the original, though the reproduction does not shew it, and so to read *Dundubhisara*. We have, however, distinctly *Suganam*, not *Sumganam*, in an inscription at Bharaut (IA, 14. 138, and plate); and probably other instances of an apparently unnecessary and improper omission of an Anusvāra could easily be found. So, the Anusvāra may have been omitted here also; and I refrain from supplying it. With this reservation, the record runs thus:—

Text.

- 1 Sapurisasa Gōti-
- 2 putasa Hēmavata-
- 3 sa Dudubhisa-
- 4 ra-dāyādasā

Translation.

(*Relics*) of the sainted Gōtiputa, of the Himavat region, (*namely*) of Dudubhisara, an heir of the faith.

As regards the word *Dudubhisara - dāyāda*, it seems sufficiently obvious that it is a Karmadhāraya compound, not a Tatpurusha; that is, *dāyāda* qualifies *Dudubhisara*, just as, for instance, *muni* qualifies *Gautama* in *Gautama-muni*, "the saint Gautama," and the compound means not "an heir of Dudubhisara," but "Dudubhisara, who was an heir."

The exact meaning to be given to *dāyāda*, 'inheritor, heir,' which stands here for a fuller expression, *sāsana-dāyāda*, 'inheritor of the doctrine, heir of the faith,' is found in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, 7. 17 (ed. Oldenberg; compare the *Mahāvamsa*, Turnour, 36), in a statement put into the mouth of Moggaliputta-Tissa in the following circumstances. Aśoka had announced to the community of monks that he had become an heir of the faith of the teacher Buddha,¹ in virtue of his great liberality to the followers of the doctrine, and of the wealth that he had spent in founding 84,000 monasteries, and of the enormous daily offerings made by him. This came to the ears of Moggaliputta-Tissa, "the clever decider of cases," who, in order to secure the comfortable existence of the community, and to propagate and ensure the continuance of the doctrine, asserted to Aśoka that even the giver of any amount of the things that constituted the four requisites of Buddhist monks, namely clothing, food, bedding, and medicine, was still a stranger to the doctrine, outside its pale; and that he only might become a veritable heir of the faith² who should give up a son or a daughter, legitimate issue, to become a wandering religious ascetic. Thereupon, to make things doubly sure, Aśoka dedicated to an ascetic life, with their consent, both his son the prince Mahinda and his daughter Saṃghamittā, and so became an heir of the faith.

As regards other points,— my treatment of the important detail in this record, the personal name, differs so much from that given to it by Sir A. Cunningham, that it seems necessary to say something in explanation.

In one transcription of the record (*Bhilsa Topes*, 316), he presented the name as Dadabhisāra; and, it may be observed, he there placed the word *sara* before *Hēmacatasa*. In his other transcription (*id.* 121), he gave the name as Dadabhisara, with the short *a*; and he there presented it as a separate genitive, *Dadabhisarasa dāyādasā*. But we distinctly have

¹ Verse 3: *dāyādō satthu Buddhassa sāsane*.

² Verse 17: *sō vē dāyādō sāsane*.

the base in composition, not a separate genitive ; there is no *ā* in the third syllable ; there is distinctly the vowel *u* attached to the consonant of each of the first two syllables ; and there is not the word *sava* before *Hēmavataśa*.

He took the name as a tribal appellation. And he rendered the record thus :— “ (Relics) of the emancipated Goti-putra, the relation [of the faith] amongst the Dadabhisaras of the Hemawanta ” (*id.* 121) ; and again :— “ (Relics) of the emancipated Gotiputra, the brother of religion amongst the Dardabhisāras of the Hemawanta ” (*id.* 316). In doing so, however, he invented a word *Dārdabhisāra*, which he explained (*id.* 121) as denoting “ the hilly country lying on both banks of the Indus, to the west of Kashmir.”

He was thinking, of course, partly of the tribe of the Darads, Daradas, or Dāradas, and partly of the *Dārvābhisāra*, the country of the *Dārvas* and the *Abhisāras*, of, for instance, the *Rājataraṃgiṇī*, l. 180 ; which latter word denotes (see Dr. Stein’s note on that passage, and the previous authorities referred to by him) the territory of the lower and the middle hills of Kashmīr between the *Chandrabhāgā*, *Chināb*, and the *Vitastā*, *Jēhlam*. And that is the influence which led him to misread the proper name, and to interpret the record wrongly.

The record is quite clear and unmistakable ; so much so, that I had recognised the name, and its alternative Sanskrit form, even before looking into *Buddhaghōśa*’s account of the mission.

It commemorates an heir of the faith named *Dudubhisara*, — or *Duṃdubhisara*, if we supply the *Anusvāra*, — who had the metronymic *Gōtiputa*, and who, whether by birth or by domiciliation or in some other way, belonged to the territory of the *Himālaya* mountains.

And, taking one thing with another, we cannot doubt that we have here the mention, not of some other person of the same name, but of that *Dundubhissara* who was one of the companions of the *Thēra Kassapagotta* of the *Dīpavaṃsa*, the *Kōtīputa-Kāsapagōta* of the *Sōnāri* inscription (page 681 above), who was the leader of the mission to the *Himālayas*.

The Sanskrit form of the name may have been either Dundubhisvara, 'having a voice sounding like a drum,' which occurs as a proper name in the Lalitavistara, ed. Lefmann, 171, line 11 ; or else Dundubhīśvara, 'drum-lord,' which, according to Burnouf, Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien, 1. 530, occurs as the name of a Buddha. In either case, the original reading in the Dīpavaṃsa, 8. 10, would be *Dum̐dubhissarō*, which exactly suits the metre.

XXVI.

MAS'UD-I-SA'D-I-SALMAN

BY MÍRZÁ MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABDU'L-WAHHÁB OF QAZWÍN.

Translated by E. G. BROWNE.

THE following critical study of a Persian poet who flourished in the latter half of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries of the Christian era, and who, though highly esteemed by his contemporaries, is little known in Europe, is from the pen of my accomplished friend Mírzá Muḥammad of Qazwín, a Persian scholar of rare attainments in his own and the Arabic languages, and of still rarer critical acumen, who is now engaged in preparing a critical edition, with notes, of the *Chahár Maqála*, which, when ready, will be published by the Trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial. In the course of his work he had occasion to collect materials too extensive to be incorporated in the notes on that text, and amongst them the following study, compiled from numerous manuscript sources. This I make no excuse for presenting in English dress to the readers of the *Journal*, for from such careful monographs must the Literary History of Persia be ultimately built up, and at present they are, alas! all too few. We have Bacher's admirable monograph on Nidhámí of Ganja, Khanikof's on Kháqání, Zhukovski's on Anwari, Ethé's on Násir-i-Khusraw, Rúdakí, Kisá'í, etc., and a few others, but very much still remains to be accomplished ere the biographies of even the first-class poets of Persia can be written, for the *Tadhkiras*, or Biographies, on which we are in most cases obliged to rely at present, are either (like the *Lubábu'l-Albáb* of 'Awfí) jejune to the last degree, or (like Dawlatsháh) utterly uncritical and unworthy of confidence. Only after they have

been controlled by the statements and indications scattered through the works of the poet himself, and by those of his contemporaries and immediate successors, can they be accepted as even approximately correct. With these brief introductory remarks, I stand aside and leave Mírzá Muḥammad to speak for himself.

(Translation of Mírzá Muḥammad's Article.)

One of the great poets of the second half of the fifth and beginning of the sixth centuries of the *hijra*, whose works, unlike those of too many others, have fortunately not been lost, is Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán,¹ of whose verses about twelve or thirteen thousand are actually extant. This eminent poet is especially conspicuous for his success in two branches of the Art of Poetry, namely, panegyric and threnody. In the latter category may be included the poems wherein he laments his condition during the periods of imprisonment and detention which he underwent. These are known as *Habsiyyát*, or "Prison-Poems." In panegyric he has many rivals, some of whom, such as 'Unṣurí, Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rúní, and Anwari, may even have excelled him; but in the second category he stands alone and unrivalled. "In Prison-Poems," says that accomplished scholar Rashídu'd-Dín Waṭwát,² in his *Ḥadā'iqu's-Siḥr* ("Gardens of Magic"), "no poet in the Persian language approaches Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán, either in beauty of ideas or grace of expression."

Little is known of the biography of this eminent poet, and the *tadhkira*-writers, relying on the weakest evidence,

¹ I.e. Mas'úd, the son of Sa'd, the son of Salmán (*Mas'úd ibn Sa'd ibn Salmán*), the affiliation being expressed in the Persian fashion by the *iddafat*. Thus we find indifferently "Maḥmúd-i-Subuktigín" and "Maḥmúd ibn Subuktigín," "Abú 'Alí-i-Síná" (Avicenna) and "Abú 'Alí ibn Síná," and so on. In Persian works of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries of the Christian era, such as the *History of Bayhaqí*, the *Qabús-náma*, the *Lubábu'l-Albáb*, the *Jawámi'u'l-Hikdyát*, the *Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí*, the *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyá* of 'Aṭṭár, etc., this Persian usage is almost universal, the Arabic *ibn* being but rarely employed.

² These words are given as from the *Ḥadā'iqu's-Siḥr* by Ghulám 'Alí Azád in his *Subḥatu'l-Marján fi Áthari Hindústán*, but are not to be found in the copy of the former work which I have consulted, but which is, perhaps, defective.

advance the most conflicting statements and the most brief and dubious data as to his birth-place, the time at which he flourished, the period of his imprisonment, and other circumstances connected with his life; so that, after reading all these accounts, and subjecting the result to careful comparison and critical examination, all that can be deduced therefrom as to his circumstances, his native place, and other details about his life, could be condensed into less than two lines. And although his *Diván* has always been accessible, and is neither rare nor unobtainable, while the *ipsissima verba* of the poet outweigh in authority the statements of any biographer, no one has hitherto attentively examined his *Diván* with a view to deducing therefrom correct and indubitable data. The only other comparatively ancient and trustworthy sources for his biography which we possess are two passages on which are based all the assertions of the later *tadhkira*-writers. One of these consists of a few lines which Nidhámí-i-'Arúdí has inserted in his *Chahár Maqála*¹ as to the cause of his imprisonment; the other is the scanty notice of him given by 'Awfí in his *Lubábu'l-Albáb*,² which is itself not devoid of errors, as will appear in due course. The other *tadhkira*-writers have merely taken the statements of these two biographers, and copied them from one another with many additions, omissions, and confusions, as has been done, for example, in the *Haft Iqlím*, the *Riyádu'sh-Shu'ará*, the *tadhkira* of Taqí Káshí, the *Átash-kada*, the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá*, the *Bazm-ará*, and the *May-khána*, all of which may, indeed, be reckoned as one book, since he who has read one of them is practically in the position of him who has read them all. Some others, like Dawlatsháh,³ have added fictions of their own fashioning, seeking thereby to fill gaps in the biography; and of all these Dawlatsháh is, in my

¹ See the lithographed Tíhrán edition, pp. 95 *et seqq.*, and pp. 72-75 of the *tirage-à-part* of Browne's translation of the work published in the *J.R.A.S.* for July and October, 1899.

² See vol. ii of Browne's edition of the *Lubdbu'l-Albáb*, pp. 246-252.

³ See Browne's edition of Dawlatsháh, pp. 47-49.

opinion, the most expert in such fabrication and fictions. In short, it seemed best to me to disregard the worthless statements of the *tadhkira*-writers, and to confine my attention and base my dissertation only on this poet's *Diwán*,¹ accepting as authentic only such particulars as could be gleaned from this, and entirely disregarding and rejecting everything else.

I. *His general Circumstances.*

It appears from the *Diwán* of Mas'úd that all his family were scholars and men of learning, talent, and eminence, as he says in one of his *qasidas* :—

شکر و منت خدای عالم را که مرا داد از هنر چندان
که همه مردمان همی گویند بهمه گیتی آشکار و نهان
سعد مسعود را همان دادست از براءت که سعد را سلمان

“ *Praise and thanksgiving to the Lord of the Universe who hath vouchsafed to me so much talent,
That all men say, in public and in private, throughout the world,
'Sa'd hath transmitted to Mas'úd that genius wherewith Salmán endowed him.'* ”

And in another passage he says :—

گرچه اسلاف من بزرگانند هر یک اندر هنریکی استاد
نسبت از خویشانم کم چو گهر نه چو خاکستم کز آتش زاد

¹ The sources which I have used for reference, and whence I have extracted the verses here and hereinafter cited from the poems of Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán, are two manuscripts of the *Diwán* in the British Museum bearing the class-marks Egerton 701 and Add. 7,793 (see Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 548-9), besides the selections given by Taqí Káshí in his *tadhkira*, those given by Ridá-qulí Khán in his *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá*, and the Tíhrán lithographed edition, which is the most complete, though some *qasidas* not contained in it are to be found in the four sources first mentioned.

“ Although my ancestors were great men, each one a master in Art,

I, like the pearl, make my pedigree from myself: I am not like the ashes which are born of fire.”¹

In yet another passage he says:—

اگر رئیس نیم یا عمید زاده نیم

ستوده نسبت و اعلم زدوده فضلاست

“ Although I am neither a chief among men nor the son of a noble,

My honourable pedigree and origin is of a stock of scholars.”

And other similar passages might be cited.

In truth he was himself one of the most eminent poets and men of letters, and a mere perusal of his *Diván* is sufficient to make clear what power he possessed in overcoming verbal difficulties and wedding words to rare ideas. Indeed, it were hardly too much to say that he is the glory of all who use the Persian tongue, seeing that he exalted the rank of that language from earth to heaven. It appears, in short, that Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán was one of those rare beings who are only produced every few centuries, and who combine the noblest qualities and intellectual gifts with the rarest mundane talents. Besides his literary skill and poetic genius, he was one of the bravest men and most doughty knights of his time; while in generous appreciation and liberal treatment of his fellow-poets and others who came to visit him he was equally conspicuous; and he was, moreover, eminent amongst the nobles, statesmen, and ministers of his time. 'Awfí, apologizing for placing him in the chapter of his work which treats of the poets of Ghazna and Lahore instead of amongst the *Amírs* and nobles, says (vol. ii, p. 246, l. 14): “He ought properly

¹ *I.e.* I am like the pearl, which is esteemed for its own intrinsic value; not like the ashes, which, though born of (*i.e.* produced by) fire, the noblest element, are in themselves worthless.

to have been placed in the chapter treating of public men, who wrote verse, but since his verses exceed those of any other poet, therefore he has been placed amongst the poets of this class." He also says of him: "He wrought doughty deeds in India, and in reward for a single quatrain or fragment would give caravan-loads of wealth to such as sought his bounty." But the best description of his virtues is contained in the following verses occurring in a *qasida* of Mukhtarí¹:—

مخدوم سخن پرورانِ مجلس سردفترِ خوانِ گسترانِ میدان
طبعش بسخن ده هزار دریا دستش بسخا صد هزار چندان
خورشیدی و ماهی بصدِ مجلس بهرامی و تیری برزم و دیوان
هم صاحبِ عبادِ روزگاری هم رستمِ زالِ زری بدستان

"*Master of rhetoricians in the assembly, exemplar amongst those who spread bounteous tables in public;*

His genius in verse [abundant as] ten thousand oceans; his hand in giving a hundred thousand times as prodigal;

A Sun and a Moon [is he] in the chief seat of the banqueting-hall; a Mars and a Mercury [is he] in the battle-field and the council-chamber;

Alike the Šāhib [Isma'īl ibn] 'Abbād² of his age, and a Rustam son of Golden Zāl in renown."

It may also be gathered from his poems that he was bilingual, using Persian and Arabic with equal facility:—

¹ I.e. 'Uthmān Mukhtarí of Ghazna, who in turn has been praised by Sanā'í in a well-known *qasida* beginning:—

نشود پیش دو خورشید و دو مه تاری و تیر
گر برد لمعه از خاطرِ مختاری تیر

² The Šāhib Isma'īl b. 'Abbād, the celebrated minister of the Buwayhids Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla and Fakhru'd-Dawla, a most notable scholar and patron of learning. He was born in A.D. 936 and died in A.D. 995.

زبانِ دولتِ عالی به بنده داد پیام
 که ای تُرا دو زبانِ پارسی و تازی رام

*“The tongue of lofty Fortune conveyed a message to me, saying :
 ‘O thou to whom two languages, Persian and Arabic, are
 subject!’”*

And in another *qaṣīda* he says:—

منم کاندَرِ عرب و اندرِ عجم کس نباشد چون من از چیره زبانی
 بدین هر دو زبان در هر دو میدان بگردونم رسیده کامرانی
 گرفتد مشکلی در نظم و در نثر ز من خواهد زمانه ترجمانی
 سجود آرد به پیشِ خاطرِ من روانِ رودگی و ابنِ هانی

*“I am he like unto whom is none in eloquence amongst the
 Arabs or the Persians ;
 In these two tongues in both fields has my success reached to
 heaven.
 From me this age seeks assistance in interpretation if any
 difficulty chances in verse or prose.
 Before my genius prostrate themselves the spirits of Rūdakī
 and [Abū Nuwās] ibn Hānī.”*

In another passage he says:—

کس اربپارسی و تازی امتحان کردی
 مرا مبارز میدانِ امتحان شدمی
*“Should one prove me in Persian and Arabic, I should stand
 the champion and victor in the field of proof.”*

And in another passage he says:—

تا بتازی و پارسی طبعم بسرِ هر زبانت بستوده است
*“Until my genius hath set thy praises on every tongue in Arabio
 and Persian.”*

We come now to the assertion of the *tadhkira*-writers (all of whom ultimately rely on 'Awfí) that Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán had three *Diváns*, one Persian, one Arabic, and one Hindustání. As for the first, it actually exists, while as for the second, there is practically no doubt that he composed verses in Arabic, as appears, first from his own explicit declarations in the verses above cited, and secondly from the fact that Rashídu'd-Dín Watwát cites in evidence many of his Arabic verses in the *Hadá'iqu's-Sihr* ("Gardens of Magic"). But as regards the alleged *Diván* in Hindustání, the case is much more doubtful, and, indeed, it may be conjectured almost certainly that such *Diván* never existed. I do not make this assertion on the ground that he was not a native of India, and that no one who was not a native of India could compose poetry in Hindustání, as 'Alí-qulí Khán Wálih of Dághistán pretends in his *Riyádu'sh-Shu'arú* ("Gardens of the Poets"),¹ for, as will be shown, he was actually born at Lahore; but I make it on the ground, first, that this is a mere statement supported by no evidence beyond 'Awfí's words, which have been repeated by all his successors, and that we must not therefore infer from its recurrence that the alleged fact was notorious and a matter of common knowledge, or suppose that the single statement of 'Awfí suffices to establish a proposition unsupported by any independent evidence; and secondly that as Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán boasts in at least ten different passages in his *qasidas* that he is master of two languages, Arabic and Persian, it is strange that (if the fact were as asserted) he should not add the Hindustání language and boast that he was the master of three languages. Nor can it be contended that he omitted all mention of Hindustání out of humility or dislike of ostentation, for in poems of this class, wherein the poet's intention is to glorify himself and vaunt his talents,

¹ The passage in the *Riyádu'sh-Shu'arú* occurs on fol. 407b of the British Museum manuscript, Add. 16,729. The fact that Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán, like so many Persian poets of this period, composed verses in Arabic as well as Persian is sufficient to demonstrate the absurdity of Wálih's contention: for no one will pretend either that Arabic was Mas'úd's native language, or that it is an easier language than Hindustání.

such qualities would be entirely out of place, besides which it would be absurd for anyone to boast of knowing two languages while concealing the fact that he was acquainted with a third. Such action could be ascribed by sensible persons, not to humility, but only to simplicity or inadvertence.

Other matters connected with particular features of the poet's life may be best discussed under separate headings, such as: Where was he born? When did he flourish? Moreover, his life falls into several periods, to wit, *first*, a period of happiness and well-being; *second*, a period of imprisonment and captivity, which involves a discussion as to the place and period of his imprisonment, and the charge on which he was imprisoned; *third*, another period of happiness at the close of his career, during which he lived a secluded life, abandoning all connection with government service, and incidentally composed poems in praise of Bahrámsháh. Lastly, we have to speak of the other great poets who were his contemporaries.

II. *His Birth-place and Origin.*

The birth-place of Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán, as is explicitly stated in his poems, was neither Hamadán, nor Jurján, nor Ghazna (as is variously asserted by the *tadhkira*-writers), but Lahore,¹ as we shall shortly prove by the citation of sundry verses from his poetry.

From several passages in his poems it appears that his father, Sa'd-i-Salmán, had been for sixty years in the service of the kings of Ghazna, and had acquired possession of many farms and estates in Lahore and other parts of India. After his death, these lands were unjustly taken from Mas'úd by certain governors and other functionaries. Mas'úd came

¹ I have met with no writer who has noticed this point and described our poet as "of Lahore" except Ghulám 'Alí Khán Azád in his *Subḥatu'l-Marjân fi Áthari Hindustán*. According to Mr. N. Bland (*Journal Asiatique* for 1853, série v, vol. 2, p. 356) the same statement is made in the *Khizdna-i-ámira*, but this assertion I have been unable to verify, as the British Museum manuscript is defective.

to Ghazna to demand redress, but there his enemies brought against him accusations (the nature of which will be presently discussed) which caused him to fall under suspicion, so that he was imprisoned by order of Sultán Dhahíru'd-Dawla Radiyyu'd-Dín Ibráhím b. Mas'úd b. Maḥmúd of Ghazna, though he had left behind him in India an old mother, a son, a daughter, two sisters, and some thirty or forty kinsmen and relatives, who, distressed and lacking means of livelihood, awaited his release for long years with weeping and lamentation. In a *qaṣída* which he composed in praise of Sultán Ibráhím he says, after eulogizing him and lamenting his own condition in prison:—

شصت سال تمام خدمت کرد پدر بنده سعد بن سلمان
 گه باطراف بودی از عُمّال گه بدرگاه بودی از اعیان
 دختری خُرد دارم و پسری با دو خواهر بموم هندستان
 دختر از اشك دیده نابینا پسر از روزگار سرگردان
 سی چهل تن ز خویش و از پیوند بسته در راحت تو جان و روان
 همه خواهان ملك و دولت تو در سعادت ز ایزد سُبْحان
 ای رهاننده خلق را ز بلا زین بلا بنده را تو باز رهان
 بآمد آمدم بحضرت شاه راه زد بر امید من حرمان

“For full sixty years did my father Sa'd-i-Salman serve [your House],

Now as an administrator in the provinces, now as a noble of the Court.

I have a little daughter and a son, besides two sisters, in the land of India;

*The daughter blind with weeping, the son dazed by ill fortune.
 Also some thirty or forty relatives and kinsfolk, whose souls
 and spirits are bound up with thy well-being,*

All praying God Almighty that thy rule and dominion may be happy.

O thou who deliverest mankind from affliction, deliver thy servant from this affliction !

I came in hope to the King's Court,¹ but I was robbed on the way thither by disappointment !”

In another *qaṣīda* (the remaining verses of which will be cited further on) he says, in praise of Sultān 'Alá'u'd-Dawla Mas'úd b. Ibráhīm, after describing his sufferings during the days of his imprisonment in the reign of Sultān Ibráhīm, and how that Prince at length granted him a pardon :—

عفو سلطان نامدار رضی بر شب من فگند نورِ قمر
التفاتِ عنایتش برداشت بارِ رنج از تن من مُضطر
سوی مولد کشید هوش مرا یوبه دختر و هوای پسر
چون بهندوستان شدم ساکن بر ضیاع و عقارِ پیر پدر
بنده بو نصر برگماشت مرا بعمل همچو نائبان دگر آخ

“ The pardon of the renowned Sultān Radī threw moonlight on my night ;

His attentive kindness removed the burden of grief from the body of me the afflicted.

Longing for my daughter and craving for my son drew my thoughts towards my birth-place.

¹ By the word *ḥaḍrat* (حضرت) Ghaznīn is here meant, for *ḥaḍrat* in the language of the old writers means the capital or metropolis. Thus the Arab historians always make use of this term in speaking of Baghdad, while ath-Tha'libī, who was contemporary with the Sāmānids, always speaks of Bukhārā as “ *ḥaḍrat* ” in his *Yatīmatu'd-Dahr*. So Mas'úd-i-Sa'd constantly employs it in speaking of Ghaznīn, *e.g.* in the *qaṣīda* beginning :—

ز شاه بینم دلهای اهل حضرت شاد
‘ هزار رحمت بر شاه و اهل حضرت باد
‘ من این نشاط که دیدم ز خلق در غزنین
‘ بدیدم خواهم تا روز چند در بغداد

*When I was established in India over the farms and estates of my old father,
Thy servant Bū Naṣr appointed me to office just as he appointed other deputies."*

In another *qaṣida* in praise of "the favourite of the King of the East," by which expression is apparently meant 'Alí the favourite (*Kháṣṣ*) of Sultán Ibráhím, he says:—

ای خاصه شاه شرق فریاد جرخم بگشده می ز بیداد

"Help, O favourite of the King of the East! Fate is killing me with her injustice!"

And after a few more verses he continues:—

درویشی و نیستی ز لوهور برگشت و بحضرت فرستاد
نان پاره خویشتن بجستم از شاه ظهیر دولت و داد
این رنگ بجز عدو نیامیخت این بختان جز حسود ننهاد
از بهر خدای دست من گیر کز پای تن من اندر افتاد

"Poverty and want drove me forth from Lahore and sent me to the capital (Ghaznín).

I sought for myself justice and some means of livelihood from King Dhahíru'd-Dawla.¹

None but an enemy hath contrived this stratagem, none but an envier hath put forward this calumny.

For God's sake take my hand (i.e. help me), for my body is fallen from its feet!"

In another *qaṣida* in praise of 'Alí Kháṣṣ (or 'Alí the favourite, to whom reference is made above) he says, after describing his condition in prison:—

¹ By "Sultán Radí" and "Dhahíru'd-Dawla" is meant Sultán Ibráhím of Ghazna, to whom these titles belonged. In histories, as well as in 'Awfi's *Lubábu'l-Albáb* and *Jawdmí'u'l-Hikáyd*, he is generally called "Sultán Radí," without other name or title, from which it appears that it was by this title that he was generally known.

اگر نبودی تیمارِ آن ضعیفۀ زال
 که چشمهایش چو ابرست و اشک چون باران
 خدای داند اگر غم نهاد می بردل
 که حالِ گیتی هرگز ندیده‌ام یکسان
 ولیک زالی دارم که در کنار مرا
 چو جان شیرین پرورد و مرد کرد و کلان
 نه بست هرگز اورا خیال و نندیشید
 که من بقلعۀ سو مانم او بهندستان

“Were it not for my anxiety for that poor old woman, whose eyes are like the clouds and whose tears are like the rain, God knows whether I would lay such grief on my heart, for never have I seen the state of the world abiding in one condition !

But I have an aged mother, who nursed me in her bosom like her dear life, and brought me up to man's estate :

Never did she dream or imagine that I should lie in the Castle of Sú while she dwelt in India.”

In another *qasida* he says :—

رسید عید و من از روی حورِ دلبر دور
 چگونه باشم بی روی آن بهشتی حور
 مرا که گوید کای دوست عید فترخ باد
 نگارِ من به لهاور و من به نیشاپور
 چه یارِ شهر لهاور و یارِ خویش کنم
 نبود کس که شد از شهر و یارِ خویش نفور
 مرا به است بهر حالی و بهر وجهی
 جمالِ حضرتِ غزنین ز شهر لوهاور

*"The festal time is come, and I am far from the face of that charming houri ;
 How can I exist without the face of that houri of Paradise ?
 Who shall say to me, ' O friend, a happy festival to thee !'
 When my sweetheart is at Lahore while I am in Nishápúr ?
 Why do I recall the city of Lahore and my friends ?
 [Because] no one can be indifferent to his friends and his native land.
 Yet, in any case and in every way, to me
 The beauty of the Court of Ghaznin is better than the city of Lahore."*

In another *qasída* entirely addressed to Lahore, wherein he grieves and pines for the days passed in this his native town, he says :—

ای لاهور و یحک بی من چگونه
 بی آفتاب تابان روشن چگونه
 تا این عزیز فرزند از تو جدا شده است
 با درد او بنوحه و شیون چگونه
 تو مرغزار بودی و من شیر مرغزار
 با من چگونه بودی بی من چگونه آلیخ

*"O Lahore, wel-a-way, how farest thou without me ? How canst thou be bright without the luminous Sun ?
 Since this dear son of thine was parted from thee, how farest thou in grieving for him with groanings and lamentations ?
 Thou wert the thicket, and I the lion of that thicket : how wert thou with me, and how art thou [now] without me ?"*

In another poem, after complaining of his imprisonment, he makes the following request of some great man :—

کارِ اطلاقِ من چو بسته بماند که همی ایزدش نه بگشاید
 مر مرا حاجتی همی باشد وز دلم خارش همی زاید

مخملی باید از خداوندم که ازو بوی لوهوور آید
 که همی ز آرزوی لوهوور جان و دل در تنم همی ناید

*"Since the question of my release has now been tangled, so that
 God Himself cannot unloose it,
 I have an urgent need, and a craving arises in my heart :
 I want from my lord some velvet to remind me of Lahore
 [literally, from which emanates the fragrance of Lahore],
 For, through longing for Lahore, heart and soul faint within
 me."*

In another passage, whilst complaining of the filth of his prison, and indicating the comfort which he enjoyed in his own country, he says :—

گرمابه سه داشتم بلاهور وین نزد همه کسی عیان است
 امروز سه سال شد که مویم ماننده موی کافران است
 بر تارک و گوش و گردن من گوئی نمید ترگران است

*"I had three baths at Lahore, a fact patent to everyone ;
 To-day it is three years that my hair is like the hair of the
 unbelievers ;
 On the crown of my head and over my ears and neck
 You would say it is moist and matted felt [which falls]."*

In another passage wherein, after describing his prison, he expresses his longing for his country, he says :—

از زمانه نکرده ام گله ' تا که دانسته ام که مجبور است
 مر مرا گاه گاه رنج کند ' همه ام یوبه لوهوور است

*"I have not uttered one complaint against Fortune, since
 I know that she acts under compulsion :
 The only thing which troubles me from time to time is my
 longing for Lahore."*

In the following quatrain also, composed in prison, he thus speaks of his longing for his country :—

دانی تو که با بندِ گرانم یا رب ‘ دانی که ضعیف و ناتوانم یا رب
شد در غمِ لوهو رروانم یا رب ‘ یا رب که در آرزوی آنم یا رب

*“Thou knowest that I lie in grievous bonds, O Lord!
Thou knowest that I am weak and feeble, O Lord!
My spirit goes out in longing for Lahore, O Lord!
O Lord, how I crave for it, O Lord!”*

I think that these passages suffice to establish my contention. So the following verse from a *qasida* in praise of Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmūd b. Ibrāhīm :—

بهیچ نوع گناهی دگر نمیدانم
مرا جز اینکه درین شهر مولد و منشاست

“I in no wise recall any crime which I have committed save that I was born and bred in this city”—

which Rieu in his *Persian Catalogue* (p. 548) assumes to refer to Ghazna, without doubt refers in reality to Lahore, firstly, in the light of the explicit statements contained in the verses already cited, and secondly, because all the *qasidas* composed by Mas'ūd in praise of Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmūd were composed in India at the time when Sayfu'd-Dawla was viceroy of that country, and our poet was attached to his court. And the following verse from the same *qasida* :—

اگر بریشان سحرِ حلال بر خوانم
جز این نگویند آخر که کودک و برناست

“Even though I should recite unto them ‘lawful magic,’ they will say nothing but ‘He is a mere lad and a stripling’”—

is also a clear proof that this *qasida* was composed in India, since the period of his childhood and youth was spent in India, and only at a later date did he come to Ghaznīn and suffer what he suffered.

So, again, in the case of the verse—

گردل بطمع بستم شعر است بضاعت
 ورا حقیقی کردم اصل از همدان است

“*If I suffered my heart to be covetous, poetry was the merchandise
 [I coveted],
 And if I committed a foolish action, the origin was from
 Hamadán*”—

which occurs in a well-known *qaṣida*, in praise of Thiqatu'l-Mulk Ṭáhir b. 'Alí b. Mushkán, beginning:—

طاهر ثقة الملك سپهر است و جهان است
 نه راست بگفتم که نه این است نه آن است

“*Ṭáhir Thiqatu'l-Mulk is the heaven and the earth; nay,
 I speak untruly, he is neither this nor that*”—

what he means is that his family was originally of Hamadán; not that he was born there,¹ as some of the *tadhkira*-writers, ignoring the verses which explicitly declare him to have been a native of Lahore in India, have supposed. So when 'Awfí says (vol. ii, p. 246), “Although his birth-place was Hamadán,” *etc.*, he is evidently in error, the source of this error being the couplet quoted above. Indeed, I am practically certain that Mas'úd's father Sa'd was also born in India, for it is unlikely that one who had served the kings of Ghazna for sixty years and administered their provinces should have been a foreigner and a fugitive from a distant country. Apparently one of our poet's ancestors emigrated from Hamadán and settled in Lahore, confirmation of which assumption is afforded by the line—

¹ Although the compound *hama-dán* means “all-knowing,” the inhabitants of the city of Hamadán have the reputation of being extremely stupid, as appears in the following well-known verses generally ascribed to the celebrated Badí'u'z-Zamán al-Hamadání, though Ibn Khallikán (vol. i, p. 113 of de Slane's translation) ascribes them to another author:—“*Hamadán is my native place; I must allow it that honour; but it is the vilest of cities. Its children are, for ugliness, like old men; and its old men, for reason, like children.*”

که بنده زاده این دولت بهفت تبار'

occurring in some verses cited on p. 729 *infra*. As for Dawlatsháh's statement that Mas'úd was a native of Jurján, there is absolutely no evidence in support of it; though, indeed, not the slightest weight or credit can be accorded to the unsupported assertions of this writer.

III. *The Period at which he flourished.*

In the *Diwán* of Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán poems are found in praise of five Sultáns of the House of Ghazna, *viz.*: (1) Sultán Abu'l-Mudhaffar Dhahíru'd-Dawla Radiyyu'd-Dín Ibráhím b. Mas'úd b. Maḥmúd b. Subuktigín, who reigned forty-two years, from A.H. 450 to A.H. 492 (= A.D. 1058–1099); (2) Sultán 'Alá'u'd-Dawla Mas'úd b. Ibráhím (A.H. 492–508 = A.D. 1099–1114); (3) 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla Shírzád b. Mas'úd b. Ibráhím (A.H. 508–509 = A.D. 1114–1115); (4) Abu'l-Mulúk Arslánsháh b. Mas'úd b. Ibráhím (A.H. 509–511 = A.D. 1115–1117); (5) Sultán-i-Ghází Yamínu'd-Dawla Bahrámsháh b. Mas'úd b. Ibráhím (A.H. 511–552 = A.D. 1117–1157, according to the most correct statements).¹ Now since Sultán Ibráhím and Bahrámsháh both reigned for a long while, it is clearly impossible that Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán can have flourished from the beginning of the reign of the former until the end of the reign of the latter, since this represents a period of more

¹ Mas'úd's *Diwán* contains poems in praise of a certain Khusraw Malik, and at first sight it might be supposed that Khusraw Malik the last King of Ghazna is intended. But if we consider the date of Mas'úd's death (A.H. 515 = A.D. 1121–2) and that of Khusraw Malik (A.H. 587 = A.D. 1191), this idea will be instantly dispelled. Moreover, this Khusraw Malik is the son of Malik Arslán, as Mas'úd says in a *qaṣída* wherein he sings his praises:—

بقای دولتِ عالی که در جهانِ شرف'

بباغِ ملکِ چو خسرو ملک نشاند نهال'

هلالِ ملک است این پادشاه زاده و باد'

بر اوجِ شاهِی ایمن ز هر کسوف و زوال'

than a century. Fortunately, however, I have found in his poems two explicit and two implicit indications as to the beginning and end of his career, which clearly define the period of his life, as I shall now set forth in detail.

As was shown in a preceding section of this article, Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán was born and bred in India; and inasmuch as the affairs of India, and the conquests and campaigns effected in that country, were committed by Sultán Ibráhím to the care of Sayfu'd-Dawla 'Izzu'l-Milla Abu'l-Qásim Maḥmúd *Ṣanī'u Amīri'l-Mú'minīn*,¹ the most talented and capable of the sons of Sultán Ibráhím, and, apparently, the heir designate to his throne, therefore Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán attached himself to this prince as courtier and panegyrist, and became one of the special favourites and privileged intimates of his court. Moreover, as is well known, after many conquests and countless feats of courage and doughty deeds had been wrought by Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmúd, his father, desirous of rewarding him for his brave achievements, conferred upon him in the year A.H. 469 (= A.D. 1076-7), as explicitly stated by Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán, the viceroyalty of all India, increased his rank and degree, and sent to him from Ghaznín gorgeous

¹ All these titles were official, not mere laudatory epithets. Those of 'Izzu'l-Milla and *Ṣanī'u Amīri'l-Mú'minīn* were conferred on him from the metropolis of Baghdad by one or other of the Caliphs al-Qá'im or al-Muqtadī bi-amri'lláh, and for each one Mas'úd composed a *qaṣída* to congratulate Maḥmúd. Both these *qaṣidas* occur in his *Díwán*. In one he says:—

ای ترا خوانده صنیع خود امیر المؤمنین
 همچنین بادا جلالت بر زیادت همچنین
 سیف دولت مر ترا زین پیشتر بوده لقب
 عزملت را بر افزون کرد امیر المؤمنین

And in another place he says:—

صنیع خویشان خواند امیر المؤمنین اورا
 شده امکان او افزون که بادش بر افزون امکان

robes of honour, horses, bejewelled arms, and the like. Congratulatory poems on this event were composed by the poets, amongst whom Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán composed a splendid *qasida* beginning :—

جو روی چرخ شد از صبح چون صحیفهٔ سیم
 ز قصرِ شاه مرا مرده داد بادِ نسیم
 که عزِ ملت محمود سیفِ دولت را
 ابوالمظفر سلطان معظم ابراهیم
 فرزد رتبت و حشمت بدولت عالی
 چو کرد مملکت هند را بدو تسلیم
 بنام فرخ او کرد خطبه در همه هند
 نهاد بر سر اقبالش از شرف دیهیم
 یکی ستام مَرَضِع بگوهَرِ الوان
 علی جوادِ کَالْتَجَم جنح لیل بهیم
 خُجسته بادا بر شاه خلعت سلطان
 بکامکاری بر تخت ملک باد مُقیم

“ *When the face of heaven was [made] by the morning like
 a sheet of silver,
 The zephyr-breeze gave me good tidings from the palace of
 the King,
 Namely, that the mighty Emperor Abu'l-Mudhaffar Ibráhm
 had conferred
 On 'Izzu'l-Milla Sayfu'd-Dawla Mahmúd
 Increase of rank and state by his lofty fortune,
 In that he had committed to his care the Kingdom of India.
 In his auspicious name hath he caused the Khutba to be said
 throughout all India ;
 On his fortunate head hath he placed a diadem for honour.
 [Moreover, he hath given him] a bridle set with jewels of
 divers kinds*

On a noble horse, like the star in the darkest portion of the night.

May the Sultán's investiture of honour be auspicious to the viceroy,

And may he long sit triumphant on the throne of empire !”

Some lines further on he says:—

منجّمان همه گفتند کاین دلیل کند
بحکم زیج بَتّانی که هست در تقویم
که دیر و زود خطیبان کنند بر منبر
بنام سیفِ دول خطبهای هفت اقلیم
بسال پنجه ازین پیش گفت بوریحان
دران کتاب که کرده است نام او تفهیم
که پادشاهی صاحب قران شود بجهان
چون سالِ هجرت بگذشت تی وسین و سه جیم

۴۶۹

“ *All the astronomers say that this proves, according to the tables of Battání¹ which are to be found in the almanacs, That sooner or later the preachers will pronounce in the pulpits of the seven climes their khutbas in the name of Sayfu'd-Dawla.*

Fifty years ago Abú Rayhán [al-Bírúní] said in the book which he entitled ‘Tafhím,’²

That a King who shall be lord of a conjunction shall appear in the world when 469 years have passed from the Flight.”

I have not been able to find this prediction of Abú Rayhán [al-Bírúní] in the British Museum manuscript of the *Tafhím*,²

¹ *I.e.* Muḥammad b. Jābir b. Sinān aṣ-Ṣābī al-Ḥarrānī al-Battānī, who died in A.H. 317 (= A.D. 929), the well-known astronomer and mathematician. In this verse *al-Battānī* has been shortened to *al-Batdnī* to suit the metre.

² Add. 7,697, a very fine old MS. dated A.H. 685 (= A.D. 1286). See Rieu's *Catalogue*, pp. 451–452.

but it would appear that the object of Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán was to strengthen and support his statement by advancing it on the authority of no less a man than al-Bírúní (whose fame had spread through East and West, and who, moreover, was specially connected with the House of Ghazna, since he composed many of his works in that city, and dedicated them to princes of this Royal House), and not to lay any particular stress on the *Tafhim*, which is an elementary treatise on Astronomy, not such a work as would be likely to contain predictions as to the future. And since the *Tafhim* was composed in the year A.H. 420 (= A.D. 1029), fifty years all but one year had elapsed from that time to the time when Sayfu'd-Dawla was appointed viceroy of India, i.e. A.H. 469 (= A.D. 1076-7). The expression "fifty years ago," then, is literal, not metaphorical.

Another date likewise can be deduced, though it is not directly mentioned, from one of his *qaṣīdas*; and this indirectly-expressed date refers to a period two or three years antecedent to that mentioned above. The verse in question occurs in a *qaṣīda* in praise of Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmúd, beginning :—

مگر مشاطة بستان شدند باد و سحاب

که این به بستش پیرایه و آن گشاد نقاب

"*Have the wind and the cloud become the tire-women of the garden,*

That the latter hath decked it with ornaments, and the former hath removed its veil ?"

and runs as follows :—

خجسته بادت نوروز و این چنین نوروز

هزار جفت شده با مه رجب دریاب

"*A happy New Year to you ! May you see a thousand such New Year's Days fall in the month of Rajab !*"

Now the New Year's Day only fell in the month of Rajab in the three years A.H. 465, 466, and 467 (= A.D. 1073-1075);¹ consequently our poet must have composed this *qasida* in praise of Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmūd in one of these three years. From all this it follows that Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān's first appearance must have been in or after the year A.H. 465.

For determining the end of Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān's period, he himself likewise supplies one explicit date, to wit, that of the coronation of Arslānshāh b. Mas'ūd b. Ibrāhīm, giving the year, the month, and the day, as follows:—

بعون ایزد شش روز رفته از شَوّال
 برآمد از فلکِ دولت آفتابِ کمال
 چهارشنبه بود و چهار گوشهٔ تخت
 گرفت نصرت و تأیید و دولت و اقبال
 گذشته پانصد و نه سال تازی از هجرت
 زهی مبارک ماه و زهی مبارک سال
 جهان بعدل بیاراست آن بزرگ ملک
 که دین و دولت ازو یافته است فرو جمال
 ابو الملوک ملک ارسلان بن مسعود
 که بحر کوه و قارست و کوه بحر نوال

*“By the help of God, when six days had elapsed of the month
 of Shawwāl,*

The Sun of Perfection arose in the Heaven of Empire.

*It was a Wednesday when the four corners of the Throne
 Received victory and help and empire and fortune.*

¹ That is, having regard to the fact that this *qasida* is in praise of Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmūd; for the New Year's Day (March 21, the Vernal Equinox) fell in the month of Rajab in the years A.H. 421-423 (= A.D. 1030-1032), and again in the years A.H. 498-500 (= A.D. 1105-1107); but in the former cycle he was probably yet unborn, while in the second he was probably dead, or at least dethroned and despoiled, while Mas'ūd, after he had been imprisoned on account of Sayfu'd-Dawla in A.H. 480 (= A.D. 1087-8), never again mentioned his name.

*Five hundred and nine years of the Arabs had passed since
the Flight :¹*

O fortunate month and O fortunate year !

That great King adorned the world with his justice,

From whom Church and State received glory and beauty.

Abu'l-Mulúk, King Arslán ibn Mas'úd,

*Who is the ocean of the mountain of dignity, and the mountain
of the ocean of bounty !''*

Yet another date can be deduced from certain of his *qasidas*, which date, though not explicitly mentioned, certainly falls at least three years after the date above mentioned, *i.e.* in A.H. 509 (= A.D. 1116). The *qasidas* in question are those which he composed in praise of Bahrámsháh, so that he certainly lived for at least three years longer, *i.e.* till A.H. 511, which was the year of Bahrámsháh's accession, though how much longer he may have survived we do not certainly know. 'Alí-qulí Khán Dághistání in his *Riyádu'sh-Shu'ará*, Ghulám 'Alí Khán "Ázád" in his *Subḥatu'l-Marján*, and Ridá-qulí Khán in his *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá* all assert, on the authority of the *Chahár Maqála*, that Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán survived until A.H. 515 (= A.D. 1121-2),² and this conjecture is so probable and reasonable that its truth may almost be assumed. But Taqí Káshí and other biographers place his death in the year A.H. 525 (= A.D. 1131), which, though possible, is less probable. In my opinion it appears, on the whole, most likely that he died in A.H. 515.

Having now determined, as far as possible, the date of Mas'úd's first appearance as a poet, and the year of his death, we shall endeavour to determine, so far as possible, the year of his birth, as deducible from his own verses.

In a *qasida* in praise of Sultán 'Alá'u'd-Dawla Mas'úd b. Ibráhím, Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán says, after complaining of his imprisonment and captivity :—

¹ This date, Wednesday, Shawwál 6, A.H. 509, is equivalent to Wednesday, February 22, A.D. 1116.

² This passage, though it must have existed in their copies, is not to be found in either of the two manuscripts of the British Museum, nor in the lithographed edition published at Tíhrán, nor in a transcript of the Constantinople MS. made for Professor Browne.

شصت دوتا کرد مرا همچو شست

سال بدین جای رسید از شمار

“*Sixty [years] have bent me like a hook: to this point have the years come in computation.*”

And in another *qasida*, in praise of the same personage, he says, without any mention of or reference to his imprisonment:—

شصت و دو سالگی ز تن من ببرد زور

زان پس که بود در همه میدان مرا مجال

“*Sixty-two years have sapped the strength of my body, after I had enjoyed a free course in every field.*”

From this last verse we may infer that Mas'úd-i-Sa'd was 62 years of age in one of the years of the reign of Mas'úd b. Ibráhím, i.e. between A.H. 492 and 508 (= A.D. 1099–1115); and since in the *qasida* wherein this verse occurs he makes no allusion to, or complaint of, his imprisonment, it is evident that at the time when he composed it, he was no longer in prison; for, from an examination of his other prison-poems, it appears certain that it was impossible for him to compose a *qasida* in prison without making long complaint of his imprisonment and misfortunes. Remember also, from what has preceded this,¹ that in the year A.H. 467 at latest he composed a *qasida* in praise of Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmúd beginning:—

مگر مشاطة بستان شدند باد و سحاب

که این به بستش پیرایه و آن گشاد نقاب

From a comparison of these three things the following conclusion results.

If we suppose that Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán composed the *qasida* in which he describes himself as being 62 years of

¹ See pp. 714–715, *supra*.

age in the last year of the reign of Mas'úd b. Ibráhím, *i.e.* in A.H. 508 (= A.D. 1114–1115), then his birth would fall in the year (508–62 =) A.H. 446 (= A.D. 1054–5), and his age at the time when he celebrated the praises of Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmúd in A.H. 467 (= A.D. 1074–5) would have been 21, which supposition, though not impossible, is very improbable, to wit, that a poet only 21 years of age should produce so splendid a poem, and should already be one of the poets and courtiers of so great a prince. But if we assume that Mas'úd-i-Sa'd composed the above-mentioned *qaṣída* in the third year¹ of the reign of Sultán Mas'úd b. Ibráhím, *i.e.* in A.H. 494 (= A.D. 1100–1101), then the poet's birth would fall in the year (494–62 =) A.H. 432 (= A.D. 1040–1041), and his age at the time when he sung the praises of Sayfu'd-Dawla in A.H. 467 would have been 35 years, which hypothesis is both plausible and probable, though possibility is no proof of actuality. But at any rate the birth of Mas'úd-i-Sa'd necessarily and certainly falls between the years A.H. 432 and 446 (= A.D. 1040 and 1054), or, in other words, its possible range covers fourteen years, a period, in truth, somewhat spacious, and not sufficiently precise to satisfy the enquiring mind.

Fortunately, however, we have another indication which considerably limits and narrows this period, to wit, the assertion of Nidhámí-i-'Arúdí that Mas'úd-i-Sa'd was imprisoned for eight more years after the accession of Sultán Mas'úd b. Ibráhím, whence it follows that his release from prison must have taken place in A.H. 500 (= A.D. 1106–1107), which was the eighth year of this Sultán's reign. So now we are entitled to say that since Mas'úd-i-Sa'd was in prison when he was 60 years of age (as shown by the first verse), and was not in prison when he was 62 years of age (as shown by the second verse), therefore his release from prison must have taken place either in his 60th, his 61st, or his 62nd

¹ This is the earliest possible date: for we cannot assume that he composed the *qaṣída* in which he describes himself as being 62 years of age in the first year of the reign of Mas'úd, since the other *qaṣída* in which he describes himself as being 60 years of age is in praise of the same monarch. He must, therefore, have been at most 63 years of age in the third year of Mas'úd's reign.

year. And one who in the year A.H. 500 (= 1106-7) was either 60, or 61, or 62 must necessarily have been born in A.H. 440, or 439, or 438 (= A.D. 1046-1049). And since his death, according to the most probable conjecture, took place in the year A.H. 515 (= A.D. 1121-2), his age when he died must have been 75, 76, or 77 years.

IV. *The different Periods of Mas'ud's life.*

(a) *First Period : Period of Happiness*

(A.H. 440-480 = A.D. 1048-1088).

The first period of Mas'ud's life, a period of happiness, extended from A.H. 440-480 (= A.D. 1048-1088), namely, from the beginning of his life until he was sent to prison. During this period he resided chiefly in Lahore and other parts of India, and occasionally in Ghaznín, and was attached to the court of Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmúd, viceroy of India, being at the same time one of his favourite courtiers and principal military commanders, and taking active part in most of his conquests and expeditions, so that his valorous exploits were famous. Just as in poetry he was, in his own words, "the Rúdakí and the [Abú Nuwás] ibn Hání of his time," so also, on the field of battle, was he reckoned the Rustam and the 'Antara of his age, while his prodigal liberality clearly appears from the panegyrics composed on him by contemporary poets. He himself often refers to his courage in battle, as in the following *qaṣída* which he composed in prison :—

تا مرا بود بر ولایت دست ' بودم ایزد پرست و شاه پرست '
 امر شه را و حکم التـهـرا ' نه بدادم بهیچ وقت از دست '
 دل بغزوه بشغل داشتمی ' دشمنان را ازان همی دل خست '
 چون بکفار می نهادم روی ' بس کس از تیغ من همی به نرست '
 بیکی حمله من افتادی ' جل دشمن زشش هزار نشست '

مگر از زخم تیغ من آهن ' حلقه گشت و ز زخم تیغ بجست '
آمد اکنون دو پای من بگرفت ' خویشتن در حمایتم پیوست '

*"So long as I had a hand in the government, I was loyal to
God and to the King.*

*At no time did I forsake the King's order or God's command.
I occupied my mind with warfare [against the infidels]; the
hearts of the foe were wearied therewith.*

*When I turned my face towards the heathen, many were they
who escaped not from my sword.*

*At one charge of mine from six thousand saddles fell the greater
number of the foemen.*

*But it would seem that by the blows of my sword the iron,
recoiling from the sword-blows, has become a ring,
And has now come, and, coiling round my feet [as a fetter],
has cast itself under my protection."*

So in another prison-poem he says:—

نه ز من جُست هیچ شیر و پلنگ '
نه ز من رَست هیچ بیشه و غار '
که مرا باد بود زیر عنان '
که مرا ابر بود جُفت مهار '
سرکشان را ز من سبک شد دل '
دستهارا ز من گران شد بار '
گُند شد مرگ را ز من دندان '
تیز شد رزم را ز من بازار '
باز نشناخت هیچ وقت همی '
دشمنم روز روشن از شب تار '
آن همه شد کنون مرا سنجی است '
بر سر کوه در میانه غار '

*“From me no lion or leopard hath escaped; against me no
thicket or cave is secure :*

*Now the wind was beneath my reins; now the cloud accompanied
my [camel's] halter.*

*The hearts of the valiant grew light (i.e. faint) because of me ;
hands were heavy through me (i.e. through my liberality).*

*Death's teeth were blunted by reason of me ; War's market
was made brisk by me.*

*Ne'er could my enemy distinguish the bright day from the
dark night.*

*All this is now gone by, and I have but a prison-cell in the
midst of a cavern on a mountain-top.”*

And many similar verses are to be found in his *Dhwán*. To this period belong all the *qaṣidas* which he composed in praise of Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmúd to celebrate his victories, campaigns, and doughty deeds in India, and to congratulate him on the titles, investitures of honour, and promotions which were sent to him from Ghaznín and Baghdad. It is strange that in the histories no mention is made of the life or great deeds of Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmúd, so that, did we not possess the panegyric poems of Mas'úd-i-Sa'd and Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rúní, they would be entirely forgotten, and no record of them would remain.

وَتَرَى ثَنَاءَ الرَّوْذَكِيِّ مُخْلَدًا ‘ مِنْ كُلِّ مَا جَمَعَتْ بَنُو سَامَانَ ‘

*“Of all that the House of Sámán achieved, thou seest only the
praise of Rúdaki immortalised.”*

(b) *Second Period : Period of Imprisonment*

(A.H. 480–500 = A.D. 1088–1107).

After Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán had remained for some while thus prosperous and happy in the service of Sayfu'd-Dawla, ill-luck overtook him, and his good fortune was changed to adversity. He came from India to Ghaznín to demand justice against certain persons who had robbed him of his

farms and estates, but on his arrival there fell under suspicion, and, by order of Sultán Ibráhím b. Mas'úd b. Mahmúd, was cast into prison, where he remained for ten whole years, of which seven were passed in the Castles of Sú and Dahak, and three in the Castle of Náý. After the lapse of these ten years, Sultán Ibráhím, on the intercession of Abu'l-Qásim-i-Kháṣṣ, pardoned him and released him from prison. He then returned to India, and was again placed in possession of his father's farms and estates. At this juncture Sultán Ibráhím died, and his son, Sultán Mas'úd, reigned in his stead. The new king conferred the viceroyalty of India on his son Amír 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla Shírzád b. Mas'úd, and Abú Naṣr-i-Fársí, the deputy-governor and commander-in-chief of Shírzád, appointed Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán to the government of Chálandar, which was apparently one of the dependencies of Lahore. Shortly afterwards Abú Naṣr-i-Fársí fell into disgrace, and Mas'úd-i-Sa'd, being one of his *protégés*, was also dismissed from the government of Chálandar, and imprisoned in the fortress of Maranj, where he was again confined for a period of eight or nine years, until at length he was released at the instance of Thiqatu'l-Mulk Ṭáhir b. 'Alí b. Mushkán.

We shall now proceed to treat in detail of the matters summarized above, and shall cite in chronological order such of his poems as afford indications of them.

The First Imprisonment.

This, as has been already mentioned, lasted ten years, of which the first seven were passed in the Castles of Sú and Dahak, and the last three in the Castle of Náý,¹ as he himself explicitly says:—

¹ Nidhámí-i-'Arúdí says (p. 74 of the *tirage-à-part* of Browne's translation) that Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán was imprisoned for twelve years in the reign of Sultán Ibráhím, and both he and 'Awfí appear to imply that the whole of this period was passed in the Castle of Náý. Both of these propositions are false, and the inference is contradicted by the poet's own words, as will shortly appear. The other *tadhkira*-writers have followed these two authors in both errors, as was to be expected. The second error, namely that his whole period of imprisonment was spent at Náý, arises from the rare opportunity for a word-play

هفت سالم بکوفت سو و دهکٔ ' پس از آنم سه سال قلعهٔ نای

"*Sú and Dahak broke my spirit for seven years, and thereafter, for three years, the Castle of Náý.*"

During this period he sought to secure the good offices and obtain the intercession of all the nobles, ministers and courtiers of Sultán Ibráhím, such as 'Alí Khass and his son Muḥammad Khass, Abu'r - Rushd Rashíd Khass, Bihrúz b. Aḥmad the *wazír* and his son Muḥammad b. Bihrúz, and 'Abdu'l - Ḥamíd b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdu's - Ṣamad the *wazír*, composing several *qaṣidas* in praise of each, and describing his sufferings in prison. He even addressed direct appeals for pardon and pity to Sultán Ibráhím himself, sending him pathetic poems wherein he mingles with praises of that monarch pitiful descriptions of his captivity; but all was of no avail, for he was merely transferred from harsh to harsher prison and from grievous to more grievous bonds, until at last, after ten years, he was pardoned and released by Sultán Ibráhím on the intercession of Abu'l-Qásim Khass. All his prison-poems wherein he praises the above-mentioned ministers and nobles, and in which he mentions the names of the Castles of Sú, Dahak or Náý,¹ were composed in the reign of Sultán Ibráhím and belong to this first period of captivity.

In a *qaṣida* in praise of 'Alí Khass, one of the favourite nobles at the court of Sultán Ibráhím, he states that the poem was composed during his imprisonment in the Castle of Sú, and that during his previous imprisonment in the

which the name afforded the poet, since Náý, as a common noun, means "flute," "trumpet," and "throat." Of this opportunity he takes full advantage, and indulges in all manner of puns, amphibologies, and similar figures, so that the name became familiar to all; while the names of Sú and Dahak, not lending themselves to such treatment, are seldom mentioned in his poems, and have therefore remained comparatively unknown.

¹ I have not been able to determine the positions of Sú and Náý, which appear to have been two insignificant castles, possessing neither importance nor celebrity sufficient to cause the old geographers to mention them. Dahak, however, is one of the stations on the road between Zaranj, the capital of Sistán, and Bust, which is within the confines of Zábulistán, that is, of the kingdom of Ghazna. See de Goeje's *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, Iṣṭakhri, pp. 249-250; Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 305; Muqaddasí, p. 350.

Castle of Dahak he had been more comfortable and better treated, and that 'Alí Khass, whenever he passed by Dahak, had been wont to show him some favour and kindness; but that now, since he had been confined in the Castle of Sú, he was utterly wretched and destitute, and entirely cut off from his friends and kinsmen. Some verses of this *qasida* have been already cited to prove the place of his birth:—

برین حصار مرا با ستاره باشد راز
 بچشم خویش همی بینم احتراق و قران
 دگر نه از من کس را همی بیاید یاد
 که هست یا نه مسعود سعد بن سلمان
 نشسته بودم در کج خانه بدهک
 بدولت تو مرا بود سیم و جامه و نان
 چو بر حصار گذشتی خجسته رایت تو
 شدی دمدام بر من مبرّت و احسان
 کنون نگویم کا حسان تو ز من ببری
 که چون حساب کنم بر شود ز عقد بنان
 بدولت تو مرا نیست اندوه نفقات
 ز خلعت تو مرا نیست جامه خلکان
 و لیک گشت مرا طبع این هوای عفن
 ز حیر گشتم از این مردمان بی سامان
 اگر نبودی تیمار آن ضعیفه زال
 که چشمهاش چو ابر است و اشک چون باران
 خدای داند اگر غم نهادمی بردل
 که حال گیتی هرگز ندیده ام یکسان

ولیک زالی دارم که در کنار مرا
 چو جان شیرین پرورد و مرد کرد و کلان
 نبست هرگز اورا خیال و نندیشید
 که من بقلعهٔ سومانم او بهندستان

*"On this citadel I hold converse with the stars : I see with my own eyes their combustions and conjunctions.
 No longer does anyone remember me, [or care] whether Mas'ud the son of Sa'd the son of Salmán exists or not.
 I used to dwell in a cell at Dahak, where, by thy good fortune, I had money and clothes and bread,
 And when thy fortunate standard passed by the fortress, charity and kindness used continually to be vouchsafed to me.
 I do not say now that thy kindnesses have been cut off from me, for, when I enumerate them, they are beyond the computation of dactylometry.
 By thy good fortune, I need not be anxious about my expenses ; by the garments wherewith thou clothest me, I am saved from wearing rags and tatters.
 But the quality of this foul atmosphere is killing me, and I am sick of these ungentle companions.
 Were it not for my anxiety," etc. (See, for the translation of the four concluding couplets, p. 705, supra.)*

In another *qaṣīda* in praise of Muḥammad Kháṣṣ (one of the favourites of Sultán Ibráhīm, son of the above-mentioned 'Alí Kháṣṣ, on whom, after the death of his father, the office of *Kháṣṣ* or *Kháṣṣa* was conferred),¹ Mas'ud-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán

¹ Mas'ud-i-Sa'd has a *qaṣīda* lamenting the death of 'Alí Kháṣṣ, and another praising and congratulating Muḥammad b. 'Alí Kháṣṣ b. Kháṣṣ, one hemistich of which runs as follows :—

شد خاصِ پادشا پسرِ خاصِ پادشا

"The son of the King's Kháṣṣ (page in waiting) hath become the King's Kháṣṣ."

In the same *qaṣīda* he also alludes to the name of Sultán Ibráhīm, so that it appears that 'Alí Kháṣṣ died during his reign, and that he conferred the father's office on the son Muḥammad. It is not certain what were the functions of

says that he had been in prison for more than nine years, whence it is evident that at the time he composed it he was imprisoned in the castle of Náy :—

فزون است نه سال تا من کنون ' نه با دوستانم نه با دودمان
مرا جای کوه است و اندوه کوه ' تنم در میان دو کوه کلان

"It is now more than nine¹ years since I am neither with my friends nor with my family ;

My place is in a mountain and my grief is as a mountain, so that my body lies betwixt two great mountains."

In another *qaṣida* in praise of Sultán Ibráhím he says that he has languished in prison for nearly ten years, which is the longest period mentioned by him in his poems in connection with his first imprisonment. After singing the praises of Sultán Ibráhím, he says :—

بزرگوار خدایا چو قرب ده سال است '
که می بکاهد جان من از غم و تیمار '
یکی برحمت بر جان و بر تنم بخشای '
که من نه در خور بندم شها نه اهل حصار '

"O great lord, since it is nearly ten years that my soul is wasted away by grief and care,

Take pity for once in mercy on my soul and body, for I deserve not bonds, O King, nor am I one who ought to be interned."

If we compare these verses with those already cited (p. 723, *supra*) : "*Sú and Dahak broke my spirit for seven years, and thereafter, for three years, the Castle of Náy,*" it appears certain that the tenth year to which they allude was the last

a "*Kháṣṣ*" or "*Kháṣṣa*"; they must have corresponded approximately to those of a page in waiting (*pish-khidmat-i-makhṣús*), or lord of the bedchamber (*Amín-i-Hudúr*), or lord high chamberlain (*Hájibü'd-Dawla*), or the like.

¹ Thus in the two British Museum manuscripts, but the lithographed Tíhrán edition reads "ten years," which is evidently an error.

of his first imprisonment, which consequently endured ten years.

In another *qaṣida* in praise of Abu'l-Qásim, the *Kháṣṣa* of Sultán Ibráhím,¹ he tenders him his thanks for delivering

¹ In this *qaṣida*, some of the verses of which are cited in the text, the poet makes no mention of Sultán Ibráhím indicating that Abu'l-Qásim was his *Kháṣṣa* (chamberlain, or page in waiting), but in another *qaṣida*, wherein he laments the death of this same Abu'l-Qásim-i-Kháṣṣa, he explicitly mentions the name of Sultán Ibráhím. From this last *qaṣida* it also appears that Abu'l-Qásim predeceased him. The poem in question begins:—

گمان بری که وفا داردت سپهر مگر
تو این گمان مبر اندر وقاحتش بنگر

“ *Perhaps thou dost imagine that Fortune will deal faithfully with thee : think not thus : look at its insolence.* ”

After some verses of admonition and philosophical resignation he says:—

اگر ز عبرت خواهی که صورتی بینی
بمرگ حاضره سلطان روزگار نگر
عماد دولت ابو القاسم آنکه حشمت او
نهاد خواست جهان را همی نهاد دگر

“ *If thou desirest to see a warning picture, look at the death of the favourite chamberlain of the Sultán of the Age,*
‘Imádu’l-Dawla Abu’l-Qásim, whose high state would have introduced a fresh order into the world.’ ”

And at the conclusion of the poem he says:—

نبود چون تو و نشكفت ز آنکه چون تو نبود
که پرورنده تو بود شاه دین پرور
ظهير دولت و دین بو المظفر ابراهيم
که دین و دولت ازو یافتند زینت و فر
سپهر داد بدو جمله ملک تا جاوید
خدای ملک برو وقف کرد تا محشر

“ *There hath not been and hath not flourished anyone like thee, for there was none whose patron was, like thine, the Royal Defender of the Faith*
Dhahiru’l-Dawla wa’d-Din Abu’l-Mudhaffar Ibráhim, by whom Church and State were adorned and glorified.

Fortune hath given him all Empire till Eternity ; God hath endowed him with dominion until the Day of Resurrection. ”

him from his "last imprisonment" (which, however, was, unfortunately, not his last, since he was destined to spend many a long day thereafter in captivity in the fortress of Maranj). This *qaṣīda* he composed in the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm after his release from the Castle of Náy, and it begins thus:—

روزِ نوروز و ماهِ فروردین ' آمدند ای عجب ز خُلدِ برین '
 باد فرخنده بر عمیدِ اجل ' خاصّه پادشاهِ روی زمین '
 عمده دین و ملک ابو القاسم ' که بیاراست روی ملکِ بدین '

*"New Year's Day and the month of Farwardīn have come,
 O wonderful! from highest Paradise :*

*May it be lucky to the glorious minister, the chamberlain of
 the King of the face of the earth,*

*Abu'l-Qāsim, the mainstay of Church and State, who hath
 adorned the face of the kingdom with religion."*

After the panegyric he says:—

گربتو نیستی قوی دلِ من ' چکدی زهره من مسکین '
 از تو بودی همه تعهدِ من ' گاه محنت بحصنهای حصین '
 جان تو دادی مرا پس از ایزد ' اندرین حبس و بند باز پسین '
 بخدائی که صنع و حکمتِ او ' تابد از گردشِ شهر و سنین '
 که بباقی عمر یک لحظه ' رو نتابم ز خدمتِ پس ازین '

*"Were my heart not strengthened by thee, the courage of poor
 me would ebb away.*

*From thee came all the sympathy which I received in the time
 of my affliction in impregnable fortresses.*

*After God, it was thou who didst give me life in this last
 imprisonment and bondage.*

*[I swear] by that God whose wisdom and creative power shine
 from the revolution of the months and years,*

*That henceforth, for the remainder of my life, I will not turn
 aside my face from thy service."*

Now as to the cause of Mas'úd's first imprisonment. Nidhámí-i-'Arúdí says (p. 72 of E. G. Browne's translation of the *Chahár Maqála*) that it was maliciously reported to Sultán Ibráhím that his son Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmúd intended to go to 'Iráq to Maliksháh; that the King's jealousy was aroused thereat, and so worked on him that he suddenly caused his son to be arrested, bound, and interned in a fortress, besides arresting and interning his courtiers in various fortresses, and amongst them Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán in the Castle of Náy. In a prison-poem addressed to Sultán Ibráhím he says:—

چو کلک و نیزه اگر راست نیستم دل و تن
 چو کلک و نیزه مرا باد بر میان زَنار
 چرا ز دولتِ عالی تو به پیچم روی
 که بنده زادهٔ این دولتِ بهفت تبار
 همی نبینم خود را گناهی و جرمی
 مگر سعایت و تلبیس دشمن مگار

"If I be not upright in heart and body, like the pen and the spear,

May my waist wear, like the pen and the spear, the zone [of bondage].

Why should I avert my face from thy noble dynasty, since I am born of ancestors who for seven generations have served this dynasty.

I see no fault nor crime in myself, but only the deceitful slanders of insidious enemies."

From several of his *qasidas* it appears that the accusation made against him by his enemies was that he was "thinking of Khurásán." Thus he says in a prison-poem in praise of the Wazír 'Abdu'l-Hamíd b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdu's-Samad:—

‘ در خراسان چو من کجا یابی ‘ که بهر فضل فخر گیهان است
 ‘ ورنه دشمن همی کجا گوید ‘ که در اندیشه خراسان است
 ‘ گرازین نوع در دلم گشته است ‘ نزد من دیو به ز یزدان است

“ Where in Khurásán shalt thou find one like me, who in every accomplishment is the Pride of the World ?

If not, how doth mine enemy say, ‘ he is thinking of Khurásán ’ ?

If such a thought has ever entered my mind, then a demon in my eyes is better than God ! ”

In another prison-poem, written during his second imprisonment, he says :—

‘ گه خسته آفتِ لهاورم ‘ گه بسته تهمتِ خراسانم

“ Now I am sick with longing for Lahore : now I am in bonds on account of accusations concerning Khurásán.”

Now what is meant by his “thinking of Khurásán” is apparently, as Nidhámí-i-‘Arúdí explains, that he intended to attach himself to the service of Maliksháh, or something of this sort. Apparently this accusation was not pure calumny, nor entirely devoid of truth. We may conjecture, from the vehement insistence of Sultán Ibráhím on the imprisonment of Mas‘úd, notwithstanding all his pathetic and affecting appeals in verse, and from the refusal of the Sultán to listen to the intercession of any one of the *wazirs* and nobles on his behalf, and other hints, that Mas‘úd-i-Sa‘d-i-Salmán was in some degree culpable. Yet even were it so, whether his fault was of such magnitude that he should have been kept for ten years in prison and in bonds is another matter. And it is strange that in one *qasida* composed in the heroic vein, apparently in praise of Sayfu‘d-Dawla Maḥmúd, and beginning :—

‘ چو عزمِ کاری کردم مرا که دارد باز ‘

‘ رسد بفرجام آن کار کش کنم آغاز ‘

*"When I am resolved on anything, who can hold me back?
That affair which I take in hand is brought to a successful
issue,"*

he says, a few lines further on:—

نمیگذارد خسروز پیش خویش مرا
که در هوای خراسان یکی کنم پرواز

*"The King will not suffer me to leave his presence that I may
take one flight in the air of Khurásán."*

What does this verse mean? If it means just what his enemies said of him, that he was "thinking of Khurásán," how then does he say in another place (see p. 730 *supra*):—

ورنه دشمن همی کجا گوید که در اندیشه خراسان است
گرازین نوع در دلم گشته است نزد من دیو به زیزدان است

How, again, can he say, confirming his saying with an oath:—

والله که چو گرگ یوسفم و الله بر خیره همی نهند بیهتانم

*"By God, I am [innocent] as the Wolf of Joseph¹: By God,
Maliciously do they asperse me with calumny!"*

God alone knoweth what is hidden in men's hearts!

Now as to the date of this first imprisonment, Nidhámí-i-'Arúdí says: "In the year A.H. 572 (= A.D. 1176-7)," etc.² In this date, besides the obvious error in the hundreds, noticed by the authors of the *Riyádu'sh - Shu'ará* and the

¹ The expression "Wolf of Joseph," i.e. the wolf whom Joseph's brethren charged with devouring him, is commonly used by the Persians to denote an innocent person who is suspected because appearances are against him, e.g. in the verse:—

گرگ دهن آلوده و یوسف ندریده
"A wolf with blood-stained mouth who has not torn Joseph."

² See p. 72 of the separate reprint of Browne's translation of the *Chahár Maqála*, and n. 1 at foot of same. It is curious that this error of "572" for "472" occurs in all available copies of the book.

Subḥatū'l-Marjān, and by Professor Browne (*loc. cit.*),¹ the tens and units are also wrong, as proved by Nidhāmī's own words: "Sultān Ibrāhīm departed from this world, leaving that noble man in prison . . . so that, by reason of his relation to Sayfu'd-Dawla, he remained imprisoned for twelve years in the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm." Now this monarch died in A.H. 492 (= A.D. 1098-9),¹ and if Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd was imprisoned for twelve years in his reign, it is evident that the beginning of his captivity must be placed in A.H. 480 (= A.D. 1087-8), not in A.H. 472 (= A.D. 1079-1080). The date A.H. 480, then, is what should stand in the text of Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī, though in fact it is uncertain in what year he was imprisoned, seeing that every single figure in the date given by Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī is wrong, so that little reliance can be placed even on its emendation. Disregarding the above date (A.H. 472), we may, it is true, place the date of his imprisonment twelve years before the death of Sultān Ibrāhīm, i.e. in A.H. 480, but as Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī is in error both as to its duration (which was really ten, not twelve years), and as to Sultān Ibrāhīm's having died leaving him in prison (for he was pardoned and released from prison by that monarch), therefore the date A.H. 480 deduced from these two assertions cannot be regarded as trustworthy. Indeed, little reliance can, in general, be placed on the chronological data furnished by Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī.²

¹ The *Haft Iqlīm* and *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥd*, however, putting the event after its proper time, write "five hundred . . .," though they place the death of Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd in A.H. 515 (= A.D. 1121-2).

² Should anyone be inclined to wonder how Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī, who was contemporary with Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān, could commit so many errors in dealing with one single question, we answer that if the objector will consider how many gross errors and extraordinary mistakes, almost defying correction, he perpetrates in the concluding portion of this very story in speaking of Shihābu'd-Dīn Qutalmush and Sultān Muḥammad at the Gate of Hamadān, in regard to matters which he professes to have heard with his own ears, he will be overcome with astonishment, and will recognize the fact that one who can make such mistakes in matters of which he professes to have been orally informed may well be excused for any mistakes concerning contemporary events of which he had not such direct accounts. This, indeed, is the way of Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī: so long as he speaks of matters of common knowledge, he is very sound & sensible, but directly he enters into any historical question, he makes slips, &

Taking into view all these considerations and weighing the statements of Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī with what is explicitly or implicitly stated in the *Dīwān*, it appears to me that the beginning of Mas'ūd's first imprisonment was subsequent to the year A.H. 480 (A.D. 1087-8), and his release from this imprisonment a little before A.H. 492 (= A.D. 1098-9).

Interval between the two Imprisonments.

After Sultān Ibrāhīm had forgiven Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān and he had been released from prison, he twice visited India, the land of his birth, to look after his farms and estates, and to gladden his eyes with a sight of his son, his daughter, his relations, and his friends, after a separation of ten years. Shortly after this, Sultān Ibrāhīm died, and Sultān 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Mas'ūd b. Ibrāhīm reigned in his stead, and conferred the viceroyalty of India on his son and successor Amīr 'Adudu'd-Dawla Shīrzād. Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān became one of this Prince's courtiers and intimates. Abū Naṣr-i-Fārsī, Shīrzād's deputy-governor and commander-in-chief, showed him special favour, and conferred on him the government of Chālandar, one of the dependencies of Lahore. We shall now proceed to substantiate these statements by citations from his poems.

In a *qaṣīda* in praise of Sultān 'Alā'u'd-Dawla, Mas'ūd gives some particulars as to his former imprisonments, in the course of which he explicitly declares that Sultān Raḍī, *i.e.* Sultān Ibrāhīm, had granted him a pardon.¹ This *qaṣīda* he composed during the time when he was governor of Chālandar on behalf of Abū Naṣr-i-Fārsī.² Addressing Sultān Mas'ūd, he says :—

commits incessant errors in continuous succession. This is a very curious fact, and I fail to understand the cause of all these blunders, whereof the strangest concern facts which he professes to have heard at first hand, and relates as matters of which he had direct knowledge. It is precisely in such matters that he commits the grossest errors.

¹ Another proof of Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī's error in stating that Sultān Ibrāhīm died leaving him in prison.

² Some verses from this *qaṣīda* have been already cited on p. 703, *supra*.

ملکا حالِ خویش خواهم گفت '
 نیک دانم که آیدت باور '
 در جهان هیچ گوش نشنید است '
 آنچه دید است چشم من ز غیر '
 سالها بوده‌ام چنانکه بود '
 بچه شیر خواره بی مادر '
 که بزاری نشسته‌ام گریان '
 جایهائی ز سمج مظلوم تر '
 که بساحتی کشیده‌ام نالان '
 بندهائی گران تر از لنگر '
 بر سر کوههای بی فریاد '
 شد جوانی من هبا و هدر '
 شعر من باده شد بهر محفل '
 ذکر من تازه شد بهر محضر '
 عفو سلطان نامدار رضی '
 بر شب من فگند نور قمر '
 التفاتِ عنایتش برداشت '
 بار رنج از تن من مضطر '
 اصطناع رعایتش دریافت '
 روزگار مرا بحسن نظر '
 سوی مولد کشید هوش مرا '
 یوبه دختر و هوای پسر '
 چون بهندوستان شدم ساکن '
 بر ضیاع و عتقار پیر پدر '

بنده بو نصر برگماشت مرا
 بعمل همچو نایبان دگر
 من شنیدم که میر ماضی را
 بنده بوده والی لوکر
 پس شگفتی نباشد ار باشد
 مادحت قهرمان چالندر
 تا رساند بچشن هر نظمی
 نقش کرده ز مدح یکت دفتر
 سازد از طبع درجهای ثنا
 قیمتی تر ز درجهای درر
 لیکن از بس که دید شعبدها
 گام ننهد همی مگر بجزر
 ترسد از عاقبت که دانسته است
 عادت و عرف گنبد اخضر

"O King, I will declare my condition ; I know well that thou wilt believe me.

No ear in the world hath heard of such vicissitudes as my eyes have seen.

For years I have been as is an unweaned babe without its mother.

At one time I have sat weeping in misery in places darker than a prison cell ;

At another time in durance I have borne with lamentations fetters heavier than an anchor.

On the tops of pitiless mountains my youth hath been wasted and frittered away.

My poetry was as wine in every assembly, my fame was celebrated in every gathering.

*The pardon of the renowned monarch Radī hath cast moonlight
on my night.*

*His gracious regards have removed the burden of trouble from
my afflicted body.*

*His kindly care hath, by its beneficent regard, brought succour
to my fortune.*

*Longing for my daughter and affection for my son have drawn
my spirit towards my native land.*

*When I took up my abode in India on the farms and estates
of my old father,*

*Your servant Bū Naṣr appointed me to office like other
deputies.*

*I have heard that the late Amīr had a servant who was
governor of Lūkar,*

*Wherefore it is not wonderful if thy panegyrist be the Warden
of Chālandar,*

*So that he may send to thy banquet every poem, a volume
inscribed with thy praises,*

*And may produce by his genius caskets of praise more precious
than caskets of pearls.*

*Yet, having experienced so many of [Fortune's] tricks, he will
not take one single step save with caution,*

*Fearing the final outcome, because he has learned the way and
custom of the green vault [of heaven]."*

At this same period, while governor of Chālandar, was composed his well-known *mathnawī* poem in praise of the courtiers and boon-companions of the Amīr 'Adudu'd-Dawla Shīrzād b. Mas'ūd, amongst whom he himself was included, which begins:—

برشکال ای بهارهندستان ' ای مجات از بلای تابستان

*"O Season of the Rains, O Spring of India, O Deliverance
from the affliction of Summer!"*

In a portion of this describing his own condition he says:—

من که مسعود سعد سلمانم ' کمتر و پستتر از ندیمانم '
 شاه بی موجبی عزیزم کرد ' وز همه بندگان پدید آورد '

*"I who am Mas'ûl-i-Sa'd-i-Salmân am less and lower than
 the [other] courtiers;
 The Prince honoured me without cause, and made me prominent
 amongst his servants."*

By "the Prince"¹ is meant Amír Shírzád. A few lines further on he says, alluding to his weariness and heaviness of heart:—

لا جرم چون چنین گرامجانم ' ناخوش و ناترنگ و نادانم '
 رفتم اینک بسوی چالندر ' تا کی آییم بشهر بار دگر '

*"Naturally, since I am so heavy of heart, so unattractive, dull,
 and ignorant,
 Behold, I have gone to Chálandar; how long shall it be ere
 I come again to the city?"*

It also appears from this *mathnawí* that the Amír 'Adudu'd-Dawla Shírzád was viceroy of India during the earlier part of the reign of his father, Sultán Mas'úd, as is also explicitly stated in the *Tabaqát-i-Násirí*, and that Abú Naṣr-i-Fársí was his deputy, agent, and commander-in-chief. Thus, for instance, he says in a section [of this poem] consecrated to Abú Naṣr:—

¹ The word *Sháh* in the usage of the older Persian writers is equivalent to "Prince" at the present day, that is to say, it was applied both to the King and to the more important of his sons who were in the direct succession to the throne. This usage is common in the ancient and medieval writers. In this *mathnawí* the poet generally speaks of Shírzád as *Sháh*, although his father Mas'úd, whom he also alludes to as *Sháh*, was alive. So likewise in his other *qaṣidas* he applies the title of *Sháh* both to Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmúd and to his father Sultán Ibráhm. At the present day the word *Sháh* is exclusively applied to the reigning monarch, never to princes even of the highest rank, nor to the Crown Prince himself.

خواجه بو نصر پاری که جهان ' هیچ همتا نداردش زمهان '
 شاهرا بوده نایب کاری ' کرده شغل سپاه سالاری '
 سر همت بلند باد بدو ' شادمان شاه شیرزاد بدو '

*" Khwāja Bū Naṣr of Pārs, whose equal amongst great men
 the world does not possess ;*

*He is the Prince's deputy in the business of the State,
 exercising the functions of commander-in-chief.*

*May the head of high enterprise be exalted by him, and may
 Prince Shīrśād rejoice in him ! "*

From a previously cited *qaṣida* it appears that it was Abú Naṣr who appointed Mas'úd-i-Sa'd to the government of Chálandar. Apparently it happened that after some while, in consequence of malicious insinuations made by Abu'l-Faraj (seemingly not him called *Rúní*), Abú Naṣr-i-Fársí fell under the displeasure of Sultán Mas'úd, as our poet says in a fragment beginning :—

بو الفرّج شرم نامدت که بجهد ' بچنین حبس و بندم افکندی '

*" O Abu'l-Faraj, art thou not ashamed of having, by thy
 [malicious] efforts, cast me into such imprisonment and
 bondage ? "*

which he addresses in reproach to Abu'l-Faraj :—

وینچنین قوّتی تراست که تو ' پاری را کنی شکاوندی '

*" And such power hast thou that thou overthrowest [by thy
 calumnies] ¹ him of Pārs."*

After Abú Naṣr of Pārs had fallen into disgrace, every one of his adherents was overtaken by some punishment or misfortune, and amongst them was Mas'úd-i-Sa'd, who was

¹ The word *Shikdwandí* means literally tunneling or mining, but here it is used metaphorically in the sense of traducing and slandering.

imprisoned for eight years in the fortress of Maranj,¹ as Nidhámí-i-'Arúdí says: "And the duration of the imprisonment which he suffered in the reign of Sultán Mas'úd by reason of his relations with Abú Naṣr-i-Fársí was eight years."²

Now the interval separating the end of the reign of Sultán Ibráhím from the beginning of the reign of Mas'úd was of brief duration, and though we have no hint which might serve to determine its extent, yet, since Nidhámí-i-'Arúdí makes no mention of it, treating the second imprisonment as an extension of the first, it would appear to have been very short. Moreover, Mas'úd-i-Sa'd, in many passages of his poetry, hints at the brief duration of this interval, during which he was invested with the government of Chálandar and other state employment; and in one passage in praise of Sultán Mas'úd (erroneously printed "Maḥmúd") he says:—

آتشِ شغلِ من بجسته هنوز ' دودِ عزلم بر آمد از روزن

"Ere the fire of my appointment was yet well alight, the smoke of my dismissal arose from the window."

In another passage in praise of Thiqatu'l-Mulk he says:—

وداع کرد مرا دولت نکرده سلام

فراق جست ز من پیش از آنکه بود وصال

"Fortune bade me farewell almost before she had greeted me: She sought separation from me ere union had taken place."

¹ Maranj, or Marang, is the name of a castle in India (*Burhán-i-Qáfi*), of which I have been unable to discover any further particulars.

² The death of Abú Naṣr-i-Fársí took place in the reign of Malik Arslán, as Mas'úd-i-Sa'd says in a *qaṣida* in his praise:—

بو نصر فارسی ملکا جان بتو سپرد

"O King, Abú Naṣr-i-Fársí surrendered up his life to thee."

His death must therefore have taken place between the years A.H. 509 and 511 (= A.D. 1115-1118), which was the period of the reign of Malik Arslán. For further biographical particulars concerning Abú Naṣr-i-Fársí, see the *Lubábu'l-Albáb* of Muḥammad 'Awfí, ed. Browne, vol. i, p. 71.

And in yet another passage he says:—

یکچند کشیده داشت بختِ بد ‘ در محنت و در بلای الوانم ‘
 چون پیرهن عمل بپوشیدم ‘ بگرفت قضای بد گریبانم ‘

“*For some while evil fortune kept me on the stretch in all manner of sorrow and affliction ;
 When I invested myself with office as with a shirt, bad luck seized me by the collar.*”

(*To be continued.*)

XXVII.

THE HAYDARABAD CODEX OF THE BABAR-NAMA OR
 WAQI'AT-I-BABARI OF ZAHIRU-D-DIN MUHAMMAD
 BABAR, BARLAS TURK;

KING OF FARGHĀNA 1494–1502 (899–908 H.); KING OF
 KĀBUL 1504–1530 (910–937 H.); FIRST TĪMŪRID EMPEROR
 OF HINDŪSTĀN 1526–1530 (932–937 H.).

By ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

THIS article carries on and amends my notes on the Turkī manuscripts of the *Bābar-nāma* which appeared in this Journal in July 1900, and July 1902. It serves too, as broader basis to the formal preface of the photographic reproduction of the Haydarābād Codex which has been published recently under the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust.

Several circumstances lead to the opinion that few copies of the original Turkī text of Bābar's book have ever existed; of those known by me to survive, the Haydarābād Codex only is at once good, complete and accessible. It is not too much to say therefore, that to multiply copies of it had become a literary necessity of the first importance. This has been accomplished in the reproduction just mentioned.

The chief aim of this article is to define the rank of the Haydarābād Codex; this done, it will be made clear that the first form of the Emperor's famous work was in real peril of extinction. Information about the *Bābar-nāma* is both scant and sparse; it will be useful therefore, if I set down here what I have learned about its history, its manuscripts, and the work done and to be done upon them.

On the book as a Turkī classic, scholars have passed judgment. On its author comment is equally needless; he speaks for himself and has witness in the labours he has inspired—Persian, German, English, Russian, and French.

THE BOOK.

The publication of the *Babār-nāma* obliges selection amongst the names by which Bābar's autobiographical writings have been mentioned in literature or described casually on the fly-leaves of manuscripts. The rank of the Haydarābād Codex will give weight to the title chosen to distinguish its replica, and there appears to be firm ground on which to base a rule and thus to work against confusion.

Three names are in common and indiscriminate use for the Turkī and Persian texts—*Wāqi'āt-i-bābarī*, *Bābar-nāma*, and *Tūsūk-i-bābarī*. Of these, the first has the best claim to distinguish the Turkī original, because Bābar speaks of his writings as *Wāqi'* (f. 363¹), and Gul-badan Begam calls them *Wāqi'a-nāma* (*Humāyūn-nāma*, f. 2b). But a modern tendency to define the Persian text as *Wāqi'āt-i-bābarī* has set in, and this precision is so useful that it dictates the use of the second good name, *Bābar-nāma*, to distinguish the Turkī text. Another advantage of thus appropriating the word *Bābar-nāma* is that it brings the recently effected reproduction under a rule already established in the Russian libraries, where three Turkī transcripts are catalogued under it. A somewhat early use of this title for Bābar's book is made by Khāfi Khān, and it is moreover the name which stands upon the reverse of the first page of the Haydarābād manuscript.

Those who know the use in India of the word *tūsūk*, in some one or other of its narrowed vocal forms, may question the propriety of its rejection as a title for Bābar's book. They may do this the more because by it Mr. Erskine mentions the Elphinstone MS., and because it is inscribed in at least one other Indian *Bābar-nāma*. There is however, a simple and valid ground for its rejection here: its use would not accord with its Turkī meaning.

In the "Fragments" which are attached to two Russian manuscripts, the word *Bābariyyah* occurs. Its weight is light; it is not used in an integral part of the *Bābar-nāma*.

¹ All such references are to the Haydarābād MS. and its reproduction.

With economy of words in view, it may be recalled here that the English translation is the *Memoirs*,¹ and the French *Les Mémoires*²; also that European writers have mentioned the *Bābar-nāma* as “Commentaries” and “Institutes.”

The *Bābar-nāma* is by no means exclusively autobiographical, but contains much general information about matters that interested its author. Nor is it a continuous or uniform narrative, since it is broken by lacunæ and is clean cut into two sections by change of style. This change is made on January 3rd, 1519 (Muḥarram 1, 925 H.); what precedes is a well-wrought narrative; what follows is a diary which varies in fulness, and which bears marks of a daily record in its unevenness and want of proportion. Judged from the literary standpoint, the book deteriorates therefore, after the close of the first section. This is a fact of enlightening value as to the often discussed cause of the first lacuna.

All Turkī manuscripts yet found in India open without preamble, but the three of St. Petersburg have a few words of invocation, to which one, the Senkovski, adds a considerable preamble of praise and prayer.

The first section of the book, with the exception of one year (909 H.), is a continuous narrative of the period from Bābar's accession in Farghāna, on June 10th, 1494 (Ramazān 5, 899 H.), to a point within 1508 (914 H.), where it breaks off in the middle of a sentence. No known manuscript goes beyond the Haydarābād here (f. 216b) and, as this first section was written at the end of Bābar's life, it may be that the broken sentence was his last.

The second section opens in Bābar's plain fashion, without a word to indicate that here is, or is not, his first attempt to keep a diary. It begins on January 3rd, 1519 (Muḥarram 1, 925 H.), runs on for thirteen months, breaks off for almost

¹ “Memoirs of Zehir-ed-din Muhammad Babar, Emperor of Hindustan.” Written by himself in the Jaghatai Turki, and translated, partly by the late John Leyden, Esq., M.D., partly by William Erskine, Esq. London, 1826.

² “Mémoires de Babar (Zahir-ed-din Mohammed), traduits pour la première fois sur le texte jagatai,” par A. Pavet de Courteille. Paris, 1871.

six years, starts again on November 17th, 1525 (Şafar 3, 932 H.) and, with slight omissions of record, goes on to September 9th, 1529 (Muḥarram 3, 936 H.), that is, to within some sixteen months of Bābar's death.

The Emperor's book, therefore, contains some fifteen years of biographical narrative and some five of diary, the first filling 217 folios of the Haydarābād Codex, the second 165.

As diaries fix their own dates, it is only necessary to consider at what time the narrative section was composed. Upon internal evidence Mr. Erskine assigned this to Bābar's later years, and the testimony which has gathered since he wrote supports this view. There are varied grounds for the assignment: the general one, that the charm of autobiography most allures successful men and would most allure Bābar when, in 1527 (933 H.), he looked back along his life through the roseate mist of the signal success which realized a long desire; the particular ones, that the narrative section contains numerous references to incidents recorded in the diary later than September 1527 (933 H.)¹; that there is a reference under date March 5th, 1529 (Jumāda II, 5, 935 H.), to the *Wāqi'* as being then in writing; and that Gul-badan describes a visit to Sīkrī, where she saw a building in which her father "used to write his book" (*muṣḥaf*). This visit can have been made only late in 1529, because she came to Āgra from Kābul with Māham Begam, arrived on June 27th, 1529 (Shawāl 19, 935 H.), spent what she calls three months in the capital, and then first went to Sīkrī. The last entry of Bābar's diary is dated September 7th, 1529 (Muḥarram 3, 936 H.). This leads to the opinion that even if his later entries were not made on or about the days of their dates—as they presumably were—the *muṣḥaf* she saw her father write was the narrative and not his diary.

The gaps in Bābar's record require consideration chiefly because inferences have been drawn from them which reflect upon his character as a frank and honest man.

¹ Cf. index *s.n.* Muḥ. Sl. *Bāyqarā*, Qāsim Sl. *Bāyqarā*, the several sons of the Little Khān, [Aḥmad *Chaghatāy*] Abū'l-faṭḥ *Turkmān*, etc.

It will be convenient to enumerate them in a form allowing easy reference and approximately in the order of their importance. They are as follows:—

- A. From within 914 H. to the end of 924 H. (1508 to January 2nd, 1519)—a stretch of over nine years.
- B. From early in Šafar 926 H. to Šafar 1, 932 H. (January 25th, 1520, to November 17th, 1525)—a period of almost six years.
- C. From Muḥarram 3, 936 H., to Jumāda I, 6, 937 H. (September 7th, 1529, to December 27th, 1530), the date of Bābar's death—a length of almost sixteen months.
- D. From about the middle to the end of 934 H. (April to September, 1528).

All the above occur after the end of the narrative section, and no material is known to fill their blanks.

- E. Part of 908 H. and the whole of 909 H. (1503–4).
This falls within the first section, and Bābar's own doings are summarised elsewhere (text f. 3b).

The tenour of comment made upon the gaps which have been named above, is that as we have them, so Bābar left them, and that at least one—the first in my list—was so left deliberately and with intention to suppress unwelcome matter.¹

The impressions of long acquaintance with his book do not support an attribution of blame about any of the gaps. No one has been in a better position to judge justly on such a point than Mr. Erskine, and he does not accuse Bābar of suppression.

Perhaps the blame attributed by several writers to Bābar is the outcome of a dependent habit which, without return to the source of correct estimate, hands on slightly based notions through literature. Bābar's book is presented usually as an

¹ As an example of this, a few words may be quoted from Dr. Reginald Stuart Poole's preface to the Catalogue of the Coins of the Shāhs of Persia (xxix). Dr. Poole, having discussed a gold coin which indicates that Bābar acknowledged the suzerainty of Shāh Ismā'il Šafawī, adds: "We can now understand the omission in Bābar's 'Memoirs' of the occurrences which fell between the beginning of 914 H. and that of 925 H."

autobiography from which he has omitted the record of certain years; it is criticised adversely, and blame is attributed as though it were a composed and considered book. This it certainly is not; it is, in truth, a group of three fragments, two of which are a diary and one a narrative. What stands first in all versions of the *Bābar-nāma*, and is the record of his earlier years, was written eight years later than the thirteen (lunar) months' fragment of his diary that follows it. The second length of diary partly coincides in date of composition with the narrative, is probably partly earlier, and breaks off some sixteen months before Bābar's death—months during which there is good ground for believing he was occupied in the composition of the first section of the book (i.e. the narrative).

It is tolerably safe to say that both lengths of diary were with Bābar in Hindūstān; they were associated in his possession with the *Wāqi'* he was writing; they have remained so associated and they are its only known sequel. But these diaries are no integral part of his composed autobiography; they are rough material; they might have been incorporated if he had carried on his narrative; they remain unworked, awaiting the dead hand of the craftsman.

This analysis of the book explains lacuna A as simply due to Bābar's death.

It may be urged however, by those who blame him, that this gap is not due to failure to progress beyond the broken passage of 1508 (914 H.), but to rejection by Bābar of his diary antecedent to 1519 (925 H.).

Natural as is the supposition that Bābar would keep a diary from the time of his conquest of Kābul in 1504 (910 H.) and after the custom of kings, it must be said that nothing is known which shows that he did so earlier than 1519 (925 H.). Let it be assumed however, that he had kept one, and that when he was composing his autobiography in Hindūstān, he was in a position to choose from it what to preserve and what to suppress, just as a person might do to-day if he feared the evil day of publication of his affairs. What was there to lead him to destroy the

record of almost nine years? Was there nothing done in these parallel to events chronicled? Were there no triumphs of which he might be proud? Assuredly there was much to tempt recital. In those unrecorded years he put down the Mughūl Rebellion of 914 H. with acts of daring personal bravery, himself five times the champion of his cause in single combat; he crushed another revolt of the same faithless horde in 920 H.; he was the thrice-crowned king of Samarqand, with lands that stretched from Tartary to Ghaznī;¹ he was King of Kābul throughout the missing period; during five of its years he kept backward pressure on the tribes that hemmed him round; he took the forward steps which later gave him Qandahār; moreover, in it there were sons born to him—Kāmrān and ‘Askarī—and several daughters, home events these such as he is apt to chronicle.

The gap includes also defeat and loss of Samarqand, coquetry with Shī‘a heresy and relations with Shāh Ismā‘īl. As there is this gap, history fails us, for Bābar was both maker and writer of the history of his time. How a man of whom nothing is known will deal with untoward topics is matter of pure surmise. Of Bābar it is known that he was a frank and fearless writer who did not spare to blame himself, and who, in a considered narrative, has written down much defeat and misery. That he would blot out record is not a just inference from what is known of him as man and author.

The second gap is more difficult to explain than the first, because it occurs in the diary, and there seems no reason why the habit of a daily chronicle should be laid aside by a man whose interest in letters was not casual. That there was no remission in Bābar’s literary activities is clear from the fact that within this gap, in 1522 (928 H.), he produced a religious poem of 2,000 lines on the Muḥammadan faith.² It is not

¹ “History of India—Bābar and Humāyūn.” William Erskine; London, 1854, vol. i, p. 339.

² I am indebted to my husband for details about this poem. It is the *Mubīn*, of which half has been published by Professor Bézine in his *Chrestomathie Turque*. It has been described by Dr. Sprenger in the *Z.D.M.G.*, xvi (1862), p. 87, and as highly orthodox. It is mentioned by Abū’l-faḡl when enumerating the writings of Bābar (*Akbar-nāma*, H. Beveridge, i, 278), in the “Fragments” (Pavet de Courteille, ii, 461), and by Teufel (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1883, p. 141). It is quoted from by Bābar (f. 351b).

as though he had lived a life too dull to stimulate record; the silent years were full and stirring, much on the march or in camp it is true, but so were those earlier and later. Like any other considerable length of his life, this was a tissue of triumph and failure and held some lasting success.

In truth, it is the presence in Hindūstān of the thirteen months' fragment of diary which makes explanation of its succeeding gap difficult. But for this, an earlier diary than that of 1526 (932 H.) might be supposed kept and left behind in Kābul when Bābar set out on his last expedition to Hindūstān; or it might be thought that no earlier diary had been kept, in which case lacuna B would be explainable, like lacuna A, by death.

The cause of lacuna C may well be personal. It is a matter of history that Bābar withdrew from active part in public affairs some time before his death. His family, Māham, Dil-dār and his girls, had joined him after some years of absence; there were excursions made together; he was working on his autobiography; he was, as Gul-badan says, "aweary of ruling and reigning," and thought of abdication; a son, Alwār, died; Humāyūn fell grievously ill; then came Bābar's self-dedication, last illness, and the end.

To drop a record of events in which he had little part was the outcome of his circumstances.

The six months' gap of 1528 (934 H.) suggests no reason for its occurrence. It would suit, but it would not be warranted, to attribute it to loss in a storm of May 26th, 1529 (Ramazān 16, 935 H.), which blew down Bābar's tent and scattered his papers, so that they were soaked and were gathered in again with difficulty.

The blank of June, 1503 *cir.* to June, 1504 (end of 908 H. and 909 H.), has accretions of some interest. Occurring as it does within the considered narrative, it may be deliberate, and this because its record is summarised elsewhere (f. 36), or because it, Bābar's twenty-second year, was one of destitution and homeless wandering.

The Haydarābād MS. gives a hint that Bābar once wrote or meant to write the record of this year. It is but faint, the

involved dates are uncertain, and it may be nothing, but it deserves attention both as conveyed by a careful scribe and, as may be inferred from other instances of what look like exact copying, because it is derived from that scribe's good source.

On f. 120 of the text the second and third lines contain the statement that Bābar quitted Farghāna for Khurāsān. It is natural to regard the two lines as recording the same act, but this is not necessarily so, because Bābar's acts may well have allowed the two departures mentioned below.

In the end of 908 H., but not chronicled by Bābar, there occurred the defeat of the Khāns by *Shaybānī* in the Akhsi territory, which led Bābar, who escaped capture, to take refuge in the hills of Asfera. He tried in vain to leave that region, and was hunted from place to place by *Shaybānī* for "as much as a year." When he first found himself separated from his uncles and without following, he would and did try to get away. This must have been early in 909 H.; his actual escape for Khurāsān was in 910 H. The two statements vary in a slight fashion which suits the facts. In 909 H. he was an exile and without much following, but he had just left a hospitable base and must have fled from the rout on horseback. He "mounted" to ride forth. When he started in 910 H., after his year of destitution and harassment amongst the hills, he was in far worse case (3*b*); he had with him a ragged crew, "mostly on foot." There is no word of "mounting."

So far as I have been able to examine, this hint is given only by the Haydarābād MS.; it adds to the testimony detailed later, that this may be a transcript made direct from Bābar's autograph manuscript. I must add however, that if further research show there can be nothing in the doubled statement, this will not weaken the scribe's position for care; it will dissipate only my small surmise. The period concerned has not been written of fully, and at least I have advanced nothing which is contradicted by Mr. Erskine's "Life of Bābar."

At this point (909 H.) I shall take leave for a short excursion amongst the manuscripts.

The Memoirs and its bases, the Elphinstone and the 'Abdu'r-rahīm Codices, have all lost some part of the record of 908 H. The last topic of this year in the fullest known transcripts is an expression of resolve by Bābar to go to Khurāsān. Mr. Erskine did not see all the record of 908 H., or know of Bābar's resolve. He places the departure, with historical correctness, under 910 H. Dr. Ilminsky, on the other hand, had before him the full record of 908 H., and started the exile off at once in 909 H. He (perhaps Dr. Kehr) made a little chronological slip because he had the better text before him; it would not be easy to divine, without more historical touch than Dr. Ilminsky lays claim to possess, that an expressed intention of departure would wait through a blank year for fulfilment.

What has just been said illustrates the singular extent to which work on Bābar's book has been done on single Turkī transcripts and without collation. That this has been so enhances the value of the Haydarābād replica, and supports the opinion that few Turkī copies were ever made.

What will now be said on single-text work is surprising, but it rests on a good basis and is easily tested. If we begin with what may be grouped as the Indian work on the *Bābar-nāma*, we find that from one and the same mutilated manuscript, which was the Elphinstone or its exact replica, were made both the Persian translations, i.e. those of 1586 and 1590. This same Turkī copy, or its Persian rendering, is all of Turkī that is behind the Memoirs. Upon it Humāyūn made his note, *sub anno* 932 H., and on it a later emperor, who may well be Shāh-jahān, made his, *s.a.* 935 H.

If we now turn to the stream of work which has issued from a Russian source, we find that behind Ilminsky's imprint, Pavet de Courteille's French translation and Teufel's discussion of the "Fragments," there is no other Turkī basis than the defective but valuable transcript made by Kehr.

A modern worker enjoys an unearned increment of ease and opportunity through spread of information and by numerous small *agréments* of civilisation and courtesy. This advantage is emphasised by the facts that when

Mr. Elphinstone, in India, was sending to Bukhārā in 1813 for a *Bābar-nāma*, the Haydarābād MS. had been settled long in its Dakhin home; and when Dr. Ilminsky, in Russia, had to say he did not know Dr. Kehr's source, the Senkovski, text and colophon of which are guideposts to Bukhārā, was in St. Petersburg.

Mr. Erskine worked from two Persian manuscripts, one not first-rate, the other far below it; his Turkī source was very incomplete through mutilation. To-day a score of Persian copies, some of the highest rank, can be consulted with ease; and without leaving England, I have examined seven out of the eight accessible Turkī examples.

THE MANUSCRIPTS.

I shall now endeavour to show that of the Turkī manuscripts available, the Haydarābād Codex only is worthy of reproduction. The following table enumerates all of which I have heard, and gives of these, particulars such as to allow comparison of decisive points, while further details are grouped later under the head of each transcript.

The number of manuscripts tabulated is thirteen. Of these two have eluded my search altogether; a third is well known, but missing from its assigned place; a fourth and fifth are known only through their descendants, which are imperfect; a sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth are defective or incomplete, or both; an eleventh¹ is complete,² western and defective; a twelfth appears to be a transcript of the last-named, shares its defects, and is modern; the thirteenth is complete, well-preserved, careful, and is the Haydarābād Codex.

¹ By the kindness of Professor C. Salemann and Dr. Alexander Kreisberg, Nos. 11 and 12 were lent for my use in the India Office, where I am indebted to Mr. F. W. Thomas for taking them into his charge.

² By 'complete' is meant here, with minor omissions but a transcript of the whole book, not a copy of a part.

TABLE OF THE TURKI MSS. KNOWN TO HAVE EXISTED.

	DATE OF COMPLETION.	NUMBER OF FOLIOS. ¹	LOCATION.	NAME OF SCRIBES.	WHY INELIGIBLE FOR REPRODUCTION.
1. Bābar's autograph MS. ...	Conjectural, 937 H. (1530).	At least 382.	Not known, 1905.	Bābar.	Not known to exist.
2. Khwāja Kalān <i>Aḥrārī's</i> MS.	935 H. (1528).	At most 363.	Āgra, 1529.	Unknown.	Not known to exist.
3. Elphinstone MS. ...	Conjectural only.	In 1816, 289.	Edinburgh, 1842 and 1848; missing, 1905.	Conjectural only.	Missing and mutilated.
4. Bukhārā MS. ...	Uncertain, 1026 H. or 1126 H. (1617 or 1714).	Approx. and conj., 382.	Reputed in Bukhārā, 1900.	Unknown.	Not available; copies defective.
5. British Museum MS. ...	1039 H. (1629-1630).	97.	British Museum, 1905.	Dāwūd bin 'Alī'u'l-kashmīrī.	Fragments only.
6. Nazar Bāy's MS. ...	Rajab 5, 1121 H. (Aug. 31, 1709).	Unknown: its copy has 215.	Owned by a Bukhariot, 1824.	'Abdu'l-wahhāb <i>Ghajādevānī</i> .	Not known to exist; copy partial only.
7. Kehr's Transcript, St. P. Foreign Office.	1150 H. (1737).	Approximate, 382.	St. Petersburg, 1905.	George Jacob Kehr.	Defective and western.
8. John Rylands Library MS. (<i>Bib. Lindesiana</i>).	Scribe alive in 1035 H. (1625).	71.	Manchester, 1905.	Nūr Muḥammad, nephew of Abū'l-faḥl.	A partial transcript.
9. Asiatic Society of Bengal MS., conj. the Mysore.	Conjectural only, 1780 A.D. to 1800 A.D.	Approximate, 222.	Calcutta, 1900, and presumably 1905.	Unsigned.	Defective.
10. India Office MS. (<i>Bib. Leydeniana</i>).	Between 1805 and 1811.	Approximate, 222.	London, 1905.	Unsigned.	Defective.
11. Senkovski MS., St. P. Asiatic Museum.	Ramaṣān 5, 1239 H. (May 4, 1824).	215.	St. Petersburg, 1905.	Joseph Ivanovitch Senkovski.	A partial transcript.
12. St. P. University MS. ...	Sha'bān 29, 1255 H. (November 6, 1839).	Approximate, 370.	St. Petersburg, 1905.	Mullā Faizkhanov (?)	Defective and modern.
13. Haydarābād MS. ...	Unestimated.	382.	Haydarābād, 1905.	Unsigned.	[Reproduced.]

¹ The standard taken is the 382 folios of the Haydarābād MS., and by this all others have been approximately estimated.

No. I. *The Emperor Bābar's Autograph MS.*

No information has reached me which allows surmise that the original autograph manuscript of the *Bābar-nāma* still exists. It would be natural to look for it in the library of some descendant of the Tīmūrid Emperors; but unfortunately, all questions of the preservation of books in Hindūstān have been complicated by political turmoil and its sequel of destruction. A case in point involves a *Wāqi'āt-i-bābarī* which, with one fellow-survivor, now represents the former library of the Āgra College and which owes its safety during the Mutiny to its having been lent out.

Some points about the Elphinstone MS. suggest that it is Bābar's original, but they are points which turn on the exact use of words and cannot now be decided.

One thing is on record of Bābar's original MS.; as far as it had then gone, it was copied in 1529 (935 H.). (See No. II.)

Two conjectures may be made about it, but only in lightest fashion. The first is that it was copied by 'Alī'u'l-kātib for Humāyūn in 1530 (937 H.), a surmise extracted from the Alwār colophon which will be found printed at p. 761; the second, that to it Jahāngīr added his Turkī chapters (p. 756).

Its likely fate after Bābar's death is that it left Hindūstān at the Tīmūrid exodus in 1540, and went either with Humāyūn into his wandering exile or with Kāmran to Kābul. It does not seem probable that it was in Hindūstān when the Persian translations were made, since these are both from a mutilated transcript. To this improbability, however, there is the alternative that the Elphinstone MS. (from which the translations were made) is Bābar's original MS. If the now missing Elphinstone Codex should be found, it will become clear whether it is Bābar's or whether it is an exact transcript of an early and now lost manuscript on which were made the various royal notes.¹

¹ The Bukhārā MS. has not these, and thus is excluded from consideration here.

No. II. *Khwāja Kalān's MS.*

Of this I have not been able to learn more than is told by Bābar (f. 363), viz., that a copy of as much as had then been written was made by the Emperor's order and at the request of Khwāja Kalān *Aḥrārī Samarqandī* in 1529, and that it was despatched from Āgra on March 5th, 1529 (935 H.), after the Khwāja had set out for home.

No known transcript ends where this must have ended if the diaries were sent as well as the narrative section of the book.

No. III. *The Elphinstone MS.*

Of this transcript it is desirable to write at length, not only because of its varied points of interest, but because it is missing and thus the more demands full description. As will be seen, it propounds several riddles. Moreover, it has the real and abiding interest of having been used by both Persian and English translators of Bābar's book. In addition to this, if a word of Mr. Erskine's is strictly used, and its royal notes are 'marginal,' it bears an autograph attested note by Humāyūn, and another, unattested but royal in style, which may well be Shāh-jahān's. Moreover, as a royal possession, Jahāngīr may have made to it those additions in Turkī of which he writes under the second year of his reign in his (so-called) *Tūzak* and which seem likely to be portions of the "Fragments" that were first brought to public notice by Dr. Ilminsky, have been discussed by Dr. Teufel, and still remain for final examination.

As has been said, there is even much that makes for the surmise that the Elphinstone MS. is the text of supreme importance, Bābar's autograph manuscript. This can only be known if good fortune brings it from its long seclusion.

From internal evidence, it may be asserted that the Elphinstone MS. or its exact archetype was owned by Bābar's descendants. If it is not his own, it may be the copy

completed for Humāyūn as mentioned in the incongruous colophon of the Alwār Persian text which is inserted later in this notice (p. 761). The transcript mentioned there as finished in 1530 (937 H.) cannot but be a Turkī one if the Persian translations were made at the dates recorded for them.

The next news about the Elphinstone Codex is conveyed in a note made upon it by the Emperor Humāyūn, which is attested by him, and which Mr. Erskine describes as 'marginal.' The date of its inscription is to be inferred as 1551-2 (959 H.), because Humāyūn says in it that he was 46 (lunar) years old when he made it, and he was born on March 6th, 1508 (913 H.). The first part of this note is made as though it were a sentence of Bābar's text; the second part of it is an explanation given by Humāyūn of his reason for adding the first part and is followed by his attested signature; and the third, in every Persian MS. that I have seen (no Turkī one has it in this form), consists of a scribe's note to the effect that what he has copied is a copy, more or less remote, of the blessed royal handwriting.¹ If this note be truly marginal, the manuscript

¹ This note does not appear in the Haydarābād MS.; its place would be on f. 263, after the topic of *Rahmat piāda*. It can be seen in the form given below in the 'Abdu'r-raḥīm Persian translation. Mr. Erskine does not say in what language it was written in the Elphinstone MS. With slight intervariation, the bare statement of the ceremonial act which Humāyūn enters as for Bābar is given by Ilminsky and by the University MS., and therefore presumably by Kehr. The passage varies much in form from that in the Persian text, is shorter, unattested, and, after the *pseudo*-Bābar statement, differs widely. It draws an inference as to the year of inscription. It is safer to conclude from it nothing until the Bukhārā or Elphinstone Codex can be seen.

The note in all the 'Abdu'r-raḥīm translations is as follows. There are slight variations in the scribes' entries, as they are nearer or further from the 'blessed handwriting.'

B.M. Add. 26,200, f. 248, l. 6:

در همین منزل همین روز همایون در روی خود استره یا مقراض
رسانید چون حضرت مرحومی استره رساندن را در آن وقایع ذکر
کرده بودند بنده داعی بتبعاً آنرا ذکر کرد در آن تاریخ هشتده
ساله بودم الحال در سن چهل شش سال بوده باشم حرره محمد
همایون از نقل نقل خط مبارک آن حضرت منقول شد

It should be said here that doubt rests upon Mr. Erskine's interpretation in the Memoirs of this note.

on which it is inscribed can hardly be other than Bābar's original or the surmised copy made for Humāyūn and of almost contemporary date.

Our next scanty gleaning of news is in shape of a note entered on the MS. where the record of 908 H. breaks off, and which laments loss of matter. It is reproduced in Pāyanda Ḥasan's Persian translation, and it may have been made in both places by him. It is repeated and its lament echoed by Dr. Leyden in his manuscript translation, and from this it has found its way through Mr. Erskine into the Memoirs. Such early mutilation of the Elphinstone MS. makes for its having shared the historic vicissitudes of travel to which Humāyūn's library was subjected.

This note brings the story of the MS. down to not later than 1586 (994 H.).

Next in time is news conjectured from a reference which the Emperor Jahāngīr makes to a *Bābar-nāma* under date of his second year, 1015 H. (1606).¹ It is the earlier and later ownership of the Elphinstone MS. by Tīmūrid emperors that gives force to this conjecture. If a true surmise, it brings the story down to 1607.

The passage is as follows:—

بتقریب احوال کابل واقعات حضرت فردوس مکانی بنظر
میگذست تمام بخط مبارک ایشان بود مگر چهار جزو آن را که
بخط خود نوشتم و در آخر اجزای مذکور هم عبارتی بترکی بقلم
آوردم تا ظاهر شود که این چهار جزو بخط من است با وجود آنکه
در هندوستان کلان شده ام در گفتن و نوشتن بترکی عاری نیستم

¹ *Tūzak-i-jahāngirī*, Sayyid Aḥmad; Aligarh, 1864, p. 52. Also B.M. Add. 26,215, p. 79. Mr. Erskine has translated the passage (B.M. Add. 26,611, p. 82) with restriction of the word *khatt* to 'handwriting' in a way which does not agree with the reading of M. Langlès, who based on it a statement that Jahāngīr added to the text of Bābar's book. (*Biographie Universelle*, art. Babour.)

Reference to M. Langlès' view will be found in the preface of the Memoirs, but it must be remembered that when this reference was made Mr. Erskine did not know the *Tūzak-i-jahāngirī*.

I refrain from offering any translation of this, because from it Mr. Erskine and M. Langlés have derived differing statements through varying reading of the word *khatt*, and I have little better material yet than they had for arriving at correctness. The Elphinstone MS. might help to translate accurately, but I surmise that the Bukhārā would be the better guide.¹

No codex I have seen contains anything signed by Jahāngīr in accordance with the statement made in the passage just quoted. No signature to the "Fragments" is quoted by Ilminsky from Kehr; but in Kehr's copy they are displaced, and they may be signed where they first occur in any Russian *Bābar-nāma*—i.e. presumably, in the Bukhārā manuscript. Something might and almost certainly would be learned from the Bukhārā either for or against the suggestion that these "Fragments" or parts of them are Jahāngīr's Turkī additions.

Mr. Erskine found, 'marginal,' on the Elphinstone MS., a second royal note which he attributes to Humāyūn. There is much against this attribution. High as is the estimate of his work which all who know it must form, it is to be remembered that, although he went over his translation both with Dr. Leyden's translation of a part of the Elphinstone MS. and with the Elphinstone itself (or all it then contained), this was collation only; he could not have had with the Turkī that close touch which he had with the Persian text. Little points must have escaped him. A moment's occupation in thought of his position will show that details which he could not have missed from his Persian text might easily have passed unnoticed in collation. This implies no blame; it explains blanks in information which would have been filled had his basal transcript been in Turkī.

As to this second note, which concerns the *amrat* fruit,

¹ The help of the Elphinstone MS. could not be direct since it had lost all but a short passage of the record of 932 H. before it came into Mr. Erskine's hands, but I have a hint of collateral help in slight marginal notes upon it, of which the handwriting might be decisive.

what makes against its being Humāyūn's is that it is not attested, as is his first; at least, no attestation is quoted in the English version, or with the copy of the note which chances to be in the British Museum amongst Mr. Erskine's papers.¹ Moreover, it does not appear in the Persian translations, an absence which implies that it was entered later than their dates and therefore cannot be by Humāyūn. Again, it mentions Bābar by a style unlike Humāyūn's, and speaks of him with disrespect.

This *amrat* fruit note cannot be Jahāngir's, because he made his additions in Turkī, and it is in Persian. It occurs only in the Elphinstone Codex; its royal style, its *dar samān-i-mā*, testifies to its origin. Its author is plausibly Shāh-jahān. If truly marginal, the finding of the Elphinstone MS. would allow recognition of the handwriting.

It is a long stride to another item of news, which is one of great importance since it brings the manuscript into the European world and spreads wider Bābar's fame. Unfortunately we learn merely a fact—that it was purchased in Peshāwar by Mr. Elphinstone in 1809, and when on his mission to Kābul. Later on he wrote of it to Mr. Erskine as "old and valuable,"² but no details as to seals or other marks of earlier ownership have come down to us. It must have been soon after its purchase that it was lent to Dr. Leyden, who translated a part of it, was cut short in his work by death, and had honour done with amplest measure to his unfinished fragment by Mr. Erskine, who incorporated it in the Memoirs in 1811.³

¹ B.M. Add. 26,605, p. 88.

² These words are quoted from an unpublished letter, for access to which, as to all others quoted, I am indebted to Mr. William Erskine's grandson, Mr. Lestocq Erskine.

³ Dr. Leyden translated (see Haydarābād Codex) as far as f. 180, and a fragment from f. 216b to f. 223b. His share in the Memoirs is small, but with characteristic generosity Mr. Erskine equally divided the honour of its production with him. Dr. Leyden was a man who would have rivalled his friend in generosity; he would have wished posterity to allot to Mr. Erskine the just share of praise. The story of the genesis of the Memoirs, with its pleasant accompaniment of friendly acts and words, is agreeable reading and should be made accessible to a wider public.

In 1814¹ it was collated by Mr. Erskine with his translation from the Persian text, and with him it remained, because Mr. Elphinstone said it was safer so.

In 1816 there being correspondence between the two men as to the best place in which to deposit it and certain Turkī papers (its vocabularies ?), it was decided to entrust it to the chief library of their mother city. That it was so deposited there appears to be no doubt. The following three items of testimony, two from M. Garçin de Tassy and one from Mr. Erskine, confirm the decision taken in 1816, and locate the manuscript down to 1848 in the Advocates Library.

The first is a letter (hitherto unpublished) addressed to Mr. Erskine :—

“ 44, BLOOMSBURY SQUARE,
LONDON.

August 30, 1841.

“ MONSIEUR,

Mon estimable ami et confrère, M. le Chevalier A. Jaubert, professeur de turc, etc., m'a chargé lors de mon départ pour Londres, il y a quelques semaines, de m'informer où se trouve en ce moment le MS. jagatai des *Mémoires de Babar*, dont vous avez publié une intéressante traduction accompagnée de savantes notes. Personne à Londres n'a pu répondre à cette question; mais M. le Professeur Wilson m'a engagé à vous écrire pour vous la faire à vous-même. Je vous prie de m'excuser la liberté que je prends et de croire que je m'estimerai heureux de bonne vous être à mon tour bon à quelque chose. Je partirai dans une quinzaine pour Paris; je me chargerai volontiers de vos commissions. J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec respect, Monsieur,

“ Votre très humble serviteur,

GARÇIN DE TASSY.”

The following is quoted from the *Journal Asiatique* of February 11th, 1842 :—

¹ The MS. got mislaid after Leyden's executors had returned it to Elphinstone, and to this circumstance we owe our knowledge that there was a Turkī text in Bukhārā at the time, news of which had reached Mr. Elphinstone, for he wrote to Mir 'Izzatu'l-lāh—the author of “Travels in Central Asia in 1812–1813” Calcutta, 1872)—to ask him to procure another copy in Bukhārā for Mr. Erskine.

“ À M. le Redacteur du ‘*Journal Asiatique*.’

“ MONSIEUR,

Dans l'article plein d'interêt que M. A. Bélin a consacré à l'examen des Chrestomathies Orientales (Janvier, 1845) il est dit que le MS. jaghatai des *Mémoires de Bābar* se trouve à la Bibliothèque du Collège de Fort William. Ce document manque d'exactitude, comme celui que feu Davids a donné dans sa Grammaire Turque, p. xxxiv de la préface, où il est dit que le MS. de *Mémoires des Bābar* qui appartenait au feu Dr. Leyden se trouve dans la Bibliothèque de la Compagnie des Indes (à Londres). Le fait est que ce précieux MS., d'après lequel MM. Leyden¹ et Erskine ont rédigé leur estimable traduction anglaise, est actuellement à la Bibliothèque des Avocats à Edinbourg. C'est de M. Erskine lui-même que je tiens ce renseignement qu'il me paraît utile de faire connaître. Agréez, etc.

“ GARÇIN DE TASSY.”

Next comes an authoritative and signed statement from Mr. Erskine himself, in the following note which is taken from a flyleaf of his Turkī MS. (British Museum, Add. 26,234). After having inscribed there what is virtually a table of the contents of the volume, Mr. Erskine writes: “N.B. The folios 25–28b are wanting in Mr. Elphinstone's copy of the original, *now in the library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh*. See ‘Memoirs of Bābar,’ p. 355, note. William Erskine, Edinburgh, December 25th, 1848.”²

Unfortunately, the Elphinstone Codex cannot be found by the Keeper of the Advocates Library, who has obliged me by twice making search for it. It may be discovered later, and it is allowable to listen to the single string of hope.

I have mentioned already that this transcript had lost much of its latter portion before it came into Mr. Erskine's

¹ The MS. belonging to Dr. Leyden which is mentioned above is really in the India Office, but was not the one translated from by Leyden, who used the Elphinstone Codex. Davids has, however, not been quite correct in his statement, and there is a MS. which belonged to the College of Fort William—i.e. that of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

² The above note suggests that Mr. Erskine had the Elphinstone MS. in his hands when writing it. This is not necessarily so, since he was comparing his own MS. (now in the British Museum) with the Memoirs, which is annotated to show the contents of the Elphinstone.

hands; it had no colophon therefore, to attract his attention. One exists however, which would fit it, and which, where it stands now, is singularly out of place. It is one appended to the splendid Persian copy of the 'Abdu'r-raḥīm Persian translation which belongs to the Mahārāja of Alwār. It is as follows :—

هذا الكتاب المسمى به ترك¹ واقعات بابرى بحسب فرمان
واجب الاذعان شاهزاده عالم وعالميان مرشدزاده جهان وجهانيان
محمد همايون طلع الله نير اقباله وشوكته في يوم السلخ من شهر
جمادى الثانى سنة^{٩٣٧} سبع وثلاثون وتسع مائة من الهجرة بفضله
وحسن توفيقه بيد العبد الضعيف على الكاتب غفر الله ذنوبه
صورت اتمام وطريق اختتام يافت²

This colophon, it must be admitted, offers an interesting little problem. Its remarkable character and incongruities were first published, I think, by Mr. Beveridge.³

Where it is, it not only contradicts, by its date, the historic ascription of the Persian translation to 'Abdu'r-raḥīm Mīrzā *Turkmān*, but, with date 1531, is attached to a book which has, interpolated in its text, the note made by Humāyūn in 1551-2.

Not only so, but besides the seals of Akbar and Shāh-jahān, that of Muḥammad Humāyūn is inscribed within the volume.

¹ The original reads *tuzuk*, but I suggest to read *ba turki*, or even *ba turk*. Cf. the extract of Jahāngīr's own composition, p. 756, note. If this colophon be, as I surmise, a copy or part adaptation of one dated 937 H., it is unlikely that the Turkī word *tūzūk* or *tūzuk* should be whittled down so early. Moreover, there is no apparent reason for calling Bābar's book by the inappropriate name, and one of which there is no other known example, i.e. *Tuzuk-i-wāqī'āt-i-bābarī*.

² The points of this colophon essential here are that a transcript of Bābar's book was made by the command of Muḥammad Humāyūn, and completed on the last day of Jumāda II, 937 H., by 'Alī'u'l-kātib.

³ To the incongruities of the Alwār colophon Mr. Beveridge has drawn attention in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of July and October, 1900. The copy of the colophon printed here was made as check upon his own, by a scribe of the Alwār Rāj, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm of Dihli, in 1900, and agrees with a third copy which we owe to Mr. E. Denison Ross.

The codex is of regal merit and of early date ; it has been estimated as dating even so early as 1590, the year in which the translation was made. The colophon cannot be right : it cannot be that of a Persian translation ; it cannot in 1590 describe work by 'Alī'u'l-kātib, who was living at the time of Bābar's death, a well-known scribe ; and Humāyūn's seal can only be here for some special reason.

Until some better explanation is discovered, I suggest that as the Alwār Codex is so early and so good, it may be the one presented to Akbar by 'Abdu'r-raḥīm Mīrzā ; and that, because it was in this closest touch with its Turkī original, a spirit of piety brought over from that original its seal (Humāyūn's) and (modified?) colophon, thus linking source and outcome as one and the same book, even in differing verbal garb.

(To be continued.)

XXVIII.

INDICES TO THE DIWAN OF ABU TAMMAM.

By D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

IT will probably be long before the *dīwāns* of the Arabic poets are fully utilized by compilers of Moslem history. Widely read in Eastern countries, they are rarely attractive to European taste, trained on quite different models. European editions, such as might be expected to make the most of the historical and archæological matter which they contain, are not in many cases likely to be attempted; and the Oriental editions, though sufficiently trustworthy in point of text, usually provide the historical student with little in the way of help. Guided by the example of Mr. Guest, who indexed Makrīzī for this Journal, the present writer hopes to make the access to some of these *dīwāns* rather easier, by furnishing them with indices of places, persons, and certain other matters. The first *dīwān* with which he will deal is that of the leader of the great Abbasid trio which consists of Abū Tammām, Buḥturī, and Mutanabbī.

Abū Tammām's *dīwān* was published at Beyrut in 1889, with partial vocalization and notes by Shāhīn 'Aṭīyyah; this edition being exhausted, another has been produced this year at the same place by Muḥyi'l-dīn al-Khayyāt. Of the numerous misprints and errors in the former edition some have been corrected in the new; yet a great many remain, not indeed of a sort which is likely to seriously mislead or delay the reader, yet such as should have disappeared in a new edition. Thus, one of the poet's patrons is still repeatedly called Ibn Abī Dāwūd in the headings (1, 75, 86, etc.); yet the rhymes show that his name was Ibn Abī

Du'ād (79, 82), even if there could have been any doubt in the case of so famous a man. The explanations given in the notes are often erroneous. So in the line (24)

مصاد تلاقت لوداً بريوده قبائل حيي حضر موت ويعرب

maṣād is explained as 'the top of a mountain'; but from p. 80 we learn that it is the name of a tribe, known also to Ibn Duraid. On p. 246

بملاطس في الوحد غير اوال

awālī is interpreted *awā'il*, 'first'; of course it is the participle from *alā*, 'to be slack.' On p. 12, in a line quoted by Mas'ūdī, wine is said to be *jahmiyyat al-auṣāf*: the editor thinks this means 'dark of attributes,' but it must surely be a reference to the doctrines of the Jahmites concerning the attributes of God. The matter contained in the new edition seems identical with that in the old, save that some of the satires published in 1889 have been omitted on the ground of impropriety.

Abū Tammām was court-poet under Mu'taṣim and Wāthik, and most of his efforts, or at any rate the best of them, consist of encomiums either of the Caliphs or of the leading men at their courts, especially Aḥmad Ibn Abī Du'ād and Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt, the judge and vizier in whom Mu'taṣim placed implicit reliance. The themes on which he dwells most are the defeat and capture of Bābak by al-Afshīn, assisted by the generals Abū Sa'id Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf, Abū Dulaf, and Ja'far al-Khayyāt. Bābak, leader of the Khurramites, warred with considerable success against the Caliphs, and was finally subdued by the military genius of al-Afshīn and the treachery of his Armenian friends. His execution is powerfully described by our poet, p. 264. Al-Afshīn also took a prominent part in the successful raid by which Mu'taṣim rendered himself master of Ancyra and Amorium, celebrated by Abū Tammām in one of his most brilliant odes (7). Presently al-Afshīn fell into disfavour,

was charged with idolatry and fire-worshipping, was imprisoned and starved to death. Abū Tammām now re-echoes the charges (268), and describes with delight the fire in which the hero's bones were burned: "he prayed to it when living, he is burned in it when dead, and shall enter it with the evildoers."

Several other men of eminence figure among the poet's patrons—'Abdallah Ibn Ṭāhir, Mālik Ibn Ṭauk, al-Ḥasan Ibn Sahl, etc. Since his patrons either sent for him or were sought by him, his poems enable us to add a few biographical details to those preserved by the author of the *Aghānī*, Mas'ūdī, and Ibn Khillikān. To his supposed Christian descent he has no allusion; but he boasts exceedingly of the pagan glories of his tribe. Somewhere in Syria was his earliest home (425); thence he journeyed early in life to Egypt, where he suffered greatly from poverty (419–423 and 473); one of his earliest poems (359) is a dirge on 'Umair Ibn al-Walīd, who was killed in Egypt in 214 A.H. (Ṭabarī, iii, 1101), followed by a series of dirges on Muḥammad Ibn Ḥumaid al-Ṭūsī, killed by Bābak in the same year. Many of the places which he professes to have visited are of course ideal, and copied from earlier poets; but of places whither he really went he mentions Ḥulwān (323), Ḥimṣ (283), Raḳḳah (121), while Nisābūr and Mausil (where he died) are mentioned in the headings. Of Baghdad he only tells us that he would fain go there (135, 323), a wish which was certainly realized.

Of literary and religious matters Abū Tammām knows quite as much as could be expected: he appears to be familiar with the anecdotes about his predecessors that figure in the *Aghānī*. His reference (4c) to the *Yatimah* of Ibn al-Mukāffa' as a masterpiece of eloquence is very remarkable. Ma'bad, he states, is the chief singer, though he has many rivals; the Umayyads preferred al-Akḥṭal to Farazdak, notwithstanding that the latter was their kinsman. He quotes Jarwal, but adds "I mean al-Ḥuṭay'ah," the name by which the latter poet was more familiarly known. Technical terms of tradition (76), metre (81), and grammar

(3, 279, 308) not unfrequently occur. Attention is called to the practice of pointing and vocalizing epistles (419), and the cheapness of paper (241).

A distinctive feature in Abū Tammām's odes is his interest in the week-days. Monday (293) is the day of Abū Sa'īd's victory; Tuesday is the death-day of 'Umar Ibn al-Walīd (360), and of some probably fictitious separation of the poet from his beloved (64); Thursday (263) is the day on which Bābak's fortress Baddh was destroyed, and is also marked by erotic experiences (438, 445); Friday (102) is the day of a victory over Bābak at Mūkān, and also of a victory over the Byzantines (297), consummated on a Saturday (ibid.)—so glorious a victory that Time smiles whenever it remembers that it begot such a Saturday. Further, Thursday is the day on which Mu'tasim died and Wāthik acceded to the throne (276). Sunday and Wednesday, it would appear, had nothing worth commemorating.

Abū Tammām's biographers quote tales in which he is charged with impiety, especially with neglect of the five prayers. His dīwān contains nothing that would confirm this charge—indeed, he asserts (261) that prayer makes good all following actions. Such references as he makes to religious matters are quite orthodox; and, as in most dīwāns, there are a few poems quite ascetic and edifying in character. These, it is true, are compensated by verses in praise of wine.

The following indices refer to the pages of the new edition; some of the geographical names have been collated with the forms in Yākūt, who had studied the dīwān very carefully; and in the case of some of the persons mentioned references have been given to places where more is told about them.

1. Names of Places mentioned in the Dīwān of Abū Tammām.

البراق 220	أبان 274
برقعيد 65	أبرشتویم 327, 262, 192, 106, 102
برقة نهمد 140	أبرشهر 457
برقة منشد 111	الأبرق 211
بشروء 494 (Ya'kūbī, ii, 568)	أبرق لحنان 328
البطحاء 1	الأبسيق 217
بغداد 323, 214, 135	أذربيجان 260, 103
البقاعين 420	أران 392, 366, 358, 180
البقلار 297, 217	أربد 363
البيات 262, 192, 106, 103, 28	أرشق 192, 109, 105, 101, 68, 43
296	326, 247, 202
التل 327	أسكندرية 508
الثرثار 20	الأشترين 302
تهلان 390, 333	أكشوثا 27
حنينا 96 (Yākūt جنينا)	آلس (Halys) 297
جرجان 58	اندرهل 505 (Yākūt اندزهل)
جرزان 366	اندلس 155, 2
جواثا 64	انقرة 8
جولان 420	أهناس 506
جيجان 379	بابل 348
حجون 327	باطلوق 216 (Yākūt ناطلوق)
حرا 1	باعيناثا 65
الحشاك 20	بذ 295, 263, 203, 138, 110, 104
حضر موت 506	326
الحطيم 424, 292	البذان 299, 99

381, 333 رضوى	323 حلوان
121 الرقتين	283, 177 حمص
323 الرقمتين	146 الحمة البيضاء
284 الرقة	459, 420 الحمى
292 الرقيم	361, 359, 323, 131, 44 خراسان
197 رمع	422
459 رملة	68 خش
155 رومية	217, 146, 145 الخليج
178 الري	307, 302 خيزج (Yākūt خيرج)
197 ريام	322 خيفاً منى
233 الزابيان	307 الدافوية
197 زبيد	262, 102 دروز (Yākūt دروذ)
10 زبطرة	145 درولية
82 زرود	217 درولية البرك
315, 292 ززم	457, 420, 177, 176 دمشق
322 ساتيذ ما بروان	420 الدهناء
217 ساروق	272 ديار ربعة
392 سامرا	30 ذات الاصاد
264 سرمن راي	185 ذات الاضاء
216 سلوق	271 ذلفاء
192, 105, 101, 98 سندبايا	155 ذمار
366 السيسجان	36 ذو الاثل
420, 323 الشام	267 ذو سلم
303 شرورى	27 ذو الكلاع
276 شمام	287 رامة
32 صاغرة القصوى	275 الرحبة
219 صاغري	217 الرزيق

القادسية 424	صغد 115
قدس 381, 276, 253	صنعا 2, 3
قران 302	صوران 506
قرنطاوس 32 (Corinth)	الصين 330, 328, 155
قرة 219 (Tabarī, iii, 1238)	طمين 32
مدينة قسطنطين 217	طوس 172
قسطنطينية 145	طيبة 1
القفل 146	عرار 153
قومس 136	عرفات 1
الكامخية 65 (Yākūt)	عسغان 424
كداء 1	عسقلان 177
كذج 102	عسيب 28
الكذجات 282, 106	غقرقس 297, 295, 218
كربلاء 152	عقيق 215, 12
كعبة (منكرة) 327	عكاظ 25
اللوي 226, 82, 12	عليب 12
ماشان 217	عمائتان 90
متالع 381, 186, 28	عماية 381
مربط النجار 154 ?	عمورية 8
مرو 26	عين اباغ 19
المروتان 251	غمدان 331
المشقر 328	فروق 217 سوق فروق
مصر 508, 172, 116, 112 (المصر)	فسطاط 323
معنق 253	الفيذوق 216
المقطم 496, 382	فيراثا 75
مكة 424, 292, 227	الفيوم 506
ملاسلط 44	ابوقابوس 175

نصيبين 392, 272	ملحوب 36
نيسابور 425	مهرة 85
هضب الحمي 320	مني 1, 424
همذان 300	مواسل 381
هنب 31	الموصل 234
الهند 330, 114	موقان 192, 109, 105, 102, 99, 68
يزبل 381, 253	262, 261
يلبق 212	ميمذ 295
يلملم 381, 274	مجد 252
	النجر 166

2. Index of Persons mentioned in Abū Tammām's Dīwān.

(Fictitious persons are bracketed.)

أحمد بن عبد الكريم الطائي 125	أبان 139 ؟ جد ابن الزيات
127	أبراهيم بن وهب كاتب عبد الله
أحمد (أو حجة) بن محمد	ابن طاهر 311, 310, 204
الأزدى 362, 361	الأثريين 479
أحمد بن المعتصم أبو العباس	الأجذمي 508 هو محمد بن
188, 172	الحسن
أحمد بن هارون القرشي 355	أحمد النبي 112
أحمد بن يزيد 439	أحمد بن أبي دؤاد أبو عبد الله
الأحنف 236, 174, 131	236, 185, 160, 81, 79, 75, 1
الأخطل 238	507, 408, 399, 325, 285, 238,
أدریس بن بدر السامي من ولد	(Tabarī, iii, 1230 ; Ibn Khillī-
سامة ابن لوي 372	kān, i, 26)
[أروية] 46	أحمد بن زاهر أبو قدامة 336

- اسامة 19
 امرؤ القيس بن حجر 322, 87, 23
 اسحاق بن ابراهيم المصعبى 21
 الامين بن الرشيد 360 يعنى
 المامون
 498, 321, 308, 305, 301, 71
 بنو امية 238 (Tabarī, iii, 1165)
 انوشروان 323
 اسحاق بن ابى ربعي ابو يعقوب
 اوس 479
 كاتب ابى دلف 241, 240, 209
 اويس 196 (Harīrī, 439)
 354, 309
 ايس 479, 322, 174
 اسفنديار 296
 ايوب 84
 اسكندر ذو القرنين 8
 ابو ايوب هو سليمان بن وهب
 [اسماء] 478
 بابك 106, 103, 101, 99, 69
 اسماعيل النبى 83
 259, 248, 204, 202, 154, 110
 اسماعيل بن شهاب ابو القاسم
 327, 321, 261
 220
 البابكي 248
 الاسودان 376
 باطس 154 (Tabarī, iii, 1246)
 الاشعث 319
 باقل 311
 [الاشقر الجعدى 86 فرس]
 آل برد 78
 الاصابع 479
 البراض 187 (Ibn Ishāk, 118)
 الاصرم بن حميد 309
 البعيث 67 (Ibn Kutaibah,
 193 ابن اصرم
 ed. de Goeje, 312)
 الاعشيان 87
 بقراط 489
 ابن الاعمش 501, 497
 بلقيس 175
 الاعور الدجال 487
 ابن ترنى 500
 افريدون 328
 [تماضر] 25
 الافشين 210, 204, 202, 151, 42
 توفلس 10 (Tabarī, iii, 1234)
 268, 261, 248 (مهجواً) 326
 توفيل 32
 الياس بن اسد 315
 ابو الجباب 362 (Ya'kūbī, ii, 516)

- الحذاق 78
 حزم بن عمرو 500
 الحسن بن رجاء ابو علي 246, 178
 (Ṭabarī, iii, 1314; Murūj, ii, 253)
 الحسن بن سهل 410, 16, 15
 الحسن بن وهب بن سعيد ابو علي 211, 195, 166, 123, 38, 34
 408, 400, 343, 333, 320, 233
 (Ṭabarī, iii, 1331; Fawāt al-wafayāt, i, 136)
 ابو الحسن 462, 334
 حسين 384
 الحصن 31
 حفص بن عمر الازدي 130
 بنو الحكم يعنى بنى امية 269
 حميد 358
 الحميدان 69
 بنو حميد (ابو نصر و محمد و قحطبة) 381, 371, 368, 309
 485, 387
 حوي بن عمرو بن حوي الكندي 370, 198
 ابن خازم 102
 خالد مضروب به المثل في البلاغة 86
 خالد بن الوليد 139
 جحوة بن محمد الازدي 361
 جرول اعنى الحطيئة 87, 65
 جرير 496, 67
 جعفر النخياط ابو الفضل الطائي 398, 387, 159
 (Ṭabarī, iii, 1194)
 ابو جعفر 456
 ابو جعفر ولد خالد بن يزيد بن مزيد 350
 الجلودي 489 هو عيسى بن يزيد (Ya'kūbī, ii, 567)
 جميل بن عبد الله الحمصي 405
 ام جندب 23
 جواب 20 هو مالك بن كعب
 حاتم 236, 209, 174, 139, 83
 479, 478, 476, 356, 324, 290
 الحارث 487
 الحارث الحراب 19
 الحارث بن عباد 133
 الحارث بن مضا 187
 الحارث الناعي بجيراً 224
 ابن الحباب 487
 حبيب 478, 472, 434, 29 هو
 ابو تمام
 بنو حبيب 288
 حبيش بن المعافى قاضى نصيبين
 ورأس العين هو ابو الليث 59
 حجر 322

322	راھط وبنو قین	خالد بن یزید بن مزید الشیبانی
108	ابو الرجاء	الملك الوائلي 84, 82, 30, 1
18	[رباب]	363, 356, 180, 122, 94, 87
217	الرزيق	(Fawāt al-wafayāt, i, 149)
296	رستم	النخضر 323
136	ابن الرشيد	خيزر 152, 151 هو الافشين
92	الزائدتان	حيدر Read
12	الزباء	داود اسم غلام 400
83, 78	زهر	داود بن داود الطائي 140
489, 408, 224	زهير	الذجال 260
80	زياد هو النابغة	الديميص 199
498, 476, 387	زيد الخيل	دغفل 236
479	زيد القنا	ابو دلف القاسم بن عيسى العجلي
ابو زيد كاتب عبد الله بن طاهر		395, 240, 210, 204, 200, 40, 22
222		(Tabarī, iii, 1206)
18	[زينب]	بنو ابي دنيا 344
281	سام وحام	(Fawāt al-wafayāt, i, 236)
154	السامري	دواد 506
311	سحبان	دوار اسم صنم 147
75	[سعاد]	دينار بن عبد الله 183
123	سعد	[الذائد 86 فرس]
105	ابو سعيد محمد بن يوسف	ذلفاء 271
395, 215, 161, 145, 137, 107		ذو رعين 322
406		ذو الكلاع 27
404	ابن ابي سعيد 84, وغيره	ذو النون 276
330	السفاح	ابن ذي يزن 338
503	سلول	رافع 199

- [سلمى] 267
 طلحة 139
 سليمان بن رزين بن ابي دعبل 331
 طوق 13 هو ابن مالك الربعي (Ya'kūbī, ii, 565)
 سليمان بن نصر ابو نصر 282
 عارف 479 (Tabarī, iii, 1315)
 عارف 479
 السليل بن المسيب ابو قدامة 340, 317
 الكلابي 340, 317
 سنان المصروب به الممثل في 352
 البلاغة 352
 بنو سنباط 107 (Tabarī, iii, 1223)
 سهم بن اوس 499, 384, 343
 شبيب 28
 شرحبيل 271
 شريك 31
 شقيق 245
 اخت آل شهاب 19
 الصاهتي هو ابو سعيد محمد بن يوسف 294, 291, 225, 101
 ابو صالح بن يزداد الكاتب 55
 الصعب 31
 الصلب 31
 الضحاك 328
 طالوت 165
 الطرفات 319
 طفيل 487
 ابو الطيب 283
 [ظلوم] 299
 عاد بن عاديا 484
 عامر 487
 عامر الزاني 209
 العباس 228, 53
 ابو العباس معشوق ابي تمام 447
 بنو العباس 269, 79
 ابو عبد 438
 عبد الحميد بن حبرثيل 135
 عبد الحميد بن غالب ابو بشر 314, 310, 241, 239
 عبد السلام 283
 عبد العزيز 84
 عبد العزيز الكاتب 318
 بنو عبد الكريم 500, 492, 486, 287
 عبد الله 442
 عبد الله بن بر الطائي 410
 عبد الله بن طاهر بن الحسين بن مصعب 316, 310, 136, 43, 22
 مصعب 379
 عبد الله الكاتب 501, 495, 486
 507, 504

- عبد المطلب 53
عبد المليك بن صالح بن علي 53
عبدون غلام ابي تمام 508
عبدون هو عبد الله الكاتب 486
508, 496, 491
عبيد 243
عبيد الله 322
عتبة بن ابي عاصم شهاب 485
500, 499, 498, 493, 491, 487, 486
عثمان بن ادريس بن بدر 394
عدى بن حاتم 319
عدى بن الرقاع 193
عروة 497
[علائة] 63
علقمة العفيف 209
علي 319, 161 هو ابن ابي طالب
علي 467 هو غلام
علي بن الجهم ابو الحسن 394, 86
(Murūj, ii, 204 ; Ibn Khillikān, i, 441)
علي بن مر 426, مرة 333, مرو 54
ابو الحسين
عمر الخليفة 50, 412
عمر بن طوق التغلبي ابو حفص
13, 12
عمر بن عبد العزيز الطائي ابو
حفص 150, 149
عمران بن حطان 393
بنو عمران 381
عمرو 475, 472, 438, 386, 296, 174
عمرو والرمضاء 433
عمرو والصمصام 316
عمرو والصمصامة 410
عمرو بن شاس 153
بنو عمرو بن عامر 362
عمرو بن كلثوم بن مالك بن
عتاب بن سعد 65, 268, 273
عمرو بن ود 163
ابو العميثل 247, 316
عمير بن الوليد 359, 389
عياش بن لهيعة الحضرمي 23
495, 493, 492, 400, 395, 170
505, 502, 498
عيسى 177
غالب الصغدي 352
بنو غالب 373
ابو غسان 131
غيلان 9, 496 هو ذو الرمة
الفرزدق 153, 238, 396
الفضل بن صالح الهاشمي 71
الفضل بن محمد بن منصور
كاتب عبد الله بن طاهر 204, 310
فيصل 237
ابو قابوس 175

- القاسم 210
القاسم بن طوق هو ابو محمد وابو
كلثوم 377, 318
قاسم بن محمد صلعم 319
ابو القاسم بن الحسن بن سهل
411, 124
ابو قبيل 503
قحطبة بن حميد 388, 376, 368
قدار 154
قرم بن محمد الازدي 361
قس الخطيب 237, 40
قطري 28
القلمس 475
قيس بن زهير 187
قيس بن عاصم 319
آل قيصر 110
كاوس 154 هو ابو الافشين
كثير عزة 40
ابو كرب 8
كسري 303, 8
كعب [بن مامة] 317, 154, 83
كناز 212 اسم فرس
كيس 236
لبد [نسر لقمان] 98
لبيد 360, 87, 82
[لعوب] 25
لعين بنى ابي سرح 152
لقمان الحكيم 424, 307, 288, 53
[لميس] 178, 175
لهيعة 494
ليلي الاخيلية 40
ماتع 371
مازيار 154 (Tabarī, iii, 1268)
مالك بن طوق التغلبي ابو كلثوم
272, 267, 236, 169, 63, 18
505, 363, 318, 312 ?
(Fawāt al-wafayāt, ii, 146)
ابنة مالك 310
مالك بن كعب الجواب 20
المامون 330, 279, 111
[ماوية] 30
المباركي [مقران] 497, 486
متمم 363
(Khizānat al-adab, i, 236)
مجمع 373 (Ibn Ishāk, 907)
محمد النبي 273
محمد معشوق ابي تمام وزميله
466, 461, 436, 428, 424
محمد بن احمد بن ابي الوليد
محمد بن حسان الضبي 4
323, 283, 232
محمد بن الحسن الشاعر الاجزمي
508, 507
محمد بن حميد الطوسي 368
387, 375, 374

مرحب 24	محمد بن خالد بن يزيد بن مزيد
المرقش 497	366, 357, 6, 5
مروان بن محمد 356	(Ya'kūbī, ii, 588)
سلفى مروان 355	محمد بن سعيد كاتب الحسن
مزيد 31	ابن سهل 409, 351
مزيد الشيباني 90	محمد بن سهل 356
المزيدان 92	محمد بن شقيق الطائي 244
مسعود 82	محمد بن عبد الملك بن ابي
مسهر 296 (Ibn Duraid, 239)	مروان الزيات ابو جعفر 46
مسيلة الكذاب 488	252, 59, 57, 51, 47,
آل مصعب 205	(Ibn Khillikān, ii, 70)
بنو مصعب 304	محمد بن عبد الملك بن صالح
المصعبيون 307	الهاشمي ابو الحسن 51
المطلب الخزاعي 491	محمد بن الفضل الحميري 352
(Ya'kūbī, ii, 533)	محمد بن معاذ 28
معاوية 98, 101 (Tabarī, iii, 1171)	محمد بن الهيثم بن شبابة المروي
معبد 103	ابو الحسن او ابو الحسين 56
المعتصم او المعصوم بالله محمد	312, 299, 210, 195, 116
ابن هارون ابو اسحاق 1, 7, 151	محمد بن وهب الحميري 495
275, 259, 247, 229, 226, 156	محمد بن يزيد 494, 487
335?	محمد بن يوسف الطائي الثغري
معدان 507 (Ya'kūbī, ii, 516?)	ابو سعيد 189, 107, 96, 68, 25
معن 422	289, 267, 265, 249, 223, 205
ابو مغوار 154	386, 335, 299, 298, 294, 290
مقران المباركى 487	(Ob. 238 ; Ya'kūbī, ii, 598)
ابن المقفع 40 صاحب اليتيمة	المحمر الزنديق 321, 219
المنصور 330	المختار 152

- 276, 155 هارون الوائف الخليفة
 338, 329
 155 هاشم
 هاشم بن عبد الله بن مالك
 الخزاعي 384
 هرثمة بن أعين 139
 هرجام 107
 هرم 409, 304
 هشام 412
 همام 271
 هنب 31
 [هند] 114
 بنو هند 130
 ابناء هود 83 هم اليهود ?
 الواثق بالله 328, 276, 275, 226
 الوليد 84 هو الخليفة
 [ام الوليد] 104
 وهب 412
 ياطس (باطس See)
 يحيى بن ثابت (2), 5
 يحيى بن عبد الله 341
 يحيى بن عمران القمي ابو العباس
 494 ? 381
 يزيد 31
 يزيد بن مزيد الشيباني 92, 90
 (Ya'kūbī, ii, 516) 102
 يزيد بن المهلب 84
- 46 Manuel منويل
 330 المهدي الخليفة
 193 مهدي بن اصرم
 (Ya'kūbī, ii, 565)
 المهلب 131, 55
 موسى عم 177, 170, 163
 موسى بن ابراهيم الرافقي ابو
 المغيث 175, 133, 128, 127, 66
 502, 492, 489, 488, 407, 401
 (Ya'kūbī, ii, 599)
 موسى بن عبد الملك ابو الحسن
 (Ya'kūbī, ii, 223) 223
 موسى القمي ابو علي 407
 مية [معشوقة ذي الرمة] 9
 نافع 479
 نصر بن منصور بن بسام ابو العباس
 156, 155, 115, 114
 ابو نصر بن حميد 367, 366, 70
 372, 368
 النعمان 80
 نوار زوجة الفرزدق 153
 [نوار] 145
 نوح بن عمرو بن حوي بن عمرو
 ابن حوي بن ماتع السكسكى
 الكندي 371, 242, 198
 هاروت 444
 هارون اخو موسى عم 163

اليوسفيون 70	أبو يزيد 92
يوشع عليه السلام 189	يوسف بن محمد 265
	يوسف السراج 491, 489

3. Names of Tribes mentioned in Abū Tammām's Dīwān.

تغلب بنت تغلب 13	اد 287
تغلب بنت وائل 64	ادد 388, 198, 151, 99, 94, 78
تميم 42, 131, 291, 370, 474	493, 475
تنوخ 62	اراقم هم تغلب 319, 269
ثعل 251	ازد 151, 131, 130, 124, 122, 94
ثمود 484	386
جديس 175, 271	اسد 493, 477
جديلة 475	بنو الاصفر هم الروم 435, 12
جرم بن عمرو 288	اك 485
جرهم 484	اميم 175
جشم بن بكر 13, 21, 64, 268	الانصار 155
275, 273, 269	انمار 94
الجعفريون 20	ايداد 188, 83, 78, 77
الجل 170	ببر 99
جلاح 80	بجدل 487
الحمس 170, 353	بدر 80
حبيب 288	بكر 477, 370, 180
حضر موت 24	بكر بن عبد مناة 341
حمير 485	بكر بن وائل 365, 31
حمير الارباب 353	تزيد 85
حنظلة 37	تغلب [حيان] 273, 268, 225
خزاعة 386	487, 477, 378

عاد 271, 79	خزر 400
عامر 444, 130	خشين 321
عتاب 378, 319, 19	دعمى 319
عتاب بن سعد 14	ديان 56
عدنان 490, 335, 161, 131	ذهل بن شيبان 349, 88
عدي 344	ذودان 291 (Ibn Duraid)
عدي بن اخزم 294	رباب 123
عدي العديين 475	ربعة 377, 365, 319, 57, 33
عذيم 288	ربعة الفرس 169
عزم 271	زنج 506
عقال بنى تميم 507	زهر 84, 83
عماليف 175	زهير 378
غنم بن تغلب 273, 272	زيد 475
الغوث 475	ساسان 122
فزر 499	سعد 269, 236, 152, 130
قاسط عدنان 31	سعد بن ضبة 284
قحطان 490, 364, 131	سكسك 198
قريش 373, 273, 155	سلامات 130
قضاة 57	شمر 355
قيس 317, 291, 216, 57	شيبان 365, 358, 84
قيس بن عيلان 477	صعب 88
كعب 124	ضباب 56
كلاب 20	طراد 79
كلب 501, 291	طسم 484, 271
كليب 271	طى 370, 291, 289, 161, 151
كندة 198	477, 475, 474, 472, 422, 388
كهلان 485	500, 496, 492, 484, 479

477, 364, 356, 322, 83 معد	لجيم 42
85 مهرة	لخم 271
124 ناهد	المبارك 487
387, 369, 251, 68 نبهان	مذحج 477, 56
364, 155 نزار	? مرار 322
489 نويرة	مرة 88
319, 152, 72 هاشم	مصاد 80, 24
300, 155, 94 همدان	مضر 325, 80
378, 319, 291, 181 وائل	مطر 92, 89, 88, 33
287, 237, 155, 24 يعرب	مطرد 79

4. Stars mentioned in the Diwān of Abū Tammām.

226 سعد السعود	أشراط الحوت 198
411, 313, 299, 220 سماك	بالع 198
333, 321 الشعري والشعريين	بطن 198
117 عطار	بهرام 117
371, 220, 162 العيوق	ثريا 343, 332
321, 112, 102 الفرقد والفرقديين	ثور 228, 81
362	جدي 362
321, 313, 300 المرزم والمرزميين	جوزاء 93, 60, 4
398, 228, 117 المشتري	حمل 250, 228, 81
4 المعزاة	حوت 198
102 نسر	دلو 300
316 نعش وبنات نعش	زحل 382, 228, 81
	سرطان 343

5. Battles mentioned by Abū Tammām.

442 [ليلة] الصراة	أحد 99, 163, 474
319 صفين	أرشق 261
84 عبيد	بدر 12, 99, 163, 323, 474
عمورية 8	بزاحات 474
الغدير 164	البشر 322
فيف الريح 322	بعاث 64
[ليالى] كاهل وبنى قعين 322	بكر بن وائل بقصات 219
كلاب 19, 57, 64, 322, 487	حنين 163, 323
المصدقية 323	خازر 322
ملهم 64	الخنديق وخيبر 163
مهلهل 322	الذنائب 271, 322
النباج 372	راهط وبنات قين 322
النضير 163	ذي قار 31, 42
النهر 165	الشعثمين 322

XXIX.

NOTES ON INDIAN COINS AND SEALS.

PART VI.

BY E. J. RAPSON, M.A., M.R.A.S.

TUTELARY DIVINITIES OF INDIAN CITIES ON GRÆCO-INDIAN
COINS.1. *Kapiśa*.

THE square bronze coins of Eucratides which bear on the reverse the image and superscription of the tutelary divinity of a city, instead of some type accompanied by the usual kingly name and titles, are well known and have often been published.¹ The Kharoṣṭhī inscription has been read hitherto as “*Karisiye nagara-devata*”; but this is undoubtedly incorrect. Since the publication of Professor Gardner’s Catalogue, the British Museum has acquired specimens of this coinage, by means of which the reading of every letter of the inscription can be determined with certainty.² Of these additions, the best preserved is the coin now described.

Obv. Bust of king r., wearing helmet and diadem; inscr. in Greek characters along the l., the top, and the r. side:—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ | ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

¹ Cunningham, *Num. Chron.*, 1869, pp. 225 (No. 21), 235, pl. vii (vi), Nos. 5, 6; von Sallet, *Zeit. f. Num.*, 1879, p. 299, pl. vi (iii), 4; Gardner, B.M. Cat., *Greek and Scythic Kings*, p. 19 (No. 63), pl. vi, 8.

² From the specimens published by Professor Gardner, it was impossible to be certain of the reading which he gives on the authority of General Cunningham (*loc. cit.*).

These coins, moreover, give us some further information about the history of the city of Kapiśa. It has been already observed that they are often coins of Apollodotus restruck¹; but numismatists seem to have been unwilling to accept the obvious interpretation of this fact, *viz.*, that Eucratides must have succeeded Apollodotus as ruler over the city to which the coins belong. To avoid such a conclusion it has been suggested that these particular coins of Eucratides were struck after his death²; but there seems to be no evidence for this supposition, which is due, no doubt, to the general impression which must be left on the minds of all who study these coins, that, taken altogether, the reign of Apollodotus belongs to a later period than that of Eucratides. It is quite possible, however, that, in whatever way these two princes may have been connected—and in the absence of all satisfactory evidence it is best to abstain from all conjecture in such matters³—their reigns may well have overlapped, and that, for some time at least, Apollodotus was actually superseded in the rule of Kapiśa by Eucratides.

This coin is, further, important since it enables us to test the theory, which General Cunningham supported with great learning and ingenuity, that the monograms on Græco-Indian coins were to be read as the names of mint-cities. This theory has not been generally accepted by numismatists⁴; but it has been as difficult of disproof as of proof, since the resolution of these monograms, which consist of an ingenious arrangement of two or more letters, can only in most cases be tentative, and can never be convincing unless supported by other evidence.



In the present instance, we have both the actual name of the city in the Kharoṣṭhī inscription and a monogram

¹ Cunningham, *Num. Chron.*, 1869, p. 226; Gardner, *B.M. Cat.*, p. xxxv.

² Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxv, 19.

³ It is generally supposed (*v.* Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 199) that Apollodotus was the son and murderer of Eucratides; but the reasons for this view given by Cunningham (*Num. Chron.*, 1869, pp. 241–3) are not absolutely convincing.

⁴ *v.* Chabouillet, *Rev. Num.*, 1867, p. 393; von Sallet, *Zeit. f. Num.*, 1879, p. 200; Gardner, *B.M. Cat.*, *Gk. and Scythic Kings*, p. lv.

 which can scarcely by any ingenuity be resolved into the letters which would go to make up any possible Greek equivalent of that name. Moreover, the coins of Apollodotus which were restruck by Eucratides must surely also have been of the Kapiśa mint, and the monogram which they bear is equally intractable. It is , and can scarcely be read otherwise than as MO.

But, while General Cunningham's theory as to the nature of these monograms seems to break down in the solitary instance in which it can be tested, it must not be hastily assumed that a study and comparison of these monograms can yield no good results, from the point of view of topography or history. Whatever may be the correct interpretation of these monograms, whether they be the marks of moneyers or whether they denote certain issues of the coinage, the occurrence of the same monogram on the coins of different kings certainly raises a presumption that they were closely connected in some manner, either locally or chronologically.

2. *Puṣkalāvati*.

In Professor Gardner's *Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India* there is published a specimen of which, as yet, no satisfactory account has been given. It is classed merely as "Indo-Scythic. Uncertain." (p. 162; pl. xxix, 15); and it differs so much in character from all known Græco-Indian or Indo-Scythic coins that, in describing it in *Indian Coins*, § 37 (1), I hazarded the conjecture that the piece was not a coin, but a reproduction in gold of the designs of two seals or gems. I still think that this conjecture may quite possibly be true. The *provenance* of this specimen, which was acquired from one of the notorious band of fabricators and dealers in false coins at Rawal Pindi, certainly excuses whatever doubt may be entertained as to its genuineness. But, if not genuine

itself, its obverse and reverse must, at least, be copies, and accurate mechanically-made copies, of some genuine originals. It is, therefore, in any case, well worthy of study; and a fuller reading of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions than was possible at the time of the publication of the Catalogue reveals a fact of interest which was quite unsuspected.

Obv. City-goddess, wearing a mural crown and holding a lotus-flower in her right hand; inscr. in Kharoṣṭhī characters:—

r. $\text{S7S874S} [\text{h}]$, [Pa¹]khalavadi-devada;

l. Kharoṣṭhī inscr. (probably of three *akṣaras*) not legible.²

Rev. Humped bull r.; above, TAYPOC ; below, $\text{h}^{\cdot}\text{T} [\text{v}]^3$
[U]ṣabhe.

B.M.

N ·6; Wt. 66·7. [Pl. 2.

¹ The restoration *pa* is justified by the remaining traces. *Pu* might more naturally have been expected; but there seems to be no trace of the vowel-sign.

² The first *akṣara* seems to be *dro*, the second is possibly *pa* or *pra*, and the third is quite doubtful.

³ This *akṣara* should be restored as either *a* or *u*. There seems to be a faint trace of the loop at the bottom which distinguishes the *u*. Professor Gardner's reading *vri* cannot be supported.

⁴ The reading *bhe* is undoubted. For the nom. sing. in *-e*, cf. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 18.


We have here represented on the obverse of this piece the tutelary divinity of the city of Puṣkalāvati, the Greek Πευκελαῶτις, which is usually identified with the modern Hastnagar. She wears Greek dress and the mural crown which is the emblem of a Greek civic divinity; and as guardian of the "City of Lotuses" she appropriately holds a lotus-flower in her right hand. It is quite possible that her name may lie concealed in the Kharoṣṭhī inscr. on the left, which, unfortunately, is too fragmentary to be read with any confidence.



The bull which forms the type of the reverse has, no doubt, a religious significance. On the coins of the Kuṣanas, the bull undoubtedly indicates the prevalence of the worship of Śiva. It is uncertain whether it has the same meaning here.

From the linguistic point of view, the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions are interesting for two reasons: (1) the use of *d* to represent both *d* and *t* in [*Pa*]khalavadi-devada = Skt. Puṣkalāvatī-devatā; and (2) the nom. sg. in -e, [*u*]ṣabhe or [*a*]ṣabhe = Skt. vṛṣabhah.

3. Puṣkalāvatī (?).

The identification of another tutelary divinity with the city-goddess of Puṣkalāvatī is less certain. The coin on which her figure occurs is one of the Indo-Scythic (Śaka) princes, Azilises.

Obv. King on horseback r.; in front, monogram ;
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ | ΑΙΛΙΣΟΥ (sic).¹

Rev. l., city-goddess, wearing a mural crown and holding a diadem in her r. hand; r., Zeus; in l. field, Kharoṣṭhī letter  (*pa*); in r. field, Kharoṣṭhī monogram,  (? *spi + la*); Kharoṣṭhī inscr.: *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa | Ayiliṣasa.*

B.M.; Cunningham Coll.

Æ. [Pl. 3.

The only bases for the conjecture that this goddess also may perhaps be the tutelary deity of Puṣkalāvatī are, firstly, the general resemblance which she bears to the goddess just described, and, secondly, the Kharoṣṭhī letter *pa*, which may possibly be an abbreviation of *Pakhalavadi*, which is written

¹ A similar mistake in the name does not occur on the smaller coin of the same type published by Cunningham (*Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 152), and now in the B.M.

in full on the other coin. The explanation of the other Kharoṣṭhī monogram, which seems to be made up by a combination of the *akṣaras śpi* and *la*, is quite uncertain. It may possibly represent the name of another city.

COINS WITH REVERSE-TYPE "SVASTIKA."

1. *Legend in Brāhmī characters.*

Apparently the only specimen of this class hitherto published is the small silver coin belonging to Mr. J. P. Rawlins, which Mr. Vincent Smith assigns to the Saurāṣṭran series, and on which he reads doubtfully the name Arjuna (JASB, 1897, p. 9, pl. i, 14). The resemblance to the Saurāṣṭran series is, however, not sufficiently close to make it necessary to suppose that there was any intimate connection between the two; and the *provenance* of this coin (Jhelam) and of similar specimens since known from the collections of Mr. W. S. Talbot and Mr. M. Longworth Dames, which were made in the same region of India, would seem to indicate that the coins of this class belong to the north of the Punjab.

Through the kindness of Mr. Rawlins I have been able to examine the original coin, and have studied the inscription without being able to agree with Mr. Vincent Smith's proposed reading of the name. I have since seen the two other specimens illustrated in the plate. The former was sent to me by Mr. R. Burn on behalf of Mr. Bleazby in April, 1903. The latter is now represented by casts in the British Museum, but I regret that no note was made of the collection to which it belongs.

Obv. Bust of king r.

Rev. *Svastika*; inscr. in Brāhmī characters (*v. inf.*).

Mr. G. B. Bleazby.

Æ ·5; Wt. 28. [Pl. 4.


Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar; inscr., apparently in Brāhmī characters, illegible.

[Pl. 5.

So far as concerns the reading of the inscription, the coin last described is quite useless. On the other two coins certain letters are fairly well preserved, but I cannot suggest any satisfactory restoration in either case. The following eye-copies of the legible portions of the two coin-legends are given in the hope that, when other specimens are available for study, they may assist in facilitating a restoration of the whole.¹ At present it seems doubtful if any conjecture whatever on the subject can be profitable.

(1)  (Mr. Rawlins).

(2)  (Mr. Bleazby, pl. 4).

2. Legend in Kharoṣṭhī characters.

Most closely connected with the silver coins just described are others, which come from the same part of India, and which differ chiefly in bearing inscriptions in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet. These seem not to have been published hitherto.

In the collection of Mr. Longworth Dames there are twelve specimens, but, unfortunately, only a solitary one on which any considerable portion of the inscription can be read.

Obv. Head of king l., wearing diadem.

Rev. Type, *Srastika*; inscr. in Kharoṣṭhī characters :
[—*tha*]nasa Bagapharnapu[—].

Mr. M. Longworth Dames. *Æ* .6; Wt. 37.6. [Pl. 6.]

The other specimen illustrated was presented to the British Museum in 1903 by Mr. W. S. Talbot:—

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar; inscr. in Kharoṣṭhī characters : [— sa
pu *tha*]nasa Bagapharnapu[tra —].

B.M.; Mr. W. S. Talbot. *Æ* .45; Wt. 24.7. [Pl. 7.]

¹ It is scarcely necessary to remind the epigraphist or the numismatist that eye-copies are scientifically worthless, and are useful only in so far as they explain the meaning of a writer, or illustrate his individual view (which is often influenced by preconceived notions) as to the reading of an inscription.

surely be a compound, made on the Indian model, APTA + Y□Y = the Kharoṣṭhī *Arṭasa putrasa*. The form *ṽós* = *viós* is well known at this period,¹ and is actually found on a Parthian coin of Gotarzes (A.D. 40–51).² The name *Arṭa* may possibly be that with which we are familiar as the first portion of the Parthian names Artabanus and Artavasdes.³

A comparison of all the available specimens makes it possible to restore the Kharosthī inscription with certainty as

የጊዜ ጥቅም የጥገና ሪፖርት

(= *Chatrapasa pra Kharaostasa Artasa putrasa*).

The only important variant appears on a coin in the British Museum (Hay, 60 : 12-20 : 169) where the name of the father is given as *Orṭasa* (gen. sing.) = P 𐎠𐎢𐎡.

The first letter *cha* appears quite distinctly not only on this coin, but also on one in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge which was sent to me for examination by the Rev. W. G. Searle.

The reading of the group *-r̥ta-* (with the lingual *t̥*) seems to be correct.

The difficulty of interpreting this coin-legend lies in the syllable *pra*, which is seen quite distinctly before the name *Kharaosta*, but which was not noticed by Cunningham. It occurred to me at one time that the letter might be a *ka*,⁴ and that *Kakha*- might possibly be intended to be read as *Kkha*, and to represent some hard aspirated guttural for

¹ It occurs, for example, in an inscription of Lucius Cæsar (died A.D. 2) at Athens, Boeckh, CIG. No. 312.

² ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΚΕΚΑΛΟΥ-
ΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΡΤΑΒΑΝΟΥ ΓΩΤΕΡΖΗΣ, *Wroth*, B.M. Cat., *Parthia*,
p. 165, pl. xxvii, 2, and *Num. Chron.*, 1900, p. 95; cf. Gardner, *The*
Parthian Coinage, p. 49, pl. v, 25.

³ For the readings of these v. Drouin, *Onomastique Arsacide*, in *Rev. Num.*, 1895, pp. 367, 368.

⁴ On referring to the volume containing the Pandit's manuscript notes now in the Royal Asiatic Society's Library, I found that he had already suggested this reading. This volume of notes, from which I could only give selections in the two articles edited by me in JRAS, 1890, p. 639, and 1894, p. 541, should be consulted by scholars interested in the history of ancient India.

which there was no adequate equivalent in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet. But the syllable seems to be undoubtedly *pra*, not *ka*, and I am quite unable to make any useful conjecture as to its meaning.

Both Cunningham and Bhagvānlāl had identified the striker of these coins with the Kharaosta of the Mathura Lion-Capital; but this identification was not accepted by Bühler, and it seems not to have been reasserted by any other scholar up to the present time.

Bühler seems to have found two difficulties in the proposed identification. In the first place, he doubted whether the name on the coins as given by Cunningham (*l.c.*)—Kharamostis (Greek, *Charamōstei*; Kharoṣṭhī, *Khara[m]osta* (p. 127), *Kharamasta* (p. 170))—could possibly be the same as the *Kharaosta* of the Lion-Capital. This objection now disappears when it is seen that the name appears in precisely the same form, *Kharaosta*, both in the Kharoṣṭhī coin-legend and on the Lion-Capital.

If the matter ended here, we should surely have no hesitation in accepting the identification as extremely probable, if not quite certain. But Bühler's second objection is more serious, and it raises a problem of which I see at present no perfectly satisfactory explanation. He points out that according to the Lion-Capital Kharaosta is the son of Rajula, but that according to the coins Kharamosta (now shown to be certainly another form of Kharaosta) is the son of Arta. "It would, therefore, appear," he says, "that they are two different persons, even if their names should be identical."¹

Although no certain explanation of this difficulty presents itself, it may be useful, in view of some future examination of this question, to set forth the facts of the case as they appear at present, bearing in mind that it is quite possible that another edition of the inscriptions on the Lion-Capital may materially alter our views as to the genealogies which it records.

¹ JRAS, 1894, p. 532.

Even in Bühler's own version it is nowhere definitely stated that the *yuvarāja* Kharaosta was the son of the Great Satrap Rajula. In inscr. A i, Nadasi Kasa, the chief queen of Rajula, is called his mother, and the presumption is, of course, that Rajula was his father; but it need scarcely be pointed out that this does not necessarily follow. It is certainly possible, if not probable, that Nadasi Kasa may have been previously married. Moreover, the sons of Rajula seem to be mentioned in inscrs. B, C, and D as Śudasa, the reigning Satrap, Kalui, a younger, and Naüludo, the youngest son. If Kharaosta was the son of Rajula, we might surely expect to find him mentioned together with these; but as a matter of fact he seems to be in no way associated with them. The difficulty as to his position, however, disappears altogether if we may accept the arrangement proposed by Bhagvānlāl,¹ who makes the donor of the stūpa, *Nandaśriyakā* (= Bühler's *Nadasi Kasa*), the daughter of the chief queen of Rajula. According to Bhagvānlāl, there is no mention on the Lion-Capital of the husband of this lady, and he finds no difficulty, therefore, in supposing him to have been the Arta of the coins.

Whether we may accept Bhagvānlāl's version in preference to Bühler's is a point which can only be determined by a more careful investigation of the inscriptions on the Lion-Capital than can be attempted here. Enough has been said to show that the identification, which appears in every other respect as probable, of the Kharaosta of the inscriptions with the Kharaosta or Kharamosta of the coins, must not be hastily rejected on the supposed evidence of the inscriptions.²

The Kharoṣṭhī syllable *saṃ* which appears on this specimen on the obverse in front of the horse, occurs on other coins of Kharamosta above the lion, preceded by the Kharoṣṭhī monogram, for which the reading *kha + ro* has been suggested above. The meaning of this monogram,

¹ JRAS, 1894, p. 546.

² Bühler is certainly right in declining to accept further identifications proposed by Cunningham and Bhagvānlāl, *v. Indian Coins*, § 79.

as of others on coins of this class, is quite uncertain. The *sam* may possibly, as Mr. Fleet has already suggested,¹ be the abbreviation for *samvat*, 'year,' and the X in front of the lion on the reverse might, so far as the form goes, be the Kharoṣṭhī numeral 4. This is, however, rendered the more doubtful by the fact that the same figure is found in the same position on all coins of Kharamosta, and that on some, as on the present specimen, the supposed abbreviation for 'year' appears on one side of the coin and the supposed figure 4 on the other. This is, to say the least, not a very probable arrangement.

ATHAMA.

Obv. King on horseback, as on the coins of Kharamosta (*v. sup.* No. 9); Greek inscription:—

[—]C I A [E — — —

Rev. Monogram made up of the Greek letters M and P ;

Kharoṣṭhī inscr. : *ma sa.*
tha a.

Mr. Bleazby.

N .4; *Wt.* 3.4. [Pl. 10.

This most interesting coin, which was sent to me by Mr. Bleazby for examination, is, so far as I know, unique of its kind. It is struck in very thin gold, and seems without doubt to belong to the general class of Indo-Scythic coins to which the title Śaka has rightly or wrongly been applied.

The obverse type "king on horseback" occurs on the coins of Azes, Azilises, Vonones, and others, who are called kings, and also, as we have seen, on the coins of Kharamosta, who is called a satrap. The monogram which takes the place of a reverse-type on this coin also occurs, in association with a type, on coins of Azes and Azilises. We can have no hesitation, therefore, in recognising in this Athama a member of the same dynasty.

¹ JRAS, 1905, p. 229.

The name Aṭhama is most probably Scythic or Parthian; but it may, of course, be Prakrit *Aṭṭhama* = Skt. *Aṣṭama*, 'Octavus.' It occurs in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions discovered by Dr. Stein at Niya; *e.g.* as the name of a letter-carrier mentioned in the fragment of a leather document, N. xv, 336, not yet published.

ĀNDHRA.

GAUTAMĪPUTRA ŚRĪ-YAJÑA-ŚĀTAKARṆĪ (*Indian Coins*, § 87).

The three specimens now illustrated are apparently the only ones known of what may be called the Saurāṣṭran type of the coinage of the Āndhra Dynasty. One of these has frequently been published, and on its supposed evidence there has been made an assumption which has influenced nearly every attempt to reconstruct the genealogical table of this dynasty. An examination of this coin—or rather of electrotypes taken from it—and of the other two now published, has convinced me that Mr. Vincent Smith was right in doubting the generally accepted reading,¹ and that the assumption which is founded on it must, therefore, be abandoned.

The coin in question was discovered by Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrājī in the *stūpa* at Sopara near Bombay.² It bears inscriptions both on obverse and reverse. As to the former of these there is no question. It simply indicates that the coin is of the prince whose name, in its Sanskrit form, is Śrī-Yajña-Śātakarṇi, and who bears the metronymic Gautamīputra, "the son of Gautamī." The reverse inscription is not so easy, owing to the fact that at one part the letters are almost lost. It is even now not possible to restore the whole inscription with certainty. All that we can do is to ascertain its true character and to examine the feasibility of such readings as have been proposed.

¹ ZDMG, 1903, p. 622.

² *Antiquarian Remains at Sopārā and Padana*, JBBRAS, xv, p. 273.

The Pandit (*op. cit.*, p. 306) read the characters which compose this reverse inscription as चतरपनस गतमिपुतकुमार यजसातकनि = *Prince Yajña Śātakarṇi, son of Caturapana and Gautamī*, ingeniously suggesting that this addition of the father's name to the usual Āndhra metronymic was due to the regular custom observed on their coins by the Kṣatrapa dynasty. He was confirmed in his proposed reading of the father's name on the coin as Caturapana by his own reading of a title *Catarapana* or *Cataraphana* in an inscription at Nanaghat dated in the thirteenth year of a Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śātakarṇi.¹ Putting together the supposed evidence of coin and inscription, the Pandit imagined that he had ascertained an important fact in the genealogy of the Āndhra dynasty, *vis.*, that a Vāsiṣṭhīputra Caturapana Śātakarṇi was the father of Gautamīputra Śrī-Yajña Śātakarṇi; and this view has since been generally accepted.²

When we come to examine the coins it will be seen that there are no certain or even probable traces of such a word as *Caturapana*. With regard to the *Catarapana* or *Cataraphana* of the inscription at Nanaghat, it is, in the first place, unfortunate that we have no photograph or facsimile by means of which the Pandit's reading can be controlled. In the second place, supposing that the reading is correct, should we not rather see in this form ending in *-ana* (probably = *āna*) a genitive plural, such as occurs elsewhere in a similar position, either of the name of some people over whom the king ruled, or denoting the particular family of the dynasty to which he belonged? A good instance of this use is supplied by the inscription of Mādharīputa Purisadata in the Jaggayapeta Stūpa;³ cf. also such an expression as *Okhaḷakiyānaṃ Mahārathi* in the Karle inscr. No. 20.⁴ It will be seen, therefore, that it is by no means certain that *Catarapana* or *phana* is the name of the king in whose inscription it occurs.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 313.

² For instance, by Bühler, *Indian Antiquary*, 1883, p. 272.

³ ASSI, i, p. 110, *Raño Mādhariputasa Ikhākhūṇaṃ Siri-Vīra-Purisadatasa*.

⁴ ASWI, iv, p. 107, pl. liv; cf. JRAS, 1903, pp. 299, 300.

The general description of the three coins here illustrated is as follows :—

- (1) *Obv.* Bust of king r.; inscr. in Brāhmī characters (vii)¹ :—

सिरियञसातकणिसरञो गोतमपुतस

Rev. l., Ujjain symbol surmounted by crescent; r., *Caitya* surmounted by crescent; between them, a star; beneath them, a waved line; inscr. written continuously all around the coin (*v. sup.*).

B.M.; Electrotpe from General Pearse; [Bhagvānlāl, *loc. cit.*; Elliot, CSI, p. 25]. [Pl. 11.]

- (2) *Obv.* Similar; inscr. in Brāhmī characters (vii) :—

सिरियञसातकणिसरञो गोतमपु[तस]

Rev. Similar, but double-struck; inscr. (*v. inf.*).

Colonel J. Biddulph. AR .65; Wt. 29.5. [Pl. 12.]

- (3) *Obv.* Similar: inscr. in Brāhmī characters (vii) :—

सुरयञसातकणसर[ञो - -]मपुतस

Rev. Similar; inscr. (*v. inf.*).

B.M.; Bhagvānlāl [*loc. cit.*]. AR .6; Wt. 24.5. [Pl. 13.]

Of the obverse legend, every letter and almost every vowel-mark is absolutely certain :—

६ | ७ | ८ | ९ | १० | ११ | १२ | १३ | १४ | १५ | १६ | १७ | १८ | १९ | २० | २१ | २२ | २३ | २४ | २५ | २६ | २७ | २८ | २९ | ३० | ३१ | ३२ | ३३ | ३४ | ३५ | ३६ | ३७ | ३८ | ३९ | ४० | ४१ | ४२ | ४३ | ४४ | ४५ | ४६ | ४७ | ४८ | ४९ | ५० | ५१ | ५२ | ५३ | ५४ | ५५ | ५६ | ५७ | ५८ | ५९ | ६० | ६१ | ६२ | ६३ | ६४ | ६५ | ६६ | ६७ | ६८ | ६९ | ७० | ७१ | ७२ | ७३ | ७४ | ७५ | ७६ | ७७ | ७८ | ७९ | ८० | ८१ | ८२ | ८३ | ८४ | ८५ | ८६ | ८७ | ८८ | ८९ | ९० | ९१ | ९२ | ९३ | ९४ | ९५ | ९६ | ९७ | ९८ | ९९ | १०० | १०१ | १०२ | १०३ | १०४ | १०५ | १०६ | १०७ | १०८ | १०९ | ११० | १११ | ११२ | ११३ | ११४ | ११५ | ११६ | ११७ | ११८ | ११९ | १२० | १२१ | १२२ | १२३ | १२४ | १२५ | १२६ | १२७ | १२८ | १२९ | १३० | १३१ | १३२ | १३३ | १३४ | १३५ | १३६ | १३७ | १३८ | १३९ | १४० | १४१ | १४२ | १४३ | १४४ | १४५ | १४६ | १४७ | १४८ | १४९ | १५० | १५१ | १५२ | १५३ | १५४ | १५५ | १५६ | १५७ | १५८ | १५९ | १६० | १६१ | १६२ | १६३ | १६४ | १६५ | १६६ | १६७ | १६८ | १६९ | १७० | १७१ | १७२ | १७३ | १७४ | १७५ | १७६ | १७७ | १७८ | १७९ | १८० | १८१ | १८२ | १८३ | १८४ | १८५ | १८६ | १८७ | १८८ | १८९ | १९० | १९१ | १९२ | १९३ | १९४ | १९५ | १९६ | १९७ | १९८ | १९९ | २०० | २०१ | २०२ | २०३ | २०४ | २०५ | २०६ | २०७ | २०८ | २०९ | २१० | २११ | २१२ | २१३ | २१४ | २१५ | २१६ | २१७ | २१८ | २१९ | २२० | २२१ | २२२ | २२३ | २२४ | २२५ | २२६ | २२७ | २२८ | २२९ | २३० | २३१ | २३२ | २३३ | २३४ | २३५ | २३६ | २३७ | २३८ | २३९ | २४० | २४१ | २४२ | २४३ | २४४ | २४५ | २४६ | २४७ | २४८ | २४९ | २५० | २५१ | २५२ | २५३ | २५४ | २५५ | २५६ | २५७ | २५८ | २५९ | २६० | २६१ | २६२ | २६३ | २६४ | २६५ | २६६ | २६७ | २६८ | २६९ | २७० | २७१ | २७२ | २७३ | २७४ | २७५ | २७६ | २७७ | २७८ | २७९ | २८० | २८१ | २८२ | २८३ | २८४ | २८५ | २८६ | २८७ | २८८ | २८९ | २९० | २९१ | २९२ | २९३ | २९४ | २९५ | २९६ | २९७ | २९८ | २९९ | ३०० | ३०१ | ३०२ | ३०३ | ३०४ | ३०५ | ३०६ | ३०७ | ३०८ | ३०९ | ३१० | ३११ | ३१२ | ३१३ | ३१४ | ३१५ | ३१६ | ३१७ | ३१८ | ३१९ | ३२० | ३२१ | ३२२ | ३२३ | ३२४ | ३२५ | ३२६ | ३२७ | ३२८ | ३२९ | ३३० | ३३१ | ३३२ | ३३३ | ३३४ | ३३५ | ३३६ | ३३७ | ३३८ | ३३९ | ३४० | ३४१ | ३४२ | ३४३ | ३४४ | ३४५ | ३४६ | ३४७ | ३४८ | ३४९ | ३५० | ३५१ | ३५२ | ३५३ | ३५४ | ३५५ | ३५६ | ३५७ | ३५८ | ३५९ | ३६० | ३६१ | ३६२ | ३६३ | ३६४ | ३६५ | ३६६ | ३६७ | ३६८ | ३६९ | ३७० | ३७१ | ३७२ | ३७३ | ३७४ | ३७५ | ३७६ | ३७७ | ३७८ | ३७९ | ३८० | ३८१ | ३८२ | ३८३ | ३८४ | ३८५ | ३८६ | ३८७ | ३८८ | ३८९ | ३९० | ३९१ | ३९२ | ३९३ | ३९४ | ३९५ | ३९६ | ३९७ | ३९८ | ३९९ | ४०० | ४०१ | ४०२ | ४०३ | ४०४ | ४०५ | ४०६ | ४०७ | ४०८ | ४०९ | ४१० | ४११ | ४१२ | ४१३ | ४१४ | ४१५ | ४१६ | ४१७ | ४१८ | ४१९ | ४२० | ४२१ | ४२२ | ४२३ | ४२४ | ४२५ | ४२६ | ४२७ | ४२८ | ४२९ | ४३० | ४३१ | ४३२ | ४३३ | ४३४ | ४३५ | ४३६ | ४३७ | ४३८ | ४३९ | ४४० | ४४१ | ४४२ | ४४३ | ४४४ | ४४५ | ४४६ | ४४७ | ४४८ | ४४९ | ४५० | ४५१ | ४५२ | ४५३ | ४५४ | ४५५ | ४५६ | ४५७ | ४५८ | ४५९ | ४६० | ४६१ | ४६२ | ४६३ | ४६४ | ४६५ | ४६६ | ४६७ | ४६८ | ४६९ | ४७० | ४७१ | ४७२ | ४७३ | ४७४ | ४७५ | ४७६ | ४७७ | ४७८ | ४७९ | ४८० | ४८१ | ४८२ | ४८३ | ४८४ | ४८५ | ४८६ | ४८७ | ४८८ | ४८९ | ४९० | ४९१ | ४९२ | ४९३ | ४९४ | ४९५ | ४९६ | ४९७ | ४९८ | ४९९ | ५०० | ५०१ | ५०२ | ५०३ | ५०४ | ५०५ | ५०६ | ५०७ | ५०८ | ५०९ | ५१० | ५११ | ५१२ | ५१३ | ५१४ | ५१५ | ५१६ | ५१७ | ५१८ | ५१९ | ५२० | ५२१ | ५२२ | ५२३ | ५२४ | ५२५ | ५२६ | ५२७ | ५२८ | ५२९ | ५३० | ५३१ | ५३२ | ५३३ | ५३४ | ५३५ | ५३६ | ५३७ | ५३८ | ५३९ | ५४० | ५४१ | ५४२ | ५४३ | ५४४ | ५४५ | ५४६ | ५४७ | ५४८ | ५४९ | ५५० | ५५१ | ५५२ | ५५३ | ५५४ | ५५५ | ५५६ | ५५७ | ५५८ | ५५९ | ५६० | ५६१ | ५६२ | ५६३ | ५६४ | ५६५ | ५६६ | ५६७ | ५६८ | ५६९ | ५७० | ५७१ | ५७२ | ५७३ | ५७४ | ५७५ | ५७६ | ५७७ | ५७८ | ५७९ | ५८० | ५८१ | ५८२ | ५८३ | ५८४ | ५८५ | ५८६ | ५८७ | ५८८ | ५८९ | ५९० | ५९१ | ५९२ | ५९३ | ५९४ | ५९५ | ५९६ | ५९७ | ५९८ | ५९९ | ६०० | ६०१ | ६०२ | ६०३ | ६०४ | ६०५ | ६०६ | ६०७ | ६०८ | ६०९ | ६१० | ६११ | ६१२ | ६१३ | ६१४ | ६१५ | ६१६ | ६१७ | ६१८ | ६१९ | ६२० | ६२१ | ६२२ | ६२३ | ६२४ | ६२५ | ६२६ | ६२७ | ६२८ | ६२९ | ६३० | ६३१ | ६३२ | ६३३ | ६३४ | ६३५ | ६३६ | ६३७ | ६३८ | ६३९ | ६४० | ६४१ | ६४२ | ६४३ | ६४४ | ६४५ | ६४६ | ६४७ | ६४८ | ६४९ | ६५० | ६५१ | ६५२ | ६५३ | ६५४ | ६५५ | ६५६ | ६५७ | ६५८ | ६५९ | ६६० | ६६१ | ६६२ | ६६३ | ६६४ | ६६५ | ६६६ | ६६७ | ६६८ | ६६९ | ६७० | ६७१ | ६७२ | ६७३ | ६७४ | ६७५ | ६७६ | ६७७ | ६७८ | ६७९ | ६८० | ६८१ | ६८२ | ६८३ | ६८४ | ६८५ | ६८६ | ६८७ | ६८८ | ६८९ | ६९० | ६९१ | ६९२ | ६९३ | ६९४ | ६९५ | ६९६ | ६९७ | ६९८ | ६९९ | ७०० | ७०१ | ७०२ | ७०३ | ७०४ | ७०५ | ७०६ | ७०७ | ७०८ | ७०९ | ७१० | ७११ | ७१२ | ७१३ | ७१४ | ७१५ | ७१६ | ७१७ | ७१८ | ७१९ | ७२० | ७२१ | ७२२ | ७२३ | ७२४ | ७२५ | ७२६ | ७२७ | ७२८ | ७२९ | ७३० | ७३१ | ७३२ | ७३३ | ७३४ | ७३५ | ७३६ | ७३७ | ७३८ | ७३९ | ७४० | ७४१ | ७४२ | ७४३ | ७४४ | ७४५ | ७४६ | ७४७ | ७४८ | ७४९ | ७५० | ७५१ | ७५२ | ७५३ | ७५४ | ७५५ | ७५६ | ७५७ | ७५८ | ७५९ | ७६० | ७६१ | ७६२ | ७६३ | ७६४ | ७६५ | ७६६ | ७६७ | ७६८ | ७६९ | ७७० | ७७१ | ७७२ | ७७३ | ७७४ | ७७५ | ७७६ | ७७७ | ७७८ | ७७९ | ७८० | ७८१ | ७८२ | ७८३ | ७८४ | ७८५ | ७८६ | ७८७ | ७८८ | ७८९ | ७९० | ७९१ | ७९२ | ७९३ | ७९४ | ७९५ | ७९६ | ७९७ | ७९८ | ७९९ | ८०० | ८०१ | ८०२ | ८०३ | ८०४ | ८०५ | ८०६ | ८०७ | ८०८ | ८०९ | ८१० | ८११ | ८१२ | ८१३ | ८१४ | ८१५ | ८१६ | ८१७ | ८१८ | ८१९ | ८२० | ८२१ | ८२२ | ८२३ | ८२४ | ८२५ | ८२६ | ८२७ | ८२८ | ८२९ | ८३० | ८३१ | ८३२ | ८३३ | ८३४ | ८३५ | ८३६ | ८३७ | ८३८ | ८३९ | ८४० | ८४१ | ८४२ | ८४३ | ८४४ | ८४५ | ८४६ | ८४७ | ८४८ | ८४९ | ८५० | ८५१ | ८५२ | ८५३ | ८५४ | ८५५ | ८५६ | ८५७ | ८५८ | ८५९ | ८६० | ८६१ | ८६२ | ८६३ | ८६४ | ८६५ | ८६६ | ८६७ | ८६८ | ८६९ | ८७० | ८७१ | ८७२ | ८७३ | ८७४ | ८७५ | ८७६ | ८७७ | ८७८ | ८७९ | ८८० | ८८१ | ८८२ | ८८३ | ८८४ | ८८५ | ८८६ | ८८७ | ८८८ | ८८९ | ८९० | ८९१ | ८९२ | ८९३ | ८९४ | ८९५ | ८९६ | ८९७ | ८९८ | ८९९ | ९०० | ९०१ | ९०२ | ९०३ | ९०४ | ९०५ | ९०६ | ९०७ | ९०८ | ९०९ | ९१० | ९११ | ९१२ | ९१३ | ९१४ | ९१५ | ९१६ | ९१७ | ९१८ | ९१९ | ९२० | ९२१ | ९२२ | ९२३ | ९२४ | ९२५ | ९२६ | ९२७ | ९२८ | ९२९ | ९३० | ९३१ | ९३२ | ९३३ | ९३४ | ९३५ | ९३६ | ९३७ | ९३८ | ९३९ | ९४० | ९४१ | ९४२ | ९४३ | ९४४ | ९४५ | ९४६ | ९४७ | ९४८ | ९४९ | ९५० | ९५१ | ९५२ | ९५३ | ९५४ | ९५५ | ९५६ | ९५७ | ९५८ | ९५९ | ९६० | ९६१ | ९६२ | ९६३ | ९६४ | ९६५ | ९६६ | ९६७ | ९६८ | ९६९ | ९७० | ९७१ | ९७२ | ९७३ | ९७४ | ९७५ | ९७६ | ९७७ | ९७८ | ९७९ | ९८० | ९८१ | ९८२ | ९८३ | ९८४ | ९८५ | ९८६ | ९८७ | ९८८ | ९८९ | ९९० | ९९१ | ९९२ | ९९३ | ९९४ | ९९५ | ९९६ | ९९७ | ९९८ | ९९९ | १०००

(= *Siri Yaña Sātakamṇisa Raño Gotamiputasa*³).

In studying the reverse legend, the most important point to notice is that the letters are not in exactly the same character as those of the obverse legend. It is reasonable

¹ These Roman numerals refer to the clock-face, and indicate the point in the circle at which an inscription begins.

² I use this sign—a reversed *virāma*—to denote that a vowel sign cannot be seen, although it may possibly have been intended.

³ The inscription should, however, properly begin with *Raño*. This is the order which is, no doubt, intended. The above order has been adopted because of the break in the legend made by the truncation of the bust.

The reverse equivalent to the obverse *Siri-Yaña-Sātakaṇisa* may, therefore, be *Hiru-Yaña-Hātaka[ṇiṣa]*.

There is only one further difficulty in the reverse representation of *Gotamīputasa*—the character **𑀧**, which should be = *mī*. With this we may compare the form of *ma*, **𑀭**, which occurs in Ceylon in about the first century B.C.¹ The *akṣara* seems undoubtedly to contain an *m*, but whether it included a vowel sign or not, it is impossible to say. We may say, then, that *obv.* Gotamīputasa = *rev.* Gotam(a)-putaṣa.

There remains now only the *obv.* Raño and its *rev.* equivalent, which, as we have seen, must have consisted of some six syllables. All that we can say of this form is that it was a genitive singular ending in *-naṣa*, as might be expected. It is hopeless to attempt any restoration of the preceding syllables, probably four in number; but of one thing we may be quite certain, they cannot, from the remaining traces, be restored as *Caturapa* with the least certainty.

We shall probably be right in recognising in this second alphabet a South Indian form of Brāhmī which prevailed in the region which was the original home of the Āndhras, *Āndhradeśa*, the Telugu country. On the Saurāṣṭran coins it is, in fact, what Kharoṣṭhī is on the coins of Nahapāna and Caṣṭana, an exotic, not an indigenous alphabet.

TRAIKŪṬAKA.

DAHRASENA, SON OF INDRADATTA (date in copper-plate, year 207 of the so-called Kalacuri or Cedi era = A.D. 456).

Obv. Bust of king r.

¹ Cf. Wickremasinghe, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, part i, p. 13.

Rev. Caitya; star of dots above on r.; inscr. (iii):—

महरजन्द्रत्तपुत्रपरमवष्णवश्रमहरजदहस्रन

(= *Mahārāj-Endradattaputra Parama-Vaiṣṇava*
Mahārāja-Dahrasena).

B.M.; Bird (1854).

·55; Wt. 28·2. [Pl. 14.

15. *Obv.* Similar.

Rev. Caitya; beneath, waved line; star of dots above on l.; inscr. (xii):—

[- - र - द्र - त्तपुत्र - र -] वष्णवमहरज[श्रदह - -]

(= [- - *rā-ndra-ttaputra-ra-*] *Vaiṣṇava Mahārāja*
[*Srī-Da - - -*]).

B.M.; Bhagvānlāl.

·5; Wt. 22·7. [Pl. 15.

These coin-legends have supplied one of the most familiar puzzles in Indian numismatics. Their constituent characters are in themselves so corrupt in some cases as to admit of the possibility of a variety of readings. Their decipherment must, therefore, manifestly depend to some extent on external evidence, such as the analogy of other coin-legends of about the same time and locality, and also perhaps, to some extent, on conjecture. The reading now generally accepted is that which was proposed first by Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrājī in the *Transactions of the Seventh Oriental Congress* (Vienna, 1886: Aryan Section, p. 222), viz.:—

Mahārājendravarmanmaputra-paramavaiṣṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-
Rudragana.

For *-varmma-* the Pandit suggests as possible variants *-danna-* or *-datta-*. There can be no doubt that the latter is correct. The *-tta-* is seen quite clearly on the coin which is figured as No. 14 in the plate, and it is almost certainly to be restored in the case of No. 15.

Apart from this, the only correction which I propose is to read the king's name as Dahrasena, the reading of every syllable of which can, I think, be fully justified. I may

say that I have had the advantage of examining a very large number of these coins in the collection of the late Dr. Gerson da Cunha, some of which have recently been acquired by the British Museum, and that other well-known collectors of Indian coins, such as Colonel Biddulph, Colonel Shepherd, Mr. I. White King, and Mr. W. Theobald, have kindly permitted me to have casts made from specimens in their possession.

The form in which the legend most commonly occurs is somewhat as follows :—

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

On comparing Bhagvānlāl's reading *Rudragana* with the last four syllables of this facsimile,¹ it may be observed that :—

(1) The first of the four syllables in question is certainly not *ru*. It is the same as the character which appears in the sixth place from the beginning, and which the Pandit read as *va* or possibly *da*. That it is not *va* seems certain from a comparison with the two *va*'s (thirteenth and fifteenth from the beginning) which are seen in the representation of the word *Vaiṣṇava*. It must unquestionably be read as *da*.

(2) The second may well be *hra*, i.e. the character which appears in the second and eighteenth places from the beginning with the addition of the regular subscript *-ra*.

(3) The third constitutes the real difficulty, and certainly seems more like *ga* than anything else. But it must be remembered that, in any case, it is probably a broken-down letter. The die-cutter has allowed the lower part of the previous syllable to deprive it of some of the space which should have been given to it. From what may be called the normal specimens of this coinage, it would have been impossible to do more than guess at the value of this *akṣara*; but, fortunately, there are varieties in which the *sa* (= *se*) in this place is quite distinct (*v. inf.*).

¹ The Pandit himself gives a facsimile (*l.c.*) which may equally be referred to in illustration of these remarks.

It will be seen, then, that, even on the evidence of the normal specimens, there would be no difficulty in accepting the reading *Dahrasena*, except, perhaps, in the case of the third *akṣara*, which is manifestly corrupt. But the case becomes absolutely clear when other varieties are studied. The two coins illustrated in the plate were chosen as preserving certain forms of the letters, which, when compared with the normal perversion of the coin-legend, seem to prove the correctness of the reading proposed. To facsimiles of these, representing two varieties in the arrangement of the legend,¹ is added another from a coin belonging to Colonel Biddulph which most clearly preserves the *sa* (= *se*).

(2)

[- - - - -]

(Pl. 15).

We can, then, have no hesitation in recognising in the striker of these coins Dahrasena, who is already known to us from the copper-plate found at Pardi, fifty miles south of Surat. This king belonged to the Traikūṭaka family,

¹ (1) *Mahārāj-Endradatta-putra Parama-Vaiṣṇava Śrī-Mahārāja-Dahrasena* ;
and (2) *Mahārāj-Endradatta-putra Parama-Vaiṣṇava Mahārāja-Śrī-Dahrasena*.

and the copper-plate is dated in the year 207 of an era, beginning in A.D. 248 or 249, to which the name Kalacuri or Cedi era is usually given, and the establishment of which Pandit Bhagvānlāl attributed to the Traikūṭaka Dynasty.¹ It will not be necessary here to discuss the question of the origin of this era, the evidence available for the determination of which has recently been set forth in this Journal by Mr. Fleet with his wonted clearness and precision.² All that we need attempt to do here is to show, first, that the coins, the copper-plate, and, originally, the era in which it is dated, all belong to the same region; and, secondly, that the coins and the copper-plate must be of about the same date.

Mr. Fleet (*op. cit.*, p. 567) points out that "all the earlier dates in this era come from Gujarāt and the Thāṇa District in Bombay." The coins, also, certainly come from this region, for the largest recorded hoard of which I know is the one of some 500 specimens mentioned by Bhagvānlāl as having been discovered at Daman in South Gujarat³; and the specimens in the collections referred to above (p. 803) may well have come from the same districts, or nearly adjacent districts, of the Bombay Presidency. The only doubt is whether the area of the circulation of these coins may not have been far more extensive; but this question cannot be settled until far more accurate accounts of the *provenance* of these coins are available than is at present the case. The specimen published by Mr. Justice Newton (JBBRAS, 1862, p. 11, pl. 13)—the first recorded specimen of this series—was found "near Karād in the Satara District."

The region in question was certainly under the dominion of the Kṣaharāta Nahapāna (known dates 41–46 Śaka = 119–124 A.D.).⁴ After his defeat it passed into the hands

¹ *Trans. VII Or. Cong.*: Aryan Section, p. 220.

² JRAS, 1905, p. 566.

³ *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, i, p. 58.

⁴ *Inscr. of Uṣavadāta*, Nasik, ASWI, iv, p. 99, pl. lii, 5.

of his conqueror, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi¹; but was again wrested from the Āndhra Dynasty by the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman in or before the year 72 Śaka = 150 A.D.² How far it continued to form a portion of the empire of the Western Kṣatrapa dynasty from this date until the end of the dynasty (c. 310 Śaka = 388 A.D.) cannot be determined with much precision, though, as will be seen below, we have some important facts bearing on its history during this period. The point which more immediately concerns us is that this region was certainly for some length of time included in the dominions of the Western Kṣatrapas, and that, therefore, we are fully prepared to find that their characteristic type of coinage—*obv.*, King's head to r.; *rev.*, *Caitya* with inscr.—was established there.

Now the coins in question are precisely of this type; and their rough fabric and the debased character of their inscriptions proclaim their late date. They would, on such evidence alone, be assigned by numismatists to the period after the downfall of the Western Kṣatrapas, *i.e.* to some period after A.D. 388. The coins now attributed to Dahrasena record the name of his father, Indradatta, who was king before him. If, then, we may suppose that the independence of the Traikūṭaka dynasty dates from the downfall of the Western Kṣatrapas, the coins of Dahrasena, who had at least one predecessor on the throne, may well be of the same period as his copper-plate, which is dated in a year equivalent to A.D. 456.

VYĀGHRASENA, SON OF DAHRASENA.

Obv. Bust of king r.

Rev. *Caitya*; star of dots above on r.; inscr. (xii):—

महरजदहसनपुत्रपरमवष्णवश्रमहरजव्यघ्रसन

(= *Mahārāja Dahrasenaputra Parama-Vaiṣṇava Śrī-Mahārāja Vyāghrasena*).

B.M.; Da Cunha.

·5; Wt. 32. [Pl. 16.

¹ Inscr. of Puḷumāyi, Nasik, *ibid.*, p. 108, pl. lii, 14.

² Junāgaḍh inscr. of Rudradāman, Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, viii, p. 36.

The British Museum acquired in 1904 from the collection of the late Dr. Gerson da Cunha eight specimens of a second Traikūṭaka king, Vyāghrasena, son of Dahrasena.

The reading of the coin-legend seems to be certain, thanks, principally, to the specimen here illustrated, which preserves quite clearly the *akṣaras vya-* and *-ghra-* of the name, which on most of the other specimens are either indistinct or corrupt. Again we see the peculiar corruption of the *-se-*, which usually appears on the coins of Dahrasena, and the meaning of which could scarcely have been guessed if it had not been for the fortunate preservation of the uncorrupted form on certain varieties of his coinage.

The following facsimile is chiefly taken from the coin illustrated; but, as on this specimen the *akṣaras* -*rama Vaiṣṇava*- are all broken, they have been restored from another coin (B.M., da Cunha, 1904 : 4-8 : 94).

၎င်းတို့သည် နေရာအနှံ့တွင် နေထိုင်ကြသည်။

SIGNET-RING OF BUDDHADEVA, SON OF AŚVILAPUTRA.

A woman standing l. with a parrot perched on her hand ;
Kharosthī inscr. in two lines written vertically :—

r. **Ṗ Ṫ Ṣ Ṡ Ṣ Ṣ Ṣ** *Asvilaputrasa.*

1. ཐུགས་ཟུག་ *Budhadevasa.*

B.M.

Oval, .8 by .7. [Pl. 17.

The photograph in the plate is that of an impression taken from the seal of a bronze ring recently acquired by the British Museum. It is said to have been found at Dheri Shahan, the site of the ancient Taxila.

SIGNET-RING OF [ŠPA]LAVERA, SON OF SANIKA.

A man standing r., wearing sword, and holding wreath in r. hand; Kharosthī inscr. in two lines written vertically:—

r. (upwards) *ṛ z ḥ ṣ ṭ, ṛ* *Sanigaputrasa.*

1. (downwards) [-] 𑖦 𑖩 𑖫 𑖬 𑖭 𑖮 [-] [Spa] *laverasa*
Kupha[-].

B.M.

Oval, .9 by .65. [Pl. 18.

The impression is from the seal of a broken bronze ring. The initial *akṣara* of the owner's name is indistinct, but the traces seem to point to the *śpa* which occurs in the Kharoṣṭhī legends of the coins of Spalahora and Spalagadama. The last *akṣara* of the inscription is doubtful. If we could read it as *-e*, we might see in *Kupha*[*e*] the genitive or locative of a place-name = Skt. *Kubhā*, Greek *Κωφήν*; and, accordingly, translate the whole inscr.: “(The seal) of Spalavera, (an inhabitant) of Kabul, son of Sanika.”

SEAL OF TIRAKA.

*Nandipada*¹ with Kharoṣṭhī inscr.:—

𑖦 𑖩 𑖫 𑖬 𑖭 𑖮 𑖯 *Tirakasa Pa*[*kha*]*laye*.

B.M.

Oval, .65 by .55. [Pl. 19.

An impression from a bronze seal, having at the back two loops. The reading of the inscription seems to be certain except in regard to the third *akṣara* from the end. The reading suggested, viz. *kha*, rests on the supposition that the engraver may have made the not uncommon mistake of engraving the letter on the seal precisely as it was intended to appear on an impression taken from the seal. If, however, we take the latter as it stands, it may be read as *a*; and, in either case, the word *Pakhalaye* or *Paalaye* would seem to be the genitive of a place-name, *Pakhali* or *Paali*. It seems not improbable that this may be a shortened form for *Pakhalavadi* = Skt. *Puṣkalāvatī*, and that the inscription may therefore mean “(The seal) of Tiraka, (an inhabitant) of *Puṣkalāvatī*.” This theory receives some support from the form recorded by Alberuni (trans. Sachau, i, p. 302), which is quoted by Mr. Fleet,² “*Puṣkalāvatī*, i.e. *Pūkala*.”

¹ The correct name of this symbol is known from the inscription on the Padana Hill, JBBRAS, xv, p. 320.

² *Topographical List of the Br̥hat Sam̐hitā*, Ind. Ant., 1893, p. 188.

The Greek translation illustrates the difficulty of representing the Indian -*ũ* by any Greek letter. It is more commonly transliterated by O: e.g. *Kumāra* = KOMAPO, *Kuṣana* = KOPANO, etc.

The name, the genitive singular of which appears in both Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī as *Baliāsa*, is, of course, equivalent to *Balika*. With reference to this exceedingly common formation of proper names with the suffix *-ka*, it is interesting to observe that it has been extended by analogy to the Indian equivalents of Greek names. For instance, the Greek ΛΥΣΙΟΥ = *Lisikasa* as well as *Lisiasa*.¹

The seal presumably comes from the Jehlam District, where Mr. Talbot's collection was made; but I have no more exact information of its *provenance*. We may be certain that it belonged originally to a region and to a period in which the three alphabets were used concurrently. Inscriptions engraved in both Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī characters come from the Kangra Valley²; while the coins which bear legends in the two alphabets are those of the Udumbaras (Pathankot),³ the Kuṇindas (the hill districts, on both sides of the Satlej, occupied by the Kunets of the present day),⁴ and the Kulūtas (Kullu Valley).⁵ As has been noticed above (p. 809), the coins of Nahapāna and Caṣṭana have inscriptions in all three characters—Brāhmī, Kharoṣṭhī, and Greek; but in this case the Kharoṣṭhī, like the Greek, is evidently a foreign importation bearing witness to the Northern origin of these rulers, for its importance on their coins diminishes during their reigns, and subsequently it entirely disappears. The region in which both the Kharoṣṭhī and the Brāhmī scripts were at home may be

¹ Gardner, B.M. Cat.: *Greek and Scythic Kings*, p. 29. The form *Lisiasa* is noted as occurring on Nos. 7 and 14. An examination of the coins and a comparison with other specimens in silver and copper acquired by the Museum since the publication of the catalogue convince me that the same reading is to be restored on Nos. 4 and 8, and indeed that it is the regular reading of all coins of Lysias which bear the same monogram.

² Vogel, *Ep. Ind.*, vii, p. 116.

³ Cunningham, CAI, p. 66.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 70, pl. iv, 14 (the reading corrected in JRAS, 1900, p. 429).

fairly identified with the Jalandhar District of the Punjab. Both alphabets were naturally understood in the district which lay between the regions in which they respectively prevailed.

The Greek inscription affords some indication of the period to which it belongs. The lunate *sigma*, C, only begins to be at all common in the Greek world at the end of the first century B.C.¹ In India it occurs on the coins of Strato II, Philopator, and on the type of Rañjabala which is copied from them; and it is the regular form on the coins of the Kuṣana prince whose name is written as Kadaphes, and on those of V'ima-Kadphises,² Kanīṣka, and Vāsudeva. Since both the lunate form and the square form, Γ, occur on different classes of coins bearing the names of two Indo-Parthian kings, Gondophares and Abdagases, as also on the coins of the mysterious *Basileus Sōtēr Megas*, it would seem that they were in use at the same time, and that the distinction between them is one of locality. In the case of Gondophares, I have pointed out that the rounded forms are associated with legends in correct Greek, but the square forms with legends in corrupt Greek.³ Our seal must have belonged to a district in which the Greek alphabet was understood, possibly—although this is a point which cannot be settled without much closer investigation than I can pretend to have made—to the district to which the class of coins having correct Greek legends and rounded letters also belongs.⁴

With reference to this concurrent use on Indo-Parthian and Indo-Scythic coinages of two distinct forms of the Greek alphabet, the square and the rounded, it is impossible to insist too strongly on the fact that, until some classification of

¹ Reinach, *Traité d'Épigraphie grecque*, p. 207.

² I have recently shown in a paper read before the Oriental Congress at Algiers, which will be published in due course in the *Transactions* of the Congress, that the initial consonant in this name is a form of *v* which I propose, for the present, to represent as *v'* (*cf.* B.M. Cat., pl. xxv, 6, and Professor Gardner's note on p. 124).

³ JRAS, 1903, p. 285.

⁴ For the statements here made as to the inscriptions on coins, *cf.* the plates in B.M. Cat.

these coinages according to the locality in which they were struck is possible, no real progress in these branches of the numismatics of ancient India can be made. At present, the utmost confusion is introduced into the subject by the tacit assumption on the part of numismatists that the different types, and the different alphabets which appear on the coins, are in some sort of chronological sequence. The chief point to be remembered in any attempt to make a satisfactory arrangement of all Indian coinages is that not only different kingdoms, but also different mints of the same kingdom, are, as the whole history of numismatics abundantly proves, intensely conservative in regard to types and epigraphy. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that these different series should be studied, from the chronological point of view, separately and without any confusion with each other.

One fact seems beyond question. The square forms of the Greek alphabet must surely owe their introduction into India to the Parthian influence which was so strong in, approximately, the first century A.D. A useful account of these square forms as they appear on Parthian coins has already been given by Professor Gardner,¹ and fuller materials are now supplied by Mr. Wroth's B.M. Catalogue, *Coins of Parthia*, in which all the forms are carefully noted, together with the dates of the reigns in which they appear. We may reasonably suppose that the occurrence of square Greek forms on an Indian coin denotes that it belongs, locally, to the sphere of Parthian influence. The period of this influence is fairly certain. For a determination of its local extent we must, at present, depend chiefly on a study of the types, assisted by such evidence as we possess as to the *provenance* of the coins.

Another indication of the date of the seal is, perhaps, supplied by the *alpha*, which occurs not less than six times in this patronymic of fourteen letters. On comparing the coin-legends of all the Kuṣanas, it will be seen that the rounded form, α, is characteristic of those of Huviṣka and

¹ B.M. Cat., *Gk. and Scythic Kings*, Introd., p. xlv.

Vāsudeva. A few occurrences may be noted on the coins of Kanīṣka ; but, in general, he, in common with his predecessors, uses the angular form ∇ .

To sum up the results of our enquiry, we may with a fair degree of assurance attribute the seal to the northern part of the Punjab and to that portion of the Kuṣana period which is covered by the reigns of Huviṣka, *i.e.* about A.D. 110–180 according to the theory which regards Kaniṣka as the founder of the Śaka era in 78 A.D., or about A.D. 150–220 according to the view of Mr. Vincent Smith, who supposes that Kaniṣka came to the throne in *c.* 125 A.D.

SEAL OF JANIKA.

A winged male figure r., holding cornucopiæ in l. and wreath in r. hand; Kharosthī inscr. :—

r. (upwards) $\rho \quad \gamma \quad \tau \quad \gamma$ *Janiasa.*

Colonel Deane.

Oval, .7 by .6. | Pl. 21.

The seal from which the impression photographed is taken is a carnelian, which was recently sent to me by Dr. Stein on behalf of Colonel Deane, together with other stone seals, some of which I shall hope to publish in a future instalment of these notes. The figure is no doubt the Greek Erōs, but it seems to be treated in a manner, and accompanied with a combination of attributes, which are Indian rather than classical Greek.

SEAL OF SAṄGHARAKSITA, SON OF BUDDHATRĀTA.

(1) बुद्धजातपुत्र *Buddhatrātaputra-*

(2) स्वसघरक्षितस्य -*sya Sagharaksitasya.*

Oblong, .85 by .55. [Pl. 22.

The photograph in the plate was taken from a plaster cast of an impression in shellac, which I owe to the kindness

of Colonel J. Biddulph, to whom it was sent from Udaipur. As to the nature of the original seal I have no information. The inscription, which is in Sanskrit, seems to belong to the early period of the dominion of the Western Kṣatrapas, c. 150 A.D.

SEAL OF GUPTA.

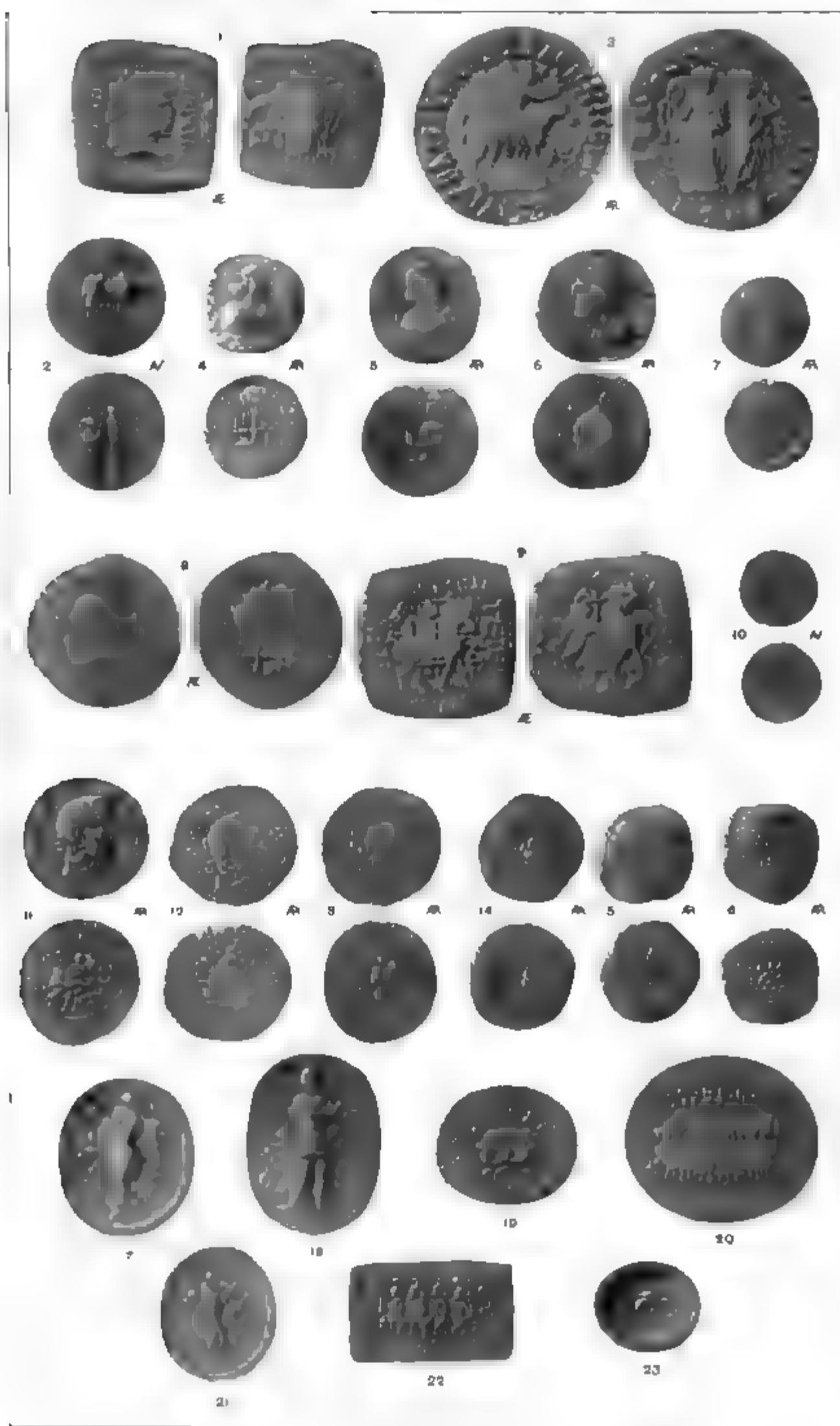
गुप्तस्य

Gutasya.

B.M.; Mr. W. S. Talbot.

Oval, .5 by .4. [Pl. 23.]

Gutasya (i.e. *Guttasya*) = Skt. *Guptasya* is an example of a kind, which is sufficiently common, showing an admixture of Prakrit and Sanskrit forms. That is to say, it is due to a confusion between the popular dialect and the established literary language, which was gradually taking the place of the local dialects, as has happened in our own country and as regularly happens in the linguistic history of every country. The seal, which is of carnelian, was presented to the British Museum in 1903 by Mr. W. S. Talbot. This instance definitely proves that *Gupta* may be used by itself as a name, and that, therefore, Mr. Fleet was right in maintaining that the name of the founder of the Gupta Dynasty was Gupta simply, and not Śrī-Gupta, “protected by Lakṣmī” as General Cunningham held. (For a similar case v. JRAS, 1901, p. 108.)



Tel-loh, and time, therefore, for any number of changes. Nevertheless, this suggests that the reason why the tablet was enclosed in a sealed envelope may have been the same, namely, because they were a kind of ex-voto—something offered to a deity by means of a tablet, and sealed by the person who received the offering, thus attesting that it had really been made. This is also suggested by the slight change in the wording which is generally made, as shown by the following example:—

1. TEXT RECORDING AN OFFERING OF GRAIN.

Tablet.

Mina ušu še gur lugala	2 gur 180 qa of royal grain,
še ħur-ra erin ê D.P. Innana	bread of the people of Ištar,
ki Lu-gi-na-ta	from Lu-gina,
ma Sur-D.P. Lama-ta	by the ship of Sur-Lama,
A-kal-la pa	Akalla the official
šu-ba-ti	has received.
Iti Še-il-la	Month Še-illa.
Mu Ħu-ħu-nu-ri D.S. ba-ħula	Year he (king Bur - Sin)
	ravaged Ħuħunuri.

Envelope.

Mina ušu še gur lugala	2 gur 180 qa of royal grain,
še ħur-ra erin ê D.P. Innana	bread of the people of Ištar,
ki Lu-gina-ta	from Lu-gina,
ma Sur - D.P. Lama pa-ap-	by the ship of Sur-Lama the
ħala-ta	ferryman.
Duba A-kal-la pa ê D.P.	Tablet of Akalla, the official
Innana	of the house of Ištar.
Iti Še-il-la	Month Še-illa.
Mu Ħu-ħu-nu-ri D.S. ba-ħula.	Year he ravaged Ħuħunuri.

From the above it will be seen that, whilst the inner tablet has 'Akalla the official has received it,' the envelope has 'Tablet of Akalla, the official of the house (temple) of Ištar.'

2. AN OFFERING OF GRAIN.

Tablet.

U-aš lama šuš še gur lugala	11 <i>gur</i> 240 <i>qa</i> of grain royal,
šag-gala erina-ku	sustenance for the people,
ki Lu-kal-la-ta	from Lu-kalla
Sur-nigin-gara	Sur-nigin-gara
šu-ba-ti	has received.
Iti Še-gur-kuda	Month Adar,
mu Ša-aš-ru-um D.S. ba-ḥula	year he ravaged Šašru.

Envelope.

U-aš lama šuš še gur lugala	11 <i>gur</i> 240 <i>qa</i> of grain royal,
šag-gala erin-na	sustenance for the people,
ki Lu-kal-la-ta	from Lu-kalla.
Dub Sur-nigin-gara	Tablet of Sur-nigin-gara.
Iti Izin-D.P. Ba-u	Month Chisleu,
mu Ša-aš-ru D.S. ba-ḥula.	Year he ravaged Šašru.

Here we have the same peculiarity—in the text of the tablet the wording is ‘Sur-nigin-gara has received it,’ and in that of the envelope ‘Tablet of Sur-nigin-gara.’ The people for whose sustenance the grain was intended were probably the staff of a temple.

In the first example, there are certain variants which are noteworthy. In the tablet, l. 4, the wording is simply ‘by the ship of Sur-Lama,’ but in the text of the envelope ‘the ferryman’ is added. In line 5 of the tablet Akalla is simply described as ‘the official (*pa*),’ but the envelope has ‘the official of the temple of Ištar.’ In the name of the district mentioned in the date the scribe of the tablet has incorrectly written $\text{𒌦} < \text{𒌦}$, *ri*, for $\text{𒌦} < \text{𒌦}$, *hu*, at the beginning of the word. These variants, in this case at least, suggest that the inner inscription was really a rough draught.

In the second example the variants are less numerous. In the second line the envelope has *erinna* for the *erina-ku*

of the tablet—a change involving no difference of meaning. In the sixth line the name of the month appears as the Sumerian equivalent of Adar, the last month of the year, but in the text of the envelope it is ‘the month of the festival of Bau,’ which, according to the tablets (see Radau’s *Early Babylonian History*, pp. 287 ff.), was the ninth month of the year, corresponding with Chisleu. How the envelope of the tablet has been dated three months in arrear or nine months in advance of the tablet, is very difficult to explain. It would seem, however, to be due to a blunder of the scribe, who must have written, on the tablet within, the current month, instead of dating the document three months back (the delivery having presumably been made in the month Izin-Bau or Chisleu), as on the envelope.

3. A TABLET REFERRING TO CLOTHING.¹

Obverse.















1. << IIII EI ->
2. EI EI <v> -<v> EI <<
3. >>v> -<v> EI >>v> EI
4. <-EI >>v> -<v> <<v> <<v> EI
5. EI >>v> >>v> >>v>

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Man ussa tug ² muga | 28 mukku-garments, |
| 2. tug-ba erina hu-ku-bu | clothing of the people hukubu, |
| 3. ê D.P. Gimil-D.P. Sin | for the house of Gimil-Sin |
| 4. u ê Nam-ḥa-ni-ku | and the house of Namḥani, |
| 5. ki Lu-uš-gi-na-ta | from Lu-uš-gina, |



¹ This and the following are transcribed into the late Babylonian character.
















² *Tug* is one of the usual Sumerian words for garment (*W. Asia Inscr.*, v, pl. 14, 33), and *tû* (*ibid.*, l. 32) seems to be a shortened form of the same word. A Babylonian duplicate of W.A.I., v, pl. 28, gives <<EI < and <<EI >>v> (*tû*, *tug*) in lines 6 and 7 *cd*, as if these words had been borrowed in Semitic Babylonian. *Tê* seems to be the Sumerian dialectic form.

Reverse.

6.   

7.    

8.    


6. mu šabra-ne-ku in the name of the seers.
7. Duba Lu-D.P. Dumu-zi Tablet of Lu-Dumuzi.
8. Mu ma-gur¹ mah ba-dim Year Gimil-Sin built the
sublime bark.


In this example the inner tablet has the same phrasing as the envelope, the only variants being  for  in the first line, and the following after line 6:—

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Duba Lu-D.P. Dumu-zi | Tablet of Lu-Dumu-zi |
| dumu Sur-gu-la | son of Sur-gula. |
| Ner (?) Lu-Hu-ne-ru D.S. | Carrier (?) : Lu-Huneru. |

References to cloth and clothing of various kinds are numerous, and the king here named, Gimil-Sin, seems to have encouraged greatly the weaving industry of his little kingdom, which, like the rest of Babylonia, seems to have become celebrated for its woven stuffs.

In the above we see the name of the deity Dumu-zi (Tammuz) compounded with that of the scribe, whose name

¹ This word occurs in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, pt. xii, pl. 11, line 26 *abc*: ša D.P. ma-gur, ma-kur-ru^m, which explains that  has the value of gur in ma-gur = Semitic ma-kur-ru^m.

means 'Man of Tammuz.' In the following inscription we are furnished with a statement of the cattle dedicated to that divinity in the month of his festival :—

4. GIFT OF CATTLE TO TAMMUZ.

Tablet—Obverse.

1. <<< ¶¶ 𒀭𒀭𒀭
 2. 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭
 3. 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭
 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭
 4. 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭

- | | | | | |
|----|-----------|---------------------|------|-----------|
| 1. | Ušu lama | udu | 34 | sheep, |
| 2. | âš | maš | 6 | kids, |
| 3. | ki | I - ta - ê - a - ta | from | Ita - êa. |
| 4. | Lu - D.P. | Ši-ma-ku | Lu - | Šimaku |

Reverse.

5. 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭
 6. 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭
 𒀭𒀭𒀭
 7. 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭
 𒀭𒀭𒀭
 8. 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭
 𒀭𒀭

- | | | | | | |
|----|----------|--------------|---------|-----------|--------------|
| 5. | ni | - | ku | the | niku, |
| 6. | sa-dug | D.P. | Dumu-zi | due of | Tammuz. |
| 7. | Iti Izin | D.P. | Dumu-zi | Month | Izin-Dumuzi, |
| 8. | Mu | Gimil - D.P. | Sin | year of | Gimil-Sin, |
| | | lugala | | the king. | |

Envelope—Obverse.

1. <<< 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
2. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
3. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
4. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. Ušu lama udu, âš maš | 34 sheep, 6 kids, |
| 2. sa-dug D.P. Dumu-zi-ku | due for Tammuz, |
| 3. ki I - ta - ê - a - ta | from Ita - êa. |
| 4. duba Lu-D.P. Ši-ma-ku aba | tablet of Lu - Šimaku
the <i>aba</i> . |

Reverse.

5. <<<𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
6. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵

- | | |
|---|--|
| 5. Iti Izin D.P. Ba-u | Month of Izin-Bau, |
| 6. mu en D.P. Nannar-
kar-zi ba-tuga | Year he invested the
lord of Nannar-kar-zi. |

This is a noteworthy inscription, not so much on account of the variants in the record as in the different dates which it exhibits. In the text on the envelope, the statement that the animals offered were those given to the temple of Tammuz is transferred from just before the date (l. 6) to the second line, and the postposition 'for' is added. The inner tablet does not contain the words *šu-ba-ti*, 'he (Lu-Šimaku) has received them,' perhaps by a mistake of the scribe, but the envelope has the usual variant 'tablet (*duba*) of Lu-Šimaku,' and adds his title, *aba*, which would thus seem to be a synonym of *niku* on the inner tablet, p. 821.

The important part of this inscription, however, is, as has already been remarked, the date. The tablet, which was

written first, has 'Year of Gimil-Sin, the king,' that is, the year when Gimil-Sin ascended the throne of Ur.¹ The envelope, which was written after the tablet, is dated in the year when the king invested the lord (generally regarded as meaning 'the high priest') of Nannar-kar-zi—a name usually written Nannar-kar-zida, and apparently meaning 'Nannar of the everlasting sanctuary.' This date is placed by Radau at the end of the reign of Bur-Sin, the predecessor of Gimil-Sin, in accordance with the indications of the list of dates published by Hilprecht. If, however, the statements of this tablet and its envelope are correct, it is probable that Hilprecht's tablet should be restored as follows:—

1. Year Bur-Sin became king.
2. Year Bur-Sin, the king, devastated Urbillu^m.
3. Year he built the supreme throne of Bel.
4. Year he invested the supreme great lord of Anu.
5. Year he invested the lord of the great abode (?) of Ištar.
6. Year he ravaged Šašru.
7. Year he ravaged Huhnuri.
8. Year he invested the lord of Eridu.
- [9. Year he invested] the lord of Nannar-²
- [10. Year of Gimil-Sin, the king.]
- [11. Year he invested the lord of Nannar-kar-zida.]
- [12. Year he consecrated the ark Dara-abzu.]
- [13. Year he devastated Simanum^m.]
- [14. Year he built] the western wall.
15. Year he made the sublime inscription of Bel.
16. Year Gimil-Sin, king of Ur, devastated the land of Zabšalu.

Here the list comes to an end, but it may be supposed that other dates had to be inserted, including certain 'years after,' which latter, according to the dated tablets, are as follows:—

¹ Mugheir, identified with Ur of the Chaldees.

² Radau regards this as being date No. 11, and if this be correct (as is possible) No. 10 would then have been omitted by the scribe.



- 1a. Year after Bur-Sin became king.
- 2a. Year after he devastated Urbillum^m.
- 8a. Year after he invested the lord of Eridu.
- 12a. Year after he consecrated the ark Dara-abzu.
- 13a. Year after he devastated Simanu.
- 14a. Year after he built the western wall.¹



Returning to the tablet and its envelope, it might naturally be explained that the whole was written at a much later date, and that two scribes, each with a different opinion as to the year, had been engaged upon it. It is worthy of note, however, that the month mentioned on the tablet—that of the festival of Tammuz—would be just the one in which offerings to that divinity would be made. The month on the envelope, on the other hand, is that of the festival of Bau, ten or eleven months later, according as there was a second Adar or not that year.




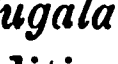


But the present paper was not for the purpose of discussing early Babylonian chronology—an altogether uncertain science at the present time—but simply for the purpose of presenting non-Assyriologists in particular with a few simple notes upon these numerous but comparatively uninteresting documents, and the information, meagre as it is, which may be obtained from them. Besides grain, cattle, and woven stuffs, the receipt of many other articles are recorded upon them. Thus we find mention of dates, sesame, oil, meal, hides, skins (leather), and also silver. In all probability every kind of produce of the earth and of trade formed the subject of offerings to the temples of early Babylonia.

Though an attempt has been made to indicate the pronunciation of the Sumero-Akkadian words contained in the short texts inserted in this paper as illustrations, it is by no means certain that the values given are correct. It must be admitted, however, that more than one transcription is in some cases likely to have been in use. Moreover, certain of the renderings of these inscriptions into modern languages





¹ It is possibly this which occurs as the second line of the reverse of the tablet published by Hilprecht.





have to be given with all reserve. In the inscriptions referring to grain we find , *še gur*, as the expression of the produce and of the measure used, followed, especially in the time of Dungi and Bur-Sin, by the character , *lugala*, 'king,' used in these cases, apparently, with the meaning of 'royal.' But is it the grain, or the measure (*gur*) which was royal? Radau is of opinion that it was the former, and the parallel texts, referring to woven stuffs, imply that he is right. With regard to the grain, it would seem that there was a special word used when it was of 'royal' quality, as the following extract from a four-column syllabary shows:—


Sum. pronunc ⁿ .	Group.	Name of Group.	Sem. pronunc ⁿ .	Meaning.
l. 11. Lil-la-an		šê-lugallaku	lil-la-nu	royal grain.
l. 12. Še-sag		do.	ya-a-ra-aḥ-ḥu	white grain.

As the ideograph shows, *lillan* and *še-sag*, and *lillanu* and *yārahḥu* are respectively synonyms—indeed, in all probability *še-sag*, one of the pronunciations of , is the   , *še-gur-sag-gala*, of the tablets of an earlier period, in which, as in the case of  , *še gur lugala*, the measure is placed after the first element. The addition of *gala*, 'being,' at the end naturally makes no difference to the sense.¹

As the syllabary referred to above has an important bearing upon many expressions found in the inscriptions, I give the text here (see Plates) as far as my copy goes. Unfortunately I do not know its number, so have been unable to revise it, and it is therefore given, especially where doubtful, *with all reserve*.

¹ Referring to the group *še-gur*, Professor Sayce writes to me: "I have long supposed that  in   is merely a determinative of measure. *Sagal* [i.e. *sag-gala*] would be equivalent to *saga* with the suffix -l, and the text seems to show that  is the equivalent of *saga*." M. Thureau-Dangin has also recognized the possible equivalence of *še gur lugala* and *še-gur-sag-gala*.

From this inscription, lines 9–16 (Plate I), we find that there were several other kinds of grain besides that designated ‘the royal,’ which would seem to have been the best white wheat.¹ Line 13 has *šeštub*, Semitic *arsuppu*, ideograph , ‘ox-grain.’ After that is *šemuš*, Sem. *šigušu*, ideograph . As , with the pronunciation of *uš*, means ‘blood,’ which is also one of the translations of , it is probable that the grain intended was of a red colour,² and if this be the case, *uš* is for *wuš* (*muš*), a Sumerian dialectic form. It is from the non-dialectic *šeguš* that the Semitic equivalent *šigušu* has come. In *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, v., pl. 26, ef, l. 22, this word has the prefix for ‘wood’ or ‘tree,’ as has also *šeštub* = *arsuppu*. All the names of seeds, therefore, as far as line 20 — *Še-sah* = *lurutu*^m, *še-šal* = *dillatu*^m, *karatin* = *kurullu*, *kiššu*, and *naqabbu* (? gourds)—are possibly those of plants or shrubs rather than cereals. *Ezinu*, the Sumerian pronunciation of the Semitic (divine) *Ašnan*, (the god of) grain and bread (l. 9), is also noteworthy.

In lines 20 and 21 are names of birds, *ūs* = *usu*, and *bibe* = *paspasu*, ‘duck’ (acc. to Jensen). After this are apparently names of plants or grain without the distinctive prefix — *parra* = *parrū*; *imgaga* = *kunašu*, *buṭuttu*^m, and *dišip-tahhu*; *kiraši* = *alappanu*. Lines 26 and 27 have the names of drinks made from these—*ulušin*, Sem. *ulušinnu*; *ulušin-mah*, Sem. *ulušin-mahhu*, ‘supreme *ulušin*,’ probably a very favourite drink. Names of other drinks follow, the first, l. 28, called *dida*, Semitic *billatu*^m. The ideographic group is , which occurs often in the numerous tablets referring to deliveries of food, drink, and oil, of the date of the case-tablets translated above. In l. 29 the same drink, made from *imgaga* (*dida-imgaga*), is referred to, the Semitic equivalents being *dišip-dahhu* and *alappanu* (see lines 24 and 25). Lines 30 and 31 give two ideographic groups for a drink called *pihu* in both Sumerian and Semitic, of a similar nature to those already mentioned.

¹ See p. 825.

² This naturally suggests lentils.

Lines 32 and 33 have the various words for wine—*kurun* in Sumerian, *kurunnu*, *šikari*, *sibu*, *karanu*, and *damu*, ‘blood’ (a wine apparently so named because it was red), in Semitic Babylonian. The group is the well-known \asymp \blacktriangle , and the second component is written in an imitation of the archaic form. Other drinks in the list are *kašbir* = Semitic *ḥīqu* (?), *issū*, *šikar šalultu^m*, and *alappanu* (lines 34, 35); *ēbla* = *eblaku* (36); and *mud* = *huburu*, the rendering of two groups. L. 39 is defective, so that it can only be seen that the non-Semitic word probably ended in *-na*, and the Semitic rendering, derived from it, in *-nu*. In lines 40–43 the Sumerian words are likewise lost, and as the Semitic column contains only the ditto-sign in three of the cases, the words cannot be restored—in l. 43 the Semitic rendering is defective. *Lum* = *lummu*, and *lut* = *luṭṭu* and *nalpatu^m* (lines 44–46), are probably all names of jars or vases.

The back begins with a different character, namely, Ξ , which is the first character of each group as far as line 24. At first the explanatory words are mostly verbs: ll. 1–3: *nāri*, ‘to destroy,’ *šābu*, probably similar in meaning, *sakāpu*, ‘to overthrow.’ *Sapāri* and *ukkuku* are probably similar, but if the latter be *ukkušu*, it means ‘to end.’ *Šumsuku*, ‘to hide,’ *maḥāšu*, ‘to smite.’ L. 4 has *maḥāšu* and *šābu*. L. 5, *pašāšu*, ‘to spread,’ *napāšu*, ‘to spread out,’ *pašāšu*, probably similar. L. 8 has *rasānu* and *ramāku*, ‘to sprinkle.’

Line 9 has *umašu*, ‘enclosure,’ ‘snare,’ also ‘creation (?)’ (Delitzsch). L. 10 *šurru^m*, probably meaning ‘to make,’ and *nabnītu^m*, ‘creation.’ Lines 11–13 have a group of apparently connected ideas—*ma’iri*, ‘(one) sending,’ ‘leading,’ ‘ruling,’ *sarri*, ‘rebel,’ *šarraqu*, ‘thief,’ *pallišu*, ‘housebreaker (?),’ *simatu^m*, probably miscopied for \boxtimes Ξ \asymp , *ḥabbatu^m*, ‘plunderer,’ *muttahlilu*, ‘liar in wait.’

Line 14 has *ēmuqu*, ‘force.’ L. 15 *šamāru*, apparently ‘to conceive’ both mentally and bodily, and *kirimmu*, ‘womb.’ L. 16 gives the doubtful words *idabal issa-* . . . —perhaps incorrectly copied on account of the break. L. 17 gives *gamiru*, ‘(one) completing,’ followed by the character *šit*, perhaps to be completed *šitpuru*, ‘to send off,’ or something

similar. L. 18 has *šitpušu*, probably meaning 'to be perfect,' from *šapašu*, 'to be strong,' 'perfect in strength.'

From this point to line 45, and perhaps l. 47, the groups begin with and are mostly, therefore, articles of clothing or things of a similar nature. *Aktum* = *šabšu* in l. 25 would seem to have been a physician's robe (, *tug* + *asu*, 'cloth of a physician').¹ *Ballā*² in lines 26, 27 are male and female headdresses respectively—*ubur sikari* ('of a male') and *ubur sinništu* ('of a woman'). Lines 28–30 have three groups rendering *pala*, 'king's robe,' 'lord's robe,' and 'lady's robe'—*tediq šarri*, *tediq bêlu*, *tediq bêltu*^m. L. 31 has *lamahuš*, Semitic *lamahuššū*.³ This last also renders *zulumhi* in ll. 34 and 36, and the same group as in l. 31 (with a different Sumerian pronunciation) again in l. 42. The usual ideograph is ,⁴ which is often found in the case-tablets and other inscriptions of an early date.

In l. 32 it is possible that my copy is incorrect in the name of the group, which, I suspect, should be *tukul aragub* (i.e. *šešikku*), followed by , in which case the Sumerian would be *tugini*, and the Semitic renderings *tuginū* and *šubat mukku*. This was a garment like that spoken of on p. 819 (No. 3, l. 1), where, however, the group is different. L. 33 has *tūše* = *tunšu*; l. 34 ff., *zulumhi* = *zulumhū*, *edqu*, *kititu*^m, *raqqatu*^m, *lubuštu*^m, and *lamahuššū*; 37, *uttuku* = *ubakku* and *maḥiṣatu*^m; 38, 39, [*gadmaḥ*] = *tuzzu*,⁵ *nalbašu*, and *gadmaḥu*⁶; 40–42, the same as 34–36, but without *zulumhū*, whilst the remainder of the inscription has only incomplete words (with the exception of *lū* and

¹ 'Medical bandage' seems less probable.

² Or *mallā* (?).

³ *Lamahuššū* in *W. Asia Inscr.*, v, pl. 14, l. 33 *cf.* where it translates the same ideograph.






⁴ In *W.A.I.*, v, 14, 46 *cd*, it occurs with the determinative prefix , and in pl. 28, 54 *cd*, with an additional character () suggesting (*tug*) *ša melamma*, "(dress) which is glorious"—*cf.* *ibid.*, l. 5 *ab*.

⁵ Given as *tūzu* in K. 7331, rev. i, l. 1.

⁶ *Gada-maḥu* in K. 7331, rev. i, l. 3.

*kippu*¹), with which I will not now trouble the reader, as their meanings are naturally uncertain.

Though very few of these words occur in the inscriptions of which examples have been given, those which they do bear upon are likely to be better understood in consequence. With regard to the others, future discoveries may bring to light examples of their use, and in any case they add to the vocabularies of the languages of which they deal, and will help to elucidate many other texts, both Sumerian and Assyro-Babylonian.

¹ As the name is [*tukul*]-*maštin-ra-a-nū*, it may be conjectured that the ideographic group was    () .

There are three Chinese versions¹ of the Sūtra, the first of which was prepared in 443 A.D. Hwen-thsang,² while travelling in Ceylon in the seventh century A.D., mentions the Sūtra as having been delivered by Buddha in olden days.

The Sūtra was known by name to the Sanskrit scholars of India from a reference to it in the Sarvadarśanasamgraha of Mādhavācāryya in the fourteenth century A.D. Mādhavācāryya quotes a passage from the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, saying:—

“Tad uktam Bhagavatā Laṅkāvatāre—
Buddhyā vivicyamānānām svabhāvo nāvadhāryyate |
Ato nirabhilāpyās te niḥsvabhāvāś ca darśitāḥ ||”

(Sarvadarśanasamgraha, chapter on Bauddhadarśana.)

The passage quoted here is identified with the following lines of the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, chap. ii:—

“Buddhyā vivecyamānānām svabhāvo nāvadhāryyate |
yasmāt³ tasmād nirabhilāpyās te niḥsvabhāvāś ca deśitāḥ ||”
(Laṅkāvatāra, Bengal Asiatic Society's MS., chap. ii,
leaf 50.)

The Tibetan version runs:—

“| blo . yis . rnam . par . gzig . na . yañ |
| gañ . phyir . rañ . bzin . mi . rig . ste |
| de . phyir . de . dag . brjod . du . med |
| no . bo . nid . kyañ . med . par . bstan |”

(Bengal Asiatic Society's Tibetan MS., Bkaḥ . gyur,
Mdo, vol. v, leaf 150.)

The same lines occur again in the tenth chapter of the Laṅkāvatāra with a little variation:—

¹ Vide Bunyiu Nanjio, Nos. 175, 176, 177.

² Beal's Buddhistic Records, p. 251.

³ From the metre it appears that this *yasmāt* is here redundant, or *yasmāt tasmād* is an explanation of *ato*.

“Buddhyā vivecyamānānām svabhāvo nāvadhāryate |
yasmād anabhilāpyās te niḥsvabhāvās ca deśitāḥ |”¹

(Laṅkāvatāra, Bengal Asiatic Society's MS., chap. x,
leaf 115.)

The Tibetan version of the above lines runs as follows:—

“| gaṅ . phyir . blo . yis . rab . gzig . na |
| raṅ . bzin . dag . ni . mi . dmigs . te |
| de . phyir . de . dag . brjod . du . med |
| no . bo . nid . kyaṅ . med . par . bsad |”

(Bengal Asiatic Society's Tibetan MS., Kangyur,
Mdo, vol. v, leaf 253.)

The Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra consists of ten chapters, named respectively — (1) Rāvaṇādhyeṣaṇā parivarta, (2) Sarva-dharmasamuccaya parivarta, (3) Anityatā parivarta, (4) Abhisamaya parivarta, (5) Tathāgata-nityānityatva, (6) Kṣaṇika parivarta, (7) Nairmāṇika parivarta, (8) Māṃsa-bhakṣaṇa parivarta, (9) Dhāraṇīparivarta, and (10) the Parisamāpti parivarta, which bears no special name.

Throughout the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra the speaker is Buddha himself. The first chapter of the book is addressed to Rāvaṇa, while the person spoken to in the remaining nine chapters is Mahāmati. Rāvaṇa prayed to Buddha for the solution of two questions, viz.: (1) what is the distinction between *dharma* and *adharma*, and (2) how could one pass beyond both *dharma* and *adharma*? Buddha's answers to these questions form the subject-matter of the first chapter. Thereafter 108 questions were asked by Mahāmati, and Buddha's answers to these questions form the topics of the remaining nine chapters.

Some information about the author of the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra may be gathered from the following verses occurring in the tenth chapter of the work:—

¹ Mādhavācāryya, in his Sarvadarśanasamgraha, reads *darśitāḥ* for *deśitāḥ*. But the Tibetan synonyms *bstan* and *bsad* show that *deśitāḥ* was the correct reading. *Anabhilāpyāḥ* and *nirabhilāpyāḥ* (Tib. *brjod du . med*) stand for Mādhavācāryya's *nirabhilāpyāḥ*.

“ Mātā ca me Vasumatīḥ pitā vipraḥ prajāpatiḥ |
 Kātyāya[na]-sagotro 'haṁ nāmnā vai vijito ¹ Jinaḥ ||
 Campāyāhaṃ samutpannaḥ pitāpi sapitāmahaḥ |
 Soma-Gupteti nāmnāsan Soma-vaṁśa-samudbhavaḥ || ”

(Bengal Asiatic Society's MS. Laṅkāvatāra, chap. x,
 leaf 143.)

The Tibetan version of the above runs thus:—

“ | ña . yi . ma . ni . nor . ldan . te |
 | pha . ni . bram . ze . skye . dgu/i . bdag |
 | ña . ni . kā . tyā . ya . na . hi . rigs |
 | miñ . ni . rdul . med . rgyal . ba/ho |
 | yab . dan . mes . dan . ña . bdag . kyañ |
 | yul . ni . tsam . par . skyes . pa . ste |
 | mtshan . ni . zla . ba . skyabs . ses . bya |
 | zla . ba/i . rigs . las . de . skyes . so | ”

(Bengal Asiatic Society's Tibetan MS., Bkaḥ . gyur,
 Mdo, vol. v, leaf 292–3.)

The above lines may be translated thus:—

“ My mother is Vasumatī, my father the Brāhman Prajāpati. I belong to the same clan as Kātyāyana, my name is Jina the passionless one. I was born at (from) Campā. My father, with my grandfather also, sprang from the Lunar race. Soma-Gupta was he (my grandfather) by name.” ²

From the above it is evident that the author of the Laṅkāvatāra was a native of Campā (near Bhagalpore, in Behar), and a protégé of Soma-Gupta.³ He was by birth a Brāhman and a kinsman of Kātyāyana. He accepted Buddhism, and was named Jina. Nothing is known about

¹ *Vijito* is a wrong reading for *virajo*. It is evident from the Tib. synonym *rdul-med*.

² [It has been pointed out that the translation of this passage, and also perhaps the discussion of authorship in the following paragraph, and one or two other points in the article, are open to objection, which no doubt would have been met had there been time to await the author's revised proofs.—ED.]

³ The Sanskrit manuscript reads *Yajñavarṇa*, which is a mistake for *Yājñavalkya* (Tib. *mchod . sbyin . bal . ka*).

Soma-Gupta. Kātyāyana, referred to in the above, may be identified with the well-known author of the Hindu Socio-religious Institute called Kātyāyana - Dharma - Sūtra, as is evident from the following verse of the Laṅkāvatāra :—

“ Kātyāyanah Sūtrakartā Yājñavalkyas tathaiva ca | ”
(A.S.B. Laṅkā MSS., chap. x, leaf 143.)

The Tibetan version runs thus :—

“ | kā . tyā . ya . na . mdo . byed . pa |
| mchod . sbyin . bal . ka . de . bzin . te | ”

(A.S.B. Tib. MS. Bkaḥ . gyur, Mdo, vol. v, leaf 293.)

“ Kātyāyana is an author of a *sūtra*, such also is Yājñavalkya.”

In the tenth chapter Buddha predicts several important events. The following passage is quoted as a specimen :—

“ Mayi nirvṛte varṣa-śate Vyāso vai Bhāratas tatha |
Pāṇḍavāḥ Kauravā Nandāḥ ¹ paścāt Maurī bhaviṣyati ||
Mauryyā Nandās ca Guptās ca tato Mlecchā nṛpādhamāḥ |
Mlecchānte śāstra-saṃkṣobhaḥ śāstrānte ca Kaler yugaḥ || ”
(A.S.B. Laṅkā MSS., chap. x, leaf 142.)

The Tibetan version runs thus :—

“ | mya . nan . na . ḥdas . lo . brgya . na |
| rgya . dan . khur . phel . de . bzin . du |
| paṇ . ḍa . ba . dan . ko . ḥu . ra . ba |
| dgaḥ . bohi . hog . tu . moḥu . ri . ḥbyun |
| moḥu . rya . dgaḥ . bo . skyabs . hog . tu |
| kla . klo . rgyal . poḥi . tha . śal . rnams |
| kla . kloḥi . rjes . la . mtshon . gyis . khrug |
| mtshon . gyi . rjes . la . rtsod . dus . so | ”

The lines quoted above may be translated thus :—

“ One hundred years after my Nirvāṇa, Vyāsa and Bhārata will be, and the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas and Nandas. Afterwards the Mauryas will arise, and the Mauryas, Nandas, Guptas; then the Mlecchas, the vilest

¹ The Sanskrit manuscript reads *Vāma*, which is a mistake, as is evident from the Tibetan synonym d gaḥ . ba (*Nanda*).

of kings. At the end of the Mleccha rule will be tumult of arms, and at the end of arms again will be the Kali yuga.”

Not only in the tenth, but in some of the previous chapters too, the *Naiyāyikas* (logicians) and *Tārkikas* (disputants) are repeatedly mentioned :—

“*Naiyāyikāḥ katham brūhi bhaviṣyanti anāgatāḥ ||*”

(Chap. ii, leaf 11.)

The Tibetan version runs thus :—

“*| sde . ba . rnam . kyañ . ji . lta . bar |*
| ma . hoñs . dus . na . ḥbyuñ . ba . gsuñs !”

(Chap. ii, leaf 94.)

“Tell me how in future times the *Naiyāyikas* (logicians) will flourish.”

The very first question asked by Mahāmati was about the *Tarka* (argumentation) :—

“*Katham hi śudhyate tarkaḥ kasmāt tarkaḥ pravartate |*”

(Leaf 11.)

The Tibetan version runs thus :—

“*| ji . ltar . rtog . ge . rnam . dag . ḥgyur |*
| rtog . ge . ci . yi . slad . du . ḥbyuñ |”

(Leaf 93.)

“How is reasoning corrected and what is the process of reasoning?”

The doctrines of the Sāṅkhya and Vaiśeṣika philosophy are elaborately discussed (Sanskrit MS., A.S.B., leaf 132). Several non-Buddhistic sects are also mentioned thus :—

“*Sāṃkhyā vaiśeṣikā nagnā viprāḥ pāśupatās tathā |*
asatsaddṛṣṭipatitā viviktārthavivarjitāḥ ||”

(Sanskrit MS., A.S.B., leaf 132.)

The *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* consists altogether of 3,000 verses, each verse containing 32 syllables. Thus at the close of the work the author says :—

“ Kātyāyana-sagotro 'ham śuddhāvāsād viniḥṣṛtaḥ |
 deśemi dharmasatvānām nirvāṇa puragāminam ||
 paurāṇikam idaṁ dharmam aham anye ca tathāgatāḥ |
 tribhiḥ sahasraiḥ sūtrāṇām nirvāṇam iti deśayet || ”

(Leaf 14.)

“I belong to the same clan as Kātyāyana; I have come from the Śuddhāvāsa heaven. I teach sentient beings the doctrine which leads them to the city of Nirvāṇa. The doctrine which I preach is an old one. I and other Tathāgatas have taught this doctrine of Nirvāṇa by means of 3,000 sūtras.”

SATIS CHANDRA VIDYĀBHŪṢAṆA, M.A., M.R.A.S.,

Professor of Sanskrit.

Presidency College, Calcutta, India.

May, 1905.

MO-LA-P'Ō.

In the Z.D.M.G. for 1904 Mr. V. A. Smith has shown conclusively from the text of Hiuen Tsang that the Mo-la-p'Ō visited by the Chinese pilgrim should not be identified with the Mālwā, the capital of which was Ujain. In discussing the question an important inscription seems to have been overlooked. This is the record of Pulikeśin II found at Aivalli, and published by Dr. Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary*, viii, pp. 243–5. The inscription is dated in 634 A.D. (37, 305 Kaliyuga, or 556 Śāka), that is, six years before Hiuen Tsang visited India. The relevant portion consists of the following: “Being subdued by his prowess, the Lāṭas and the Mālavas and the Gurjaras became, as it were, worthy people, behaving like chieftains brought under subjection by punishment.” It has generally been taken for granted, even by Mr. V. A. Smith,¹ that this refers to a conquest of the modern Mālwā. The mention of the three tribes in close connection has, however, presented difficulties of

¹ “Early History of India,” p. 324.

interpretation, owing to the distance of this country from Gujarāt, which admittedly included the territory of the Lātās and Gurjaras. Thus Dr. Fleet writes¹:—“Though Pulikesin II claims to have subdued the Mālavas, there are no indications that their territory ever became part of his dominions; and the allusion must be to some successful resistance of an attempted invasion of his kingdom by them.” The difficulty disappears, however, if the interpretation proposed by Mr. Smith is accepted. It was pointed out by the late Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī² that the modern country of Mālwā was known as Avanti up to the second century A.D., but the Mālavas were a tribe in India probably as early as 300 B.C. The Aivalli inscription confirms the statement of Hiuen Tsang that early in the seventh century a tract of country in the area now known as Gujarāt was called Mālwā or Mālava, or at any rate was occupied by the Mālava tribe. There are later references to Mālwā in the inscriptions of the dynasties of western India, some of which appear more applicable to the tract in Gujarāt than to the modern country. Thus the Elura Daśāvatāra inscription of Dantidurga states that he held Lāṭa and Mālava (750 A.D.).³ Govinda III (800–808) ruled the Ghāt country and the Gujarāt coast. He was opposed by a combination of kings, among whom was a Mālava.³ Karka I (812–821) was bidden by his over-lord (? Govinda III) to protect a king of Mālava against a Gurjara king.³

R. BURN, I.C.S.

“ DVIPATĀMRA-DĒŚA.”

In his very interesting paper on “The Nāgarakretāgama List of Countries on the Indo-Chinese Mainland,” printed in the July number of the Journal, Colonel Gerini says, in a footnote on p. 503 :—

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part 2, p. 312.

² *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part 1, p. 28.

³ *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part 1, pp. 122–3.

“The Sanskrit inscription on the Bân Thāt (Dhātu) stele near Bassac (Campāsak, Upper Kamboja), erected by the warlike king Sūryavarman II (A.D. 1112–1152 *circa*), and published by Professor Kern (*Annales de l'Extrême Orient*, t. iii, pp. 65–76), mentions an expedition undertaken by that famous potentate to the ‘Land of Elephants and Copper,’ *Dvipatāmra-dēśa*, by which ‘he eclipsed the glory of victorious Rāghava (Rāma)’ :—

‘*So’ yam prayāya Dvipatāmrade[śam]
Raghuñ jayantam laghayañcakūra*’ (v. 35).

Professor Kern thinks the island of Ceylon is meant, which is not altogether unlikely in view of the allusion to Rāma’s exploit in the above lines, and also of the fact that a few years afterwards (*circa* 1170–80) the Ceylon king Parakkama Bāhu sent a princess as a gift (or tribute?) to the ruler of Kamboja, the son or other successor of Sūryavarman II (cf. ‘Mahāvamsa,’ ch. 76, v. 35).

“I would point out, nevertheless, that it is not impossible that Singapore Island be meant, in which case *Tāmra* should be taken as a *lapsus*, whether intentional or not, for *Tamara*. Singapore Island is much nearer to Kamboja than Ceylon, and has doubtless been at some time or other under Kambojan sway; whereas, in respect to Ceylon, no such expedition is recorded in local chronicles, and no such name as *Dvipatāmra*, the nearest one to it being *Tāmra-parṇī* or *Tamba-parṇī*, unless we take the term *Nāgadvīpa*, applied to one portion of that island, to mean ‘Elephant Isle’ (or District; Ptolemy mentions, by the way, feeding-grounds for elephants on its territory).

“I am, notwithstanding this, under the impression that the *Dvipatāmra-dēśa* of the inscription above cited may, after all, mean *Lān-c’hāng* (‘Elephant plains’), i.e. Eastern Lāos, which, besides being the traditional land of elephants, is also that of copper.”

Though, in the absence of corroborative evidence, it is unsafe to express a decided opinion on the question, I venture to think that Professor Kern is right in regarding Ceylon as the country referred to by the descriptive term *Dvipatāmra-dēśa*. It is true that the expedition from Kamboja is not mentioned in the Mahāvamsa; but this chronicle also ignores the Chinese invasion of Ceylon in *circa* 1410 (the Rājāvaliya alone recording it). Then, again, as Colonel Gerini points out, *Dvipatāmra-dēśa* as a name for Ceylon is found nowhere else. This, however, need not prove a stumbling-block,

since king Sūryavarman (or his scribe) may have invented a new name for the occasion. On the other hand, the “allusion to Rāma’s exploit” is certainly an argument in favour of the Ceylon theory; though it must not be pressed too far. “But,” someone may fairly ask, “how can Ceylon be described as the ‘Land of Elephants and *Copper*,’ when the metal named is absolutely non-existent in that island?” In true Scottish fashion, I would reply by asking: “Does *tāmra* in the name under consideration mean *copper*?” (Colonel Gerini’s suggestion, that “*Tāmra* should be taken as a *lapsus* . . . for *Tamara* [= tin],” will not, I think, hold water.) If it does, in my opinion the Ceylon theory falls to the ground. But I would point out that in Pali not only does *drīpo* mean an elephant, but *tambo* also means “a sort of elephant” (Childers’s Pali Dict., s.v.). As this masculine form *tambo* is evolved from the neuter *tambam*, no doubt an elephant of a reddish hue is intended. It is, therefore, possible (I will not say probable) that by *Dvipatāmra-dēśa* king Sūryavarman intended to describe Ceylon as “the land of elephants” *par excellence*. The elephants of Ceylon had a reputation for exceptional sagacity, and were much sought after in India and other countries; and it may be that when he invaded the island the Kambojan monarch came into contact with the war elephants of the Sinhalese king, and possibly carried some off with him. There may be a sort of punning allusion in *Dvipatāmra* to the ancient name of Ceylon, *Tāmrāparṇī* (*Tambapāṇṇī*); for, if the component parts be reversed and the *i* lengthened, we get *Tāmradrīpa* = ‘the copper(-coloured) island.’

I offer the above as mere suggestions on an obscure subject.

DONALD FERGUSON.

Croydon.

July 26th, 1905.

THE DATE OF BHĀMAHA AND DAṆḌĪ.

The valuable paper of Mr. Narasimhiengar upon Bhāmaha's Rhetoric has led me to put together a few observations which may be of some interest to students of Sanskrit literature.

I begin with the Siya-bas-lakara, or Svabhāṣālamkāra. A knowledge of this work might have saved certain scholars from a disastrous error. It is a treatise upon Sinhalese rhetoric, based upon the Kāvyaḍarśa of Daṇḍī, whom it mentions by name. According to good authority its author was King Sena I, or Śīlāmeghavarṇa Sena, who is stated by the Mahāvamsa to have reigned A.D. 846–866. The late Mr. Hugh Nevill has recorded in his papers (now in the British Museum) his belief that the writer was more probably Akbo VI (son of Kasup III), who ascended the throne in A.D. 741. In any case the book is not later than the ninth century. The text as printed at Colombo in 1892, under the editorship of Mr. Hendrick Jayatilaka, contains the following stanza (verse 2) :—

“maha baṁba sakā sura-ājara e-kasubu isi
pavara vāmana daṇḍī ā nāmaṇḍa kav-lakuṇ'ājaran.”

“Offering homage to great Brahma, Indra, the gods' teacher (Bṛhaspati), the sage Kāśyapa, the excellent Vāmana, Daṇḍī, and other masters of poetical art.”

Thus we are enabled to fix one limit to the period in which Daṇḍī could have lived. The other terminus is given by the fact that Daṇḍī quotes Kālidāsa. For the verse of the Kāvyaḍarśa (i, 45),

“prasādavat prasiddhārtham indor indīvaradyuti
lakṣma lakṣmīm tanotīti pratītiśubhagam vacaḥ,”

is plainly reminiscent of the Abhijñāna - śakuntala, act i, stanza 20 (ed. Williams)—

“malinam api himāṁśor lakṣma lakṣmīm tanoti.”

As Kālidāsa may be placed at the beginning of the fifth century, the conclusion that Daṇḍī flourished in the sixth century seems very probable.

But now I come to a new and very important point. The Colombo edition of the Siya-bas-lakara, as we saw, couples Vāmana with Daṇḍī. But the two excellent manuscripts of the book which are in the British Museum read *bāmaha* instead of *vāmana*. Thus we have two traditions: which is more likely to be correct? Vāmana's works on rhetoric have been current for centuries in India; Bhāmaha's book has been almost unknown. Plainly a scribe would be more ready to change the obscure name of Bhāmaha to that of the famous Vāmana than to do the reverse. Thus Mr. Narasimhiengar's conclusion, "that Bhāmaha should be placed not later than the first half of the eighth century," seems thoroughly justified.

L. D. BARNETT.

OMAR KHAYYAM'S QITA'.

I regret to say that I have made one or two mistakes in copying the verses of Omar Khayyam printed in the July number of our Journal, p. 523. The most important occur in the first and last lines. In the first line the word should be *beسخن* and not *سخر*. I am indebted for this correction to Professor Browne, who has also pointed out to me that *berāst* *بیراست* in the last line seems inadmissible. I have now referred again to the MS. and think that the word is *bedāsht* *بیداشت*, which is given in Richardson and Steingass as meaning 'careless.'

Pitfold, Shottermill.

H. BEVERIDGE.

August 29th, 1905.

IN "The Musnud of Murshidabad (1704-1904)," published by Messrs. Luzac & Co., Mr. Purna Chandra Majumdar has produced a comprehensive account of this city. Pt. i is devoted to a chronological history of its rulers, in nearly every case accompanied by a portrait taken from the collection of the present Nawab. Pt. ii is also profusely illustrated, and is practically a guidebook to the places and objects of interest in the city.

TESTIMONIAL TO PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS.

Many members will be glad to hear that a movement is on foot to present our late Secretary with a testimonial as an expression of good will and of our sense of his services. The Hon. Treasurer has undertaken to collect subscriptions, and has issued a private circular to many of the members resident in Great Britain to the following effect: "You are aware that Professor Rhys Davids resigns the secretaryship of the Royal Asiatic Society after having held it for eighteen years. I need not dwell on his services to the Society or on the way in which he has maintained and added to its reputation at home and abroad. I would rather urge his zeal for Oriental scholarship, his willingness to assist others from his stores of knowledge, his encouragement of beginners. We have all admired his zeal, and many of us have benefited by his knowledge and advice. It seems an ungracious and ungrateful thing to allow him to depart without any acknowledgment of his services, and I therefore venture to hope that you will join in contributing to a testimonial to him." Lord Reay headed the list of subscribers, 62 members have answered the appeal, and £85 14s. has been promised or received in sums varying from five shillings to five guineas. At a meeting held on July 14th it was decided that as the season was already past, and many members had left town, the presentation should be postponed to December, and that an opportunity of joining should be given to those who had not seen the circular by publishing a notice of it in the Journal. A full account of the presentation will be given hereafter. Subscriptions may be sent to J. Kennedy, Esq., the Treasurer of the Fund, 14, Frognal Lane, Finchley Road, London, N.W.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

CHEFS D'ŒUVRE D'ART JAPONAIS. Par GASTON MIGEON, conservateur des objets d'art au Musée du Louvre. (Paris : D. A. Longuet.)

France may justly claim to have been the first among European nations to appreciate the art of Japan. It is true that, perhaps just because of this lively æsthetic appreciation, the earlier French enthusiasts and collectors were a little impatient of historic thoroughness, their point of view was too much that of the *dilettante*. M. Migeon, in his preface to the present publication, quotes a defiant saying of Edmond de Goncourt : “ Est ce ancien ? dit chaque personne dans les mains de laquelle vous mettez un objet japonais. Eh bien ! il faut avoir le courage de dire la vérité : l'art japonais n'a pas d'antiquité.” How far this is from the truth is now everywhere acknowledged. It is the oldest works of the Japanese which, as M. Migeon says, reveal their art in its full scope and grandeur. The conception which prevailed twenty years ago among students, and still prevails among the public, of an art occupied only with little things, and, with all its delicate charm, incapable of largeness and majesty, is giving place to a truer comprehension. We must welcome every work which helps to increase this comprehension ; and in welcoming these *Chefs d'œuvre* we may express the hope that a similar work may make known the chief treasures of our own collections.

Japan has now become fully alert to the danger of letting her precious works of art leave the country, and is as zealous as Italy in preventing their exportation. But many fine

things have been acquired already by foreign amateurs. The collections of the United States are probably the finest outside Japan; and M. Migeon has drawn on the splendid collection of Mr. Freer of Detroit for some of the very best paintings reproduced in this portfolio. But France is also very rich; and though the limitations noticed above have controlled French taste to a certain extent, and the exquisite colour-prints, the lacquer and *objets d'art*, have been collected with greater eagerness than the paintings of the grand periods, it may well be that in representative completeness France is ahead of all other countries, certainly — except with regard to painting—far ahead of England.

Before offering a few criticisms on the publication before us, it may be well to note one or two points which the editor makes clear in his preface. The aim has not been to reproduce every fine thing in French collections. M. Migeon has wished to supplement the two great works by M. Gonse and M. Bing, and has therefore avoided publishing, with a very few exceptions, examples reproduced by those authors or those illustrated in the Hayashi and other sale catalogues. Another point to note is that the volume is intended not only for the collector, but the artist; and M. Migeon rightly claims that it contains an amazing wealth of decorative motives. This last consideration has doubtless influenced the scheme of the publication. In order to include the great number of objects reproduced, over eleven hundred, it was necessary to put many on a single plate. In the case of smaller objects the small scale of the photographs does not so much matter; but in the case of screens and large kakemono it is impossible to form any adequate idea of the actual quality of the originals. The plates are all in collotype; none is in colour; so that in every case it is the design only which can really be judged and enjoyed.

Japanese painting, as M. Gonse observed, is the key to Japanese art; and the paintings are rightly placed first in this collection. This is, however, in some respects the least satisfactory section of the book. The representation

is unequal, and on the whole rather meagre, though we must remember that some of the best examples in France have been already published, and were therefore excluded from the present work. Among the Buddhist pictures far the finest are M. Vever's Chō Densu and Mr. Freer's early Chinese copy from Wu Taotze. Both these make one keenly regret that colour reproductions were not possible; though, it must be confessed, only the marvellous chromoxylographs such as are now produced in Japan can do any justice to the solemn gorgeousness of these old pictures. The Yamato schools (including Kasuga and Tosa) can hardly be said to be represented at all. Though the most national, in many respects the most powerful, and by native connoisseurs the most prized school of painting in Japan, very few of the productions of its finest periods have ever left the country; only the Boston Museum can boast of a supreme masterpiece in its Keion; and till the Japanese revealed to us the treasures of their private collections through the *Kokka* and Mr. Tajima's "Select Relics," it was impossible to know what the great painters of the Yamato-yé were really like. M. Gonse and Dr. Anderson, judging from late examples and from copies, formed a mistaken and unjust idea of this school. They associated it with a delicate minuteness, a love of small forms, and a tyrannical convention of design, which were by no means typical of the school in its prime. Not Hokusai nor any other giant of the later schools could rival men like Mitsunaga and Keion in mastery of vehement action or in expressive simplicity of drawing. Another misconception prevalent was that subjects from Japanese history were an exclusive preserve of the Yamato painters, and were never treated by the masters of the Chinese tradition. This is an error. Nos. 12 and 13 of this volume, two paintings of horsemen, in the Louvre, are described as by Tosa Mitsunobu; they are really not by a Tosa painter at all, but copies from a picture by Ryōzoku, belonging to a branch of the Kano school. No. 17, again, said to be an archaic Tosa production, is a copy of part of a famous makimono by Kano Motonobu.

A copy of this same roll is in the British Museum, and was by a similar error included by Dr. Anderson among the Tosa pictures. "Tosa primitive" is also the description given to M. Gonse's "Pigeons"; a charming work, which seems, however, to show no trace whatever of the Tosa, certainly not of the early Tosa style; so far as one can judge from the reproduction, it appears to be Chinese, not Japanese; and, indeed, it has been reproduced as such in M. Paléologue's "L'Art Chinois." In fact, the only specimens of Tosa art here given are those of the school or neighbourhood of Matabei (seventeenth century), the founder of the Ukiyo-yé, with which, rather than with the Tosa men, he is more usually classed. It is, of course, impossible to discuss the vexed questions connected with this rare artist's identity in relation to paintings which one can only judge of from photographs; but M. Vever's "Interior" (No. 32) is evidently an important work. Still more interesting, and of the finest character, is Mr. Freer's "Promenade de femmes et d'enfants" (No. 27), one of a set ascribed with great probability, I believe on Mr. Fenollosa's authority, to Sanraku, the great Kano master of decoration, who sometimes worked in a manner akin to that of Matabei.

Of the early Kano, as of the Chinese and Sesshiu schools, the examples are few and rather disappointing. No. 23 is surely by a lesser artist than the powerful Motonobu. There is a beautiful landscape by Shiugetsu, but no adequate example of his greater master Sesshiu. No. 53 is much more in the Motonobu style than in that of Sōami, whose characteristic manner is delightfully seen in the misty landscape, No. 59. The comparative poverty of the specimens of the art of the Ashikaga time, with its revival of the Sung ideals, is the more apparent by contrast with the magnificent screen by Yeitoku (No. 18), in which the second phase of the Kano tradition, strongly influenced by Ming decoration, is represented at its finest. Nothing could exceed the grandeur of this design of great pine-trees among frozen mountains. Surely this deserved a plate to itself! The screen of the school of Sanraku (No. 55) is also very

remarkable. Strange to say, there is not a single painting by Tanyu.

But the finest represented of all the schools is the school known by the name of Kōrin, though its peculiar character of design was invented by the masters whom Kōrin followed, Sōtatsu and Kōyetsu. The latter two and Kenzan are seen to admirable advantage. M. Vever's eightfold screen by Hokusai is a wonderful work and quite the most striking example of the Ukiyo-yé, which is represented by prints as well as by paintings. The prints it was hardly worth while to reproduce, so little can their charm be transmitted in a photograph, though everyone knows how rich in the colour-prints French collections are. It must be by a misprint that a charming and typical painting by Utamaro (No. 67) is described as a Hokusai.

Among Shijō paintings we find two beautiful examples of Sosen, both monkey-subjects. It is a great pity that the Okio (No. 70), of wild ducks flying, is robbed of the space at the side which the composition cries out for: the design is quite spoilt by this mutilation of the photograph. There is no Ganku.

We have no space to do more than glance at the remaining sections of the portfolio. The sculpture contains several splendid specimens. The finest qualities of Japanese portrait-sculpture are seen in the wooden-seated effigy from the Louvre (No. 140). Intensity and impassiveness, the utmost latent vitality controlled in contours of severe serenity, these combine to form an impression that is moving and arresting by its very dominance of stillness. No other sculpture in the world has just this character, profoundly expressive as it is of the character of the nation. The portrait of a priest (No. 142), less fine than the last subject, but impressive in its realism, contrasts instructively with the Bodhisatva beside it, so redolent of the Indian idealism with which religious art in Japan has always been saturated.

Perhaps the richest section of the book is that devoted to lacquer. The singular fascination of the design of Kōrin is shown to great advantage, and one can also see how vast

a debt he owed to Kōyetsu, usually spoken of as his master, though he was not born till Kōyetsu was dead. Over two hundred examples of lacquer are reproduced, and form a very fine collection. This is followed by pottery, porcelain, armour, sword-guards, netsuke, etc., concluding with designs on stuffs, fukusa, and stencil-patterns.

The general criticism one feels inclined to make on the whole work is that the title is not quite the right one: it is not so much a selection of masterpieces, as a kind of "Corpus," or Treasury, of Japanese design and decorative motives. But we can cordially congratulate M. Migeon on having got together so various, so delightful, and so instructive a representation in its many branches of Japanese art, and echo his just eulogy of its character when he says: "Il a tout pour lui: la vigueur, la puissance, la fantaisie, le charme et l'esprit, l'harmonie et la couleur, une inépuisable variété de thèmes, une prodigieuse faculté de reproduire l'aspect vrai des choses et un don de simplification dans la notation qui n'a jamais été égalé."

LAURENCE BINYON.

THE LANDS OF THE EASTERN CALIPHATE.

By G. LE STRANGE.

This addition to the Cambridge Geographical Series, the work of Mr. G. Le Strange, and described by him as a complement to his "Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate" and to his "Palestine under the Moslems," will be welcomed by all workers in Moslem history as an indispensable companion to their studies. Within the compass of a handy volume we are given the whole substance of the "Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum," for which we are indebted to Professor de Goeje, supplemented by Yāqūt and many later Persian and Turkish epitomists.

What is lacking in the volume is imputable, not to the author, but to his sources of information, for, considering the opportunities of the Moslem geographers, and the extent of their subject-matter, it is strange that they should have

told us so little of the lands comprised in their survey. Still, the information which has been handed down to us is not yet exhausted; the list of the authors cited, as given at the end of the table of contents, although it covers eight centuries, includes only such works as have been published; there remain some still in MS., editions of which would be welcomed, no doubt, by Mr. Le Strange in view of a second edition of his work, and welcomed with peculiar warmth were they to come from the hand which has already bestowed on us so large a proportion of the authors whose works he quotes.

In conclusion, two points may be noticed: first, that the author identifies as many as possible of mediæval place-names, and, secondly, that he has added a very full index, which forms, practically, a guide to the contents of the whole twenty-four Moslem geographers included in the list of authors cited.

H. F. A.

HOMENAJE A D. FRANCISCO CODERA EN SU JUBILACION DEL PROFESORADO. Estudios de erudición oriental, con una introducción de D. EDUARDO SAAVEDRA. With portrait. pp. xxxviii and 656. (Zaragoza, 1904.)

The volume published in honour of Professor Codera's jubilee as academic teacher is of a most imposing character both as regards bulk and contents. It bears striking testimony to the universal respect in which the editor of the *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana* is held in the world of Oriental studies. The value of the publication is further enhanced by the circumstance that so distinguished a scholar as Professor Saavedra not only signs as editor, but introduces the volume by a biographical sketch, as well as by a list of Codera's writings. The majority of these deal with Arabic or Hispano-Arabic history, literature, archæology, and bibliography, and also include a number of essays on agriculture, thus revealing a learning both extensive and profound. For the rest, a large number of Spanish,

Portuguese, and foreign scholars have united to do homage to their aged confrère, and have contributed essays dealing almost exclusively with Arab subjects. The majority of articles is even devoted to the narrower field of Spanish-Arabic history and literature. Far from being a drawback, this circumstance will be welcomed by scholars outside the Pyrenæan peninsula, since they find, in one book, much information on an important branch of Oriental study with which only few are really familiar.

Apart from the compilations mentioned above, Professor Saavedra is responsible for a short article on the metrical accent in the words *beréber* (pl. of *بربر*) and *Almorávid*. The latter is illustrated by some Spanish strophes. Professor Ribera, Codera's collaborator in several volumes of the *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana*, contributes an essay on the famous Nizāmi College at Baghdād and its relation to other institutions, notably the older colleges at Nishāpūr. The article contains no reference to the remarks on the subject to be found in De Slane's translation of Ibn Khalliqān, i, p. xxvii sq., nor to al-Suyūti's *Husn Almuḥāḍara* (ed. Cairo, 1882, ii, p. 185; see also Maqrīzi, ii, p. 363). Other articles on historical subjects are the following: Professor D. Lopez writes on the person of Ismar (or Esmar), the Moorish prince who was defeated by Count Alfonso Henriques at the battle of Ourique in 1139. This victory, as is known, laid the foundation of an independent Portuguese kingdom. Professor E. Ibarra publishes a number of twelfth-century documents (in Latin) dealing with the political and social intercourse between Christians and Arabs in Arragon and Navarre. Professor De Goeje writes on the employment by the Arabs of the 'Greek' or liquid fire. Professor E. Fagnan gives Prolegomena to a publication of classes (*tabaqāt*) of jurisconsults of the Maliki school. Professor Seybold of Tübingen (the only representative of German Orientalists in the volume) contributes a study on the Arabic forms of the names of two places in the province of Valencia, viz., the promontory Orapesa (= Abixa, *ابيشة*) and Puig (= Anixa, *انيشة*). An interesting document connected with the history

of Islām in the Sūdān is the letter of protest sent by the Muhammedan inhabitants of Kano to Mohammed Bello, king of Sokoto, and published by Professor Houdas. Professor J. Alemani is represented by a lengthy essay on Christian generals in the service of Arab rulers in the Maghrib. The Latin text of a charter given by Count Raimond of Barcelona to the Jews of Tortosa is published by D. J. Miret y Sans. The relations of the counts of Barcelona with the Arabs are discussed by D. Fr. Canevas y Candi. Professor M. Gaspar writes on Muhammedan emigrants from Cordoba to Alexandria and Crete. The article is accompanied by several fragmentary texts from Noweiri. Very interesting is Professor R. de Ureña's article on the Benimajlad of Cordoba, a family of jurisconsults extending from the third to the seventh centuries of the Hijra. Christian art among the Moors of Granada is treated on by Professor Manuel Gomez - Moreno. Professor L. Eguilaz y Yangnas offers a new etymology of the name of Granada. Whilst rejecting the Phœnician derivation *cart-tanith*, he gives the word a Celtic origin. D. L. Gonzalvo contributes a notice on Moslim authors who lived in, or derived their origin from, Madrid. Of special interest is Professor Altamira's critical study on the historical methods and doctrines of Ibn Khaldūn. As a supplement to his "History of the Province of Denia," D. R. Chabas gives a biographical sketch of Mujāhid, the governor of the Balearic Islands (who took possession of Denia, on the east coast of Spain), as well as of his son and successor Ali. D. Manuel Ferrandis writes on the surrender of the fortress Chivert (now Alcalá de Chisvert in Castellon) to the Knights Templars. Professor E. Hinojosa discusses the social and legal position of the two dependent classes of the *mezquinos* (مسکین) and *exaricos* in mediæval Aragon and Navarre.¹ The series of historical essays is concluded by a French essay from the pen of M. L. Barran-Dibigo, who defends Conde's *Historia de la dominion de los Arabes in España* against the severe criticism passed upon it by the late Professor R. Dozy.

¹ Dozy-Engelmann, 2nd ed., p. 355.

To the geography of Spain in the twelfth century René Basset devotes an article, in which he publishes extracts in Arabic and French, of the *Description of Spain* by the "Anonymous of Almeria." Professor I. Guidi edits, from a Vatican MS., an Arabic poem written in Kārshūni, but transcribed by him in Arabic character. The poem treats on the capture of Tripoli in 1289. The text is preceded by notes on the peculiarities of its orthography. Professor Macdonald (of Hartford, Connecticut) publishes Ibn Assāl's Introduction to his Arab version of the Gospels. The text is followed by an English translation. Of purely linguistic interest is Professor Mariano Viscavillas of Urriza's elaborate parallel between the verba 3rd و and ى in Arabic on one side, and in Hebrew, the Aramaic dialects, and Ethiopic on the other. Lexicography is enriched by Professor Gauthier's research on the various derivations from the root ح ك م.

Turning to philosophy, the reader encounters a study on Avicenna by Professor Mehren, who contributes a French translation of this philosopher's *Refutation of Philosophers*. The influence exercised by Averroes' philosophy on the theology of Thomas Aquinas is discussed by Professor M. Asin. The article is followed by the reproduction of Averroes' *Epistola ad amicum* in Arabic and the Latin version of Raimundus Martin.

Apart from the poem mentioned before, there is in the volume only one more, viz., the Arab Elegy of Valencia, but handed down in the MSS. in Spanish characters. Professor Ribera has added a transcription in Arabic characters (in l. 1. 1. كشيرة probably misprint for كبيرة). D. Ménendez of Pelayo discusses the literary connection between the "Historia de la Doncella Teodor" (on which Lope de Vega's comedy of the same title is based) with the Arabic version of the tale. In the last-named recension the name of the learned slave-girl is Tawaddud, as identified by Ticknor ("History of Spanish Literature," ii, p. 212). The subject has been treated before by Victor Chanorin (Liège, 1899) and J. Horovitz (Z.D.M.G., vol. lvii, pp. 173-5). The romance of Almieded and *Almayesa*, in old Spanish mixed with Arabic (*Aljamia* =

(الجمعية), with explanatory notes, is published by Duhariaud de Pau. Muhammedan law is represented by Professor Nallino's account of the *Kitāb al-Bayān* by Abul Walīd Mohammed Ibn Roshd (died 1126), grandfather of Averroes. The article is based on three fragments of the work preserved in the National Library of Palermo, containing the second part. A number of legal documents preserved in the archives of Saragossa are published in collotype facsimile, Arabic reprint and brief summary of contents by Professor Garcia de Linares. Not less interesting are the articles on bibliography. Mr. Ahmed Zeki gives a survey of writings by Arab authors in Egypt on Spain. The article contains extracts from the works of Ibn Fadl Allāh, Qalqashandi, al-'Aini, and al-Qifti, and is illustrated by artistic pedigrees of the Omayyad Khalīfahs in Asia and Spain. D. Pablo Gil y Gil of Saragossa publishes a list of MSS. in *Aljamia* (see above). The list contains *forty* numbers. To judge even from the meagre communications of the article, many codices seem to be of very great interest. Professor H. Derenbourg gives a large number of critical notes and additions to the Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. of the National Library of Madrid.

There still remain to be mentioned two articles on numismatics. The one, by D. Antonio Prieto y Vives, deals with Fatimide coins struck at Fez; whilst the other, by D. Antonio Vives, discusses in a very thorough manner the monetary value of Spanish-Arabic coins.

This rapid survey of the volume in no way claims to do it full justice. Professor Codera is to be congratulated, not only on his own achievements, but also on the fact that his jubilee should have given occasion for the accumulation of so much valuable work.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

A HISTORY OF OTTOMAN POETRY. By the late E. J. W. GIBB, M.R.A.S. Edited by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. Volumes II, III, and IV. (Luzac.)

Among the notable achievements of modern Oriental scholarship none have surpassed the late E. J. W. Gibb's History of Ottoman Poetry, of which the fourth volume has recently been published. Although the work is not yet complete, two more volumes having still to appear, it has now reached the point to which the author brought it down before his death in December, 1901. As Professor Browne states in his preface to the fourth volume, "for the period which remains, the period, that is to say, of the New School, who deserted Persian for French models, and almost re-created the Turkish language, so greatly did they change its structure and the literary ideals of their countrymen, only three chapters were to be discovered amongst my friend's papers. Of these, the first, entitled 'The Dawn of a New Era,' treats of the character and inception of the movement, and, in a general way, of its chief representatives, viz., Shinásí Efendi, Ziyá Pasha, Kemál Bey, 'Abdu'l-Haqq Hamíd Bey, Ahmed Midhat Efendi, Ahmed Vefíq Pasha and Ebu'z-Ziyá Tefvíq Bey; the second discusses the life and work of Shinásí Efendi (A.D. 1826-1871); and the third is devoted to Ziyá Pasha (A.D. 1830-1880)." This gap will indeed be hard to fill, for Gibb's knowledge of, and sympathy with, the work of these writers was such as no European, probably, ever approached; but we are glad to learn that Professor Browne has secured the co-operation of several distinguished Turkish literati in close touch with the Modern School, so that the conclusion of the History bids fair to be worthy of the rest, and will, at any rate, form a valuable supplement to that portion which was completed by the master's hand.

Of these four volumes the first, comprising the Archaic Period of Turkish poetry, together with a most excellent general introduction to the whole subject, has already been

reviewed in this Journal (January, 1901, p. 154 sqq.); the following three, of which I have now to speak, cover the so-called Classical Period (1450–1700) and the Transition Period (1700–1850), and include, therefore, nearly all the great Turkish poets who drew their inspiration either directly from Persian models or from native resources: Nejâtî, Hamdî, Mesîhî, Fuzûlî, Bâqî, Nef'î, Nedîm, Ghâlib, Fâzil, to name only some of the best known. Here we find the same astonishing erudition, the same thoroughness of treatment and delicacy of discrimination, the same insight and understanding, which caused the first volume of Gibb's History to be hailed, alike by Turkish and European scholars, as a monumental and epoch-making book. Since my own knowledge of Ottoman literature amounts to little more than what I have learned from the present work, it is obviously out of my power to attempt any detailed criticism, while as regards one or two questions of taste which everyone must decide for himself, e.g. the author's 'photographic' method of translation, I need not repeat the views which I have expressed elsewhere, and to which, in spite of the arguments set forth in his preface to vol. ii, I must still adhere. Nor is it necessary, I think, to dwell further on the unique merits of the History in respect of the rich store of information which it supplies, not only to the student of Ottoman poetry and literature, but to those who would rather read Nizâmî, Hafiz, and Jâmî in the liquid and melodious language of Persia than in the comparatively rude and crabbed dialect of their Turkish imitators. It may be useful, however, to summarise very briefly what the author has to say concerning the main tendencies and aims of Ottoman poetry during the four hundred years (1450–1850) covered by the volumes under notice. He points out in the first place that, although the Renaissance had no effect whatever on Turkish poetry, which remains entirely medieval in spirit, its character was considerably modified through the influence of Jâmî and Mîr 'Alî Shîr, the leading representatives of the artificial school of lyric and romantic poetry which "reached its meridian in the latter half of the fifteenth century at the

brilliant court of the scholarly and accomplished Sultan Huseyn Bayqará of Herat." The salient feature of this school is mysticism, almost always presented allegorically and combined with a passion for rhetorical display. Hence the Turkish poets of the Classical Period "seem to move in an enchanted land full of blooming roses and singing birds and beauties fair beyond all telling. And we too, when we enter this fairyland, seem to pass beneath the influence of some magic spell. We wander on as in a dream, knowing not whether the lovely forms that arise on every hand are realities or shadows." How absolute was the tyranny of Persianism is shown by the endless succession of *mesnevis* adapted from the works of contemporary Persian writers, as well as by the fact that down to 1700 or thereabouts the sole original and national type of poem that Turkish literature had produced was the *Shehr-engiz* ("City-thriller")—a humorous legend, not of fair women, but of pretty boys, which falls under the head of what is nowadays called *vers de société*. The revolt against Persianism and the gradual emancipation of the native Turkish spirit—a development which culminated, however, in "the intellectual alliance of the Ottoman poets with the West"—is ascribed by Gibb to the decadence which overtook Persian poetry towards the end of the seventeenth century, and to the circumstance that Arabic poetry, whither the Turks might conceivably have turned for inspiration, "was at this moment in a yet more atrophied condition than that of Persia." One may perhaps doubt whether the true cause does not lie deeper. It is probable that, as Professor Browne believes, the decadence referred to has been in both cases unduly exaggerated, and there is much force in his contention that a different face might be put on the matter if Qa'ání and other modern Persian poets were studied with the same diligence and appreciation as Gibb devoted to their Turkish contemporaries.

R. A. N.

GRUNDRISS DER GEOGRAPHIE UND GESCHICHTE DES ALTEN ORIENTS, von FRITZ HOMMEL. (Munich: The Beck Publishing-house, 1904.)

There is hardly any other description to apply to this book than that it is "a wonderful compilation." The number of facts, and the information which Prof. Hommel brings forward in this his "first half," concerning the ethnology of the ancient East (the sub-title of the book), is such that much time is required to digest it, and only a few points can be touched upon here.


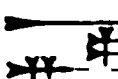

Exceedingly interesting and probably calculated to raise controversy is his treatment of the "Ethnographical table" of the 10th chapter of Genesis. Kos (Kush) is Central Arabia, Mosar (Misraim) is North-West Arabia. Put is not to be localized definitely, but was also in Arabia. Canaan was originally the Kingi of Chaldea, or East Arabia, transferred to Palestine when the district was colonized from that part. It is in consequence of a misunderstanding that Kos was identified with the Nubio-Ethiopic Cush and Mosar with Egypt. This, as the author points out, gave rise to the most untenable speculations. Naturally, where the same combination of letters has to do duty for so many different designations, error was certain to creep in, and having once entered, became most difficult to detect and refute.

In discussing the languages of the ancient Semitic East, Prof. Hommel is in the main orthodox. The position of the languages of Babylonia is well put, and it is needless to say that he is no follower of Halévy. Sumerian and its dialects were all real languages, which were spoken, and had a wide influence in the remote past. He regards it as a sacred language, with a relationship, no longer doubtful, with the Ural-Altaic languages and (somewhat more distantly) with the Indogermanic. It was also in many ways related with sufficient distinctness with what is generally called Turanian. The placing of the adjective after the noun, instead of before it, is due to Semitic influence, as is also the same position with regard to the genitive in certain compound nouns of

a late date. Comparisons with the Turkish dialects are given at some length, and it is exceedingly probable that more will be found in that direction than elsewhere.

But perhaps an even more interesting section of the book is that in which a prehistoric Babylonian origin is attributed to Egyptian speech and culture.

When speaking of the Alarodian Hittite people of Mitanni in North-West Mesopotamia, he suggests a new etymology for *Arad-hiba* (generally read *Abdi-tâba* and Hebraized *Ebed-tôb*), the king of Jerusalem mentioned in certain Tel-el-Amarna tablets at Berlin. These Hittites of Mitanni were ruled, he says, by a noble race, and he quotes the Mitannian royal names *Artatama*, *Artasšumara*, *Dušratta*, *Šuttarna*, and that of Princess *Teie* (who was blue-eyed, according to Egyptian indications), also *Gilu-hipa* and *Tadu-hipa*. "To the latter names may be added the Cappadocian princess *Putu-hipa* and the priest-king of Jerusalem *Arad-hiba* (originally *Arta-hipa*?)."

The section upon the Hittites, as was to be expected, is especially good. The monuments and the attempts at their decipherment are well described. Characteristic is his interpretation of the cylinder-seal in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford: "Indi-limma, son of Šerdamu, servant of the goddess Išhara." His explanation of the name Indilimma is "My protection is the ram-god," or Lim (?); and that of the goddess worshipped, Išhara, he explains as being the Alarodian Šauškaš, from *Šal* and *Ška-š*, in which *ška* is probably an Alarodian form of *Išhar*, *Išha*—compare the ideograph of *Išhara* = the sign *iš*, 'house,' and *ha*, 'fish.' The character here described is the Assyrian , the usual character for *Nina*, the goddess of Nina in Babylonia, and Nineveh in Assyria. The ideograph for Išhara, however, is really  (see the *Journal* of the R.A.S. for January last, pp. 144–145, l. 7). Nevertheless, as she was identified with Ištar, the goddess of Nineveh, it is possible that Prof. Hommel's explanation of the word is right, but one would like to have proof that  stood for this goddess as well.

Indeed, as the ideograph furnishing the etymology of the name, it ought to be its principal one to express it.

But it is not with the desire of finding fault that one feels inclined to place queries here and there—it is simply due to a desire for a nearer approach to the truth. Prof. Hommel's book is too full of material of real worth, and Assyriologists have too great a respect for his learning and the weight of his opinions to do anything else than bear them always in mind with a view to applying them should occasion arise.

It will easily be understood from what has just been said that here, as in all his books, the author is exceedingly suggestive on the linguistic side. Quoting the words for olive, vine, and fig, he states that these three trees were wanting in ancient Babylonia. According to Herodotus, the land "does not even attempt to bear them," but grows corn with remarkable abundance—in fact, there were no trees at all, judging from what the great Greek historian says. The holy cedar of Eridu (Sayce and myself have regarded it as a vine) goes back to the prehistoric vegetation of the land. About this vegetation, however, one would like to know more, and why, if there were cedars, there were not also other trees? Also whether it is not possible that this prehistoric vegetation was really a mythological vegetation, based upon traditions possessed by the Semitic Babylonians and other immigrants before they entered the country?

Naturally no book upon the ancient world in connection with the Old Testament would be complete without some reference to the site of Paradise. Hommel would place it, not in Babylonia nor in any other part of the more northern Semitic region, but in Arabia, in two of whose dried up wadys he sees the Arabic Gaihan and Faishan—the Gihon and Pishon.

This "first half," which goes to 400 pages, has a provisional title-page, list of contents, and index—an innovation upon which the author is to be congratulated. With regard to the book as a whole, it may unhesitatingly be said that it is one of the most remarkable works upon Assyro-Babylonian discoveries that have been published, and there is no doubt that,

when complete, it will attract even more attention than now. It is full of information upon all subjects connected with Assyriology, and will be a textbook until, by the progress of the science, a new one becomes needful. And the great wish of all students should be, that the book which takes its place—if not written by an Englishman—may likewise be written by the genial Professor of Munich.

T. G. PINCHES.

LES CYLINDRES DE GOUDÉA, TRANSCRIPTION, TRADUCTION, COMMENTAIRE, GRAMMAIRE, ET LEXIQUE, par FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN. Première Partie : Transcription et Traduction. (Paris : Leroux, 1905.)

These cylinders were part of the spoil obtained by M. de Sarzec at Tel-loh at the foot of a mound which he called 'the Tell of the winding road,' M. Thureau-Dangin tells us, and were discovered as long ago as 1877. They have naturally attracted much attention, and translations of parts have been made by the veteran Prof. Oppert, who has just been taken from us, by Prof. Zimmern, and the author of the book now before us. Having made the non-Semitic inscriptions in the Louvre his special study, it is needless to say that M. Thureau-Dangin has produced exceedingly good renderings.

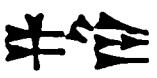
The cylinders are two in number, and are not barrel-shaped, as are most of those found in Babylonia, but tube-shaped, 61 centimetres high, with a diameter of 32, or thereabouts. That designated 'Cylinder A' is inscribed with 30 narrow columns of archaic cuneiform writing, and 'Cylinder B,' which is not quite so high, has 24 precisely similar columns. The writing is arranged in what are called 'cases,' divided from each other by a ruled line, each 'case' containing from one to six lines of script of varying length.

Both these inscriptions refer to the construction (or rebuilding) of the great temple dedicated to Nin-Girsu at Lagaš, called Ê-ninnū, a name probably meaning 'the house of the fifty (divine beings).' It would seem that during the

reign of Gudea, viceroy of that city (about 2700 B.C.), the waters of the rivers and canals failed to rise to their usual height, with the result that the country was threatened with famine. Offerings were therefore made, and Gudea, inconsolable of heart, looked to Nin-Girsu, and related to him a dream, afterwards repeated to Nina, Nin-Girsu's divine sister. This dream the goddess explains. The man whom Gudea had seen tall as heaven and earth, with a tiara on his head, and attended by a divine bird, was her brother Nin-Girsu, who ordered him to build Ê-ninnû. The rising sun which had appeared to him was the god Nin-giš-zida. The young woman holding a reed and a tablet was her sister Nisaba. The second man whom he had seen was Nin-duba, with the plan of the temple and the sacred brick of Ê-ninnû. The ass¹ on the right was Gudea himself, who was to build or rebuild the temple.

The remainder of the inscriptions on the two cylinders is an account of the work which Gudea thereupon took in hand, in which the interest of the gods in it, the progress of the work, and the prayers, offerings, and ceremonies performed are all told at length. The inscription on Cylinder B is largely taken up by the portion referring to the places allotted to the gods and the divine objects within the temple, including the chariot, the mace, the sword, the bow, the arrows, etc. Besides these, there were sacred fish, with ponds and keeper, parks, sacred sheep, lambs, etc., musical instruments, chapel, throne, and couch. The completion of the work was a time of true rejoicing, and on the sabbath then kept "the maid was equal with her mistress, and servants stood at their master's side."

These texts naturally bristle with architectural, mythological, and other technical difficulties, of which, however, the author has succeeded in solving a very fair number, and

¹ 'Baudet.' The text has , *anšu DUN*, 'ass + prince,' or something similar. At the period when these cylinders were written the horse seems to have been unknown, or nearly unknown, in Babylonia. Certain evil spirits, however, are likened to horses in the bilingual incantations.

the information to be gained on these points is naturally sufficiently extensive. One realizes, moreover, how very far in civilization at that early date the people of this little state had advanced, and how full they were of Babylonian piety and love of magnificence. All the most costly things then obtainable were lavished on the temple, whose construction or rebuilding is described, and there is no doubt that considerable sacrifices were made to carry out all the instructions fulfilling the divine command.

In many cases these texts resemble the inscriptions on the statues,¹ and it is noteworthy that the interesting reference to the equality between maid and mistress, servant and master, is again referred to in that inscribed on the statue known as 'the architect with the plan,' in which, in addition to the above statement, it is said that obedience was not exacted for seven days. This has already been compared with the statement made by Berossus that, at the feast of Sakea, which lasted five days, it was the custom of masters to obey their domestics. It is doubtful, however, whether the people of Lagaš ever went so far as that.

The portion here noticed is the first part of the work, giving the transcription and translation of these two cylinders. The continuation, containing commentary, grammar, and lexicon, will be looked for with interest, as there is much which needs explanation in these inscriptions, and all students will wish to know upon what the readings of many words, and their translation, is based. There is no doubt, however, that the work is well done—the name of M. Thureau-Dangin is a sufficient guarantee for that. To have published renderings of inscriptions of such length and importance is something upon which the author may well be congratulated.

T. G. PINCHES.

¹ See the translation by Amiaud in de Sarzec's *Découvertes en Chaldée*, partie épigraphique; also *Notes on Recent Discoveries*, in the Transactions of the Victoria Institute, 1892-93, pp. 130 ff., where a paraphrase is published.

EARLY BABYLONIAN PERSONAL NAMES FROM THE PUBLISHED
TABLETS OF THE SO-CALLED HAMMURABI DYNASTY. By
HERMANN RANKE, Ph.D. (Philadelphia, U.S.A., 1905.)

This book is one of those issued under the editorship of Professor H. V. Hilprecht by the University of Pennsylvania, and belongs to "Series D: Researches and Treatises," published in connection with the Babylonian Expedition of that institution. It is a most valuable addition to our knowledge, the author having made special examination of many documents, including some unpublished inscriptions, which are to be issued before long in part 1 of vol. vi of Series A (Cuneiform Texts) of the Babylonian Expedition of his University.



The introduction, which consists of forty-four pages, contains an interesting account of what the author found in the course of his researches, describing the different classes of names—those occurring in their full form and those which are abbreviated; the hypocoristica; West Semitic names; and the name-elements in exercise-tablets. The names found in the tablets from Cappadocia are also compared.

The method of the giving of names in Babylonia, as has been recognized by many Assyriologists, is that with which we meet in the Old Testament, and the author quotes what may be regarded as a characteristic instance. "In the case of *Ahushina*," he says, "son of *UR-RA-gamil*, we are even tempted to assume that his parents referred to actual conditions when giving him this curious name. We happen to know the names of two of his sisters, *Iltâni* and *Muzabatum*, and it may very well be that, when he was born as the third child, the happy father exclaimed: 'Now, finally the girls have a brother.' " He is of opinion, however, that the bulk of the names give the impression of a more or less conventional system of name-giving, as, indeed, would be expected from the large number which are compounded with that of a deity, presupposing "a rather highly-

developed civilization and a sacerdotal *régime* with well-established cults of the single gods throughout the country."

A curious point which he notices is, that the verbal forms, in masculine names, even when the accompanying divine name is that of a goddess, is masculine, whilst in feminine names the form is feminine, though the subject be a masculine deity. This is naturally rather strange, but the instances quoted, *Idin-Damu*, 'Damu has given,' *Damu-našir*, 'Damu protects'—names of men compounded with that of the goddess Damu—seem to place it beyond a doubt. Feminine examples are *Taddin-Nunu*, '(the god) Nunu has given,' and *Tarâm-Rammân*, 'Rimmon loves.' This would seem to indicate that each male deity had a female counterpart, and each feminine deity a male counterpart, in expressing which the divine name itself underwent no change.

The names are divided into classes, according as they express a sentence (complete or incomplete), a *status constructus* formation (designating the child in relation to the deity worshipped, to the place where born or living, or to its birthday), or a single substantive (either accompanied by a pronoun, or alone). The shortened forms are divided into 'hypocoristic' and abbreviated. The former are a very interesting class, the Babylonians having been apparently at all times inclined to the use of pet-names, and they take various forms. Some add a pronoun, such as *-ia*, 'my' (*Šamšia*, 'My Šamšu,' an abbreviation of *Šamaš-mušésib*, 'Šamaš is my saviour'), or *-ša*, 'her' (*Dadu-ša*, probably 'her beloved,'¹ suggesting a name given by the father, the pronoun referring to the mother). Other pet-names are simply indicated by a termination, such as *-anu*, *-atu*, *-iatu*, etc., whilst a third class is formed by the use of a *fu'ul* or *fu''ul* form, corresponding with the *fu'ail* in Arabic.

¹ If, however, *Dadu* be for *Adadu*, 'the god Hadad,' *Dadu-ša* would mean 'her Hadad,' and imply that this element was from a name beginning with  , generally transcribed *Rammân*.

The entrance into Babylonia of a large foreign element, to all appearance Arabic, accounts for the large number of foreign names, which have been compared with many south Arabic and other forms. Light is also thrown upon Hebrew and Phœnician names, which will ultimately be found, it is hoped, to mutually explain each other. Thus *Ahi-wadu*^m is compared with the Hebrew אַחִי, *Buzu*^m with בֹּז, בֹּזִי; *Yarhamu* with יֶרְחָמָא; *Mašku*^m with מִשְׁך; *Mudâdu* with מִדְּאָדָּר, and many others.

In the case of the names regarded as Arabic, the opinion arrived at is one I have already held for some years, namely, that they were borne by people called by the Babylonians Amorites; indeed, there would seem to be no doubt that the opinion held by the older Assyriologists, identifying the dynasty of Babylon (to which Hammurabi belonged) with the Arabic dynasty of Berosus, is correct. The text which Dr. Ranke quotes, that translated in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1897, pp. 598–600, clearly identifies certain of these names as Amorite, and (with many other inscriptions) indicates that there was a considerable number of Amorites in Babylonia at the time, and even, at Sippar or in its neighbourhood, an Amorite tract.

In the matter of Babylonian names and the parentage of their bearers, during the period of the dynasty referred to, Dr. Ranke's book is at present the standard work, thoroughly well done. It is needless to say that Assyriologists will look forward to the book of texts of this period that he is to publish, to which reference has already been made.

The use of *j* for *y* in the transcriptions seems unsuitable in a book written in English.

The editor, Professor Hilprecht, has added, here and there, some very interesting notes.

T. G. PINCHES.

Referring to the notice of Dr. Boissier's *Textes relatifs à la Divination assyro-babylonienne*, J.R.A.S. for April, pp. 409–412, the author writes to me that the clay model mentioned in the

final paragraph is not an ox's hoof. There is no doubt, however, as to the close resemblance of the conical side, with its clearly-cut division, to such an object. The inscription points to its being a liver—perhaps the cloven hoof-like appearance of the more rounded side is due to the desire on the part of the scribe to indicate that the liver intended was that of an ox, or some other animal having a similar hoof.—T. G. P.

CENTENARY MEMORIAL VOLUME. Extra Number of the
Bombay Branch of the R.A.S.

We congratulate the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on its valuable Centenary Memorial Volume, which has lately reached us. It is interesting from several points of view, for it shows the good work done by the Society in the past and its great activity now, while its present able management foretells that the future will uphold the best traditions of the past.

The volume contains, amongst others, contributions from the pens of such old and distinguished members as Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, Dr. Burgess, Mr. H. Cousens, and the Rev. G. P. Taylor.

Most of the papers have the main object in view of tracing the growth of Oriental studies from the foundation, in 1804, of the Bombay Literary Society, from which grew the present Bombay Branch of the R.A.S., and the part that the Bombay Branch has taken in arousing interest in these studies.

To the Society Indian epigraphy and archæology owed much, and it should be remembered that the interest now taken by the Government of India in these two branches is mainly due to the early labours of the Asiatic Societies.

The Journal of the Society has also done much to spread knowledge on Iranian subjects, as shown by the large place that section holds in the volume. Not the least interesting paper is the one by the Rev. R. Scott, the Honorary Secretary, dealing with the history of the Society, showing its gradual

growth through the inevitable difficulties attending such an enterprise to the great position it now holds as one of the most active Societies engaged in Oriental work.

We would echo the wish of the writer in the *Madras Mail* who, commenting on the volume under discussion, hoped that the Madras Branch might be moved thereby to emulate the excellent work done by the sister Society.

GESCHICHTE DER JAPANISCHEN LITTERATUR. By Professor K. FLORENZ. Vol. i. Published by C. F. Amelang's Verlag. (Leipzig, 1905.)

This is one of the most important additions to the "Litteraturen des Ostens" series, and is a great boon to general as well as special students of Japan. Dr. Florenz is a scholar particularly well qualified to undertake such a great task as a historical survey of Japanese literature, seeing that such an attempt necessitates a competent knowledge of Indian (Buddhistic) and Chinese (Confucian) literature as well as the old and new literature of Japan. Before he came to Tokyo, he had already shown himself a scholar of great brilliance both in Sanskrit and Chinese, and his subsequent study of Japanese, with the best materials and assistance that could be obtained, during almost two decades of his stay (up till now), gave him a position not easily attained by any other savants. The present work is a convincing proof, more than any of his preceding publications, of the profundity of his learning and of the skill and accuracy of his investigations over the vast field of Japanese literature, a greater part of which was still unexplored ground. That he is perfectly at home in Chinese authors as well as in Buddhist ideas can be seen from the fact that he is singularly free from those slips of the pen almost inherent to any foreign writers. This work will be very useful even to Japanese, and may well be set as a textbook in national colleges by the side of any Japanese works of the sort.

He divides the book in the following manner :—

- I. Die älteste Zeit. Bis 794 n. Chr.
 - (a) Die archaische Litteratur. Bis Mitte des 7. Jahrhunderts.
 - (b) Die vorklassische Litteratur (Manyō-Zeit).
- II. Das Mittelalter. Bis 1600.
 - (a) Das Zeitalter der Klassizität (Hei-an Periode, 764–1186).
 - (b) Die nachklassische Zeit und der Verfall der Litteratur (Kamakura- und Muromachi Periode).
- III. Die neuere Zeit. Bis 1868.
 - Renaissance und Blüte der Vorkslitteratur (Tokugawa Periode).
- IV. Die neueste Zeit. Seit 1868.
 - Das Zeitalter des europäischen Einfluss (Meiji Periode).

The present issue concerns only so far as II (a), the Hei-an period (till 1186), and comprises the questions with regard to the introduction of, first, Korean and, then, Chinese civilization—with them Buddhism and Confucianism—which gradually moulded the Japanese classical literature. If I were to represent more clearly what he treats of in this volume it will be as follows :—

Prose.

Archaic Period :

The Norito or Shinto Rituals.

Pre-Classical Period :

The Semmyō or Edicts.

The Kojiki or Old Chronicles.

The Fūdoki or Topographical Notes.

The Ujibumi or Family Records.

Classical Period :

- The Kajo or Introductory Remarks to Poems.
- The Monogatari or Stories, Romances.
- The Nikki or Diaries.
- The Sōshi or Sketchbooks.
- The Historical Monogatari and Kagami or Historical Romances.

Poetry.

Pre-Classical Period :

- The Manyō-shū or the Collection of Old Poems.

Classical Period :

- The Kokinshū or the Collection of Classical Lyrics.
- | | | |
|----------------|---|----------------|
| The Kagura-uta | } | Popular Songs. |
| The Saibara | | |
| The Imayō-uta | | |

So far about the contents of the book. Prof. Winternitz, my teacher and friend, raised an interesting question in reviewing our book in the "Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien," Bd. xxxv, 1905. In view of so much Indian influence in Japanese literature, is it possible, he asks, to assume that the 'kenyōgen' or 'double meaning' of Japanese poetry (p. 27) may in any way be connected with that form of alamkāra of the Indian kāvya which is exactly in the same method? Our learned author says nothing about it. So far as I am able to anticipate it, Dr. Florenz's answer will be in the negative, namely, this coincidence is purely accidental. I for myself, too, cannot at present prove any connection on this point. But I should like to emphasize the fact that the influence of India, material or intellectual, must have been much greater in an earlier period than we at present consider to have been the case. There were, for instance, several Indians whom the Kuroshiwo current, washing almost the whole southern coast, brought to the Japanese shore. We hear of the Black and

Red Devils who taught magic or charms in Japan, the naked ascetic who lived in a grotto of warm spring in Kii, the south-gazing ascetic of Fushimi, the young barefooted priest who taught a Tantric magic in Yechizen, and the like, though all of these may not invariably have been Indians. That there was a communication or trade between India and China from about 400 A.D. down to 800 A.D. is a proven fact. Not to speak of any doubtful records, we read in the Chinese and Japanese books, Buddhist or otherwise, of Indian merchant ships appearing in the China Sea; we know definitely that Fahien (399-415 A.D.) returned to China *viâ* Java by an Indian boat which drifted, owing to a monsoon, right up to Shantung, and further in the Tang dynasty an eye-witness tells us that there were in 750 A.D. many Brahman ships in the Canton River beside other foreign vessels, Persian, Malay, etc. And it cannot be denied that several Indians came to Japan, especially in view of so many Indians finding their way to China by sea. To confine myself more strictly to our question, I can adduce a fact in Japanese history. In 736 A.D., in the Nara period, which is our author's 'Blütezeit' of Japanese poetry, there came a Brahman, Bodhisena Bhāradvāja by name, who is generally known as the 'Brahman Bishop,' in company with a priest from Champā (Cochin-China) named Fo-chê (Buttetsu).

The Brahman, shipwrecked, landed at Champā, met the latter and sailed together further northward. Both arrived in Osaka, came to Nara, where they seem to have met another Indian ascetic, recognizing each other by a chorus of music they were playing, and were well received by the then ruling Emperor. The Brahman remained in Nara about twenty-four years (736-760), teaching Sanskrit and preaching the Buddhist doctrine taught in the Gaṇḍa-vyūha, while the Champā priest was instructing his Japanese followers in a music of Lin-yi (Champā), which is still partly preserved in Japan.

In the Manyō-shū (the Nara Collection of Old Poems) we have, curiously enough, a poem alluding presumably

(but, to me, undoubtedly) to this Brahman, Bodhisena. It runs:—

Baramon no tsukureru ota ni hamu karasu manabuta
harete hataboko ni ori.

“Lo! that crow that picked up (the rice of) the field
cultivated by the Brahman is now seen with swollen
eyelids on the banner-stick (Dhvaja-yaṣṭi).”

What this poem means remains at present doubtful, for no scholiasts give any explanation. But it seems to me to convey the idea that even a crow that steals rice-grains of the Brahman is seen repenting over his deed under the influence of the holy teaching. Be it what it may, the allusion to the Brahman cannot be purely imaginary, seeing that the Brahman was actually living on the very spot, receiving from the Court a special allotment of a rice-field in Nara. His monastery and tomb-stone with a written eulogy still exist in Nara. Just at this time a Japanese alphabet or syllabary is said to have been invented. The fifty syllables, Gojūin, are arranged by a hand evidently with a practical knowledge of Sanskrit method. It goes on—*a i u e o, ka ki ku ke ko, sa si su se so*, and so on. The invention of this syllabary is attributed, though without much ground, to Kibi no Makibi (not Mabi), who was an envoy to China and afterwards a minister at home. The invention of the alphabet is one thing and the arrangement of it is another. The arrangement that reflects a practical knowledge of Sanskrit will naturally be referred, in ordinary cases, to the Indian on the spot. But unfortunately everything Indian was eclipsed by the overwhelming influence of Chinese culture which was just being taken up. Even the existence of the Brahman was soon forgotten, and everything became so obscure that we cannot trace it all with certainty. Thus several points in Japanese literature—in form as well as in spirit—may have been derived from Sanskrit, such as the ‘kenyōgen’ (a double meaning; p. 27), the ‘kaeshi’ (a resumé in poems like a gāthā; p. 76), and those animal

and Nāga fables that influenced the literature through Buddhism. These doubtful points, I hope, will be cleared up in time as historical research is being so much encouraged on all sides. Dr. Florenz himself may have something more to say on the question in the coming volume, which treats of the most interesting periods of Japanese history—the Kamakura, conspicuous for religious activity, then the Tokugawa, which coincides with the renaissance of Japanese literature, and the new Meiji era of European influence. We all hope that the author may be as successful in the second part as he has been in the first.

J. TAKAKUSU.

OBITUARY NOTICES.

SIR WILLIAM MUIR.

THE death, on the 11th July last, of Sir William Muir, at the ripe age of 86, has brought to an end a life of remarkable activity and achievement in a number of different fields of effort. Of his long and distinguished career as an administrator in India, which lasted from 1837 to 1876, this is not the place to speak: it has already been dealt with in some detail in the notice which appeared in *The Times* of July 12. On his return to England at the end of 1876 he was nominated a member of the Council of India, and held that office till 1885, when he resigned it on his appointment as Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Edinburgh. He continued to occupy the latter post till January 1903, when he retired after no less than two-thirds of a century spent in the public service.

Sir William Muir became a member of our Society in 1877. In May 1884 he was elected President, and held that office until the following year, when he was compelled to relinquish it on taking up his residence in Edinburgh. He was Vice-President in 1885-86, and again from 1894 to 1897.

As a scholar, his fame rests securely on his great work *The Life of Mahomet*, the first two volumes of which were published in 1858, and the last two in 1861. The preface is dated Agra, January 2, 1857, on the eve of the Indian Mutiny; the work had been preceded by a long preparatory study, the results of which were communicated in a series

of articles, commencing in 1845, to the *Calcutta Review*. Some of these were republished many years later in a volume entitled *The Mohammedan Controversy, and other Indian articles* (1897). In 1876 Sir William prepared, for more popular use, an abridged edition of the *Life* in one volume. This omitted the greater portion of the notes, and the introductory chapters on the pre-Islamic history of Arabia, as well as the summaries of the *sūrah*s of the *Qur'ān*, but included the whole of the *Life* proper, and the chapter on the sources of information. A revised edition, with such changes as were required by the progress of research, appeared in 1894.

Ever since its original publication Sir William Muir's *Life* has held the field as the standard presentment, in English, of the career of the Prophet of Islam. While availing himself of the labours of his predecessors, Dr. Gustav Weil, Dr. Sprenger, and M. Caussin de Perceval, the author has throughout founded his work on the original authorities, which at the time when he wrote had for the most part not yet been printed. The manuscripts which he used, and which are now deposited in the India Office Library, consisted of an abridgement of Ibn Hishām's *Sīrat ar-Rasūl*, the autograph of the compiler, dating from 707 of the Hijrah; the volume of Ṭabarī's *Annals* dealing with the whole of the Prophet's life except the last five years; and, most important of all, the portion of the *Ṭabakāt* of Ibn Sa'd, called the Secretary of Wākidi, giving the traditions relating to Muḥammad's career. For the Medinah period he was able to use in print Von Kremer's edition in the *Bibliotheca Indica* of the *Maghāzī* of Wākidi. Of the *Qur'ān* and its commentaries, which must ever remain the groundwork of any theory of Muḥammad's development, Sir W. Muir had a thorough knowledge; and he had also access to the great collections of traditions made by Bukhārī and Tirmidhī. This branch of Arabic learning is perhaps that most cultivated by Indian scholars, and in his study of the *Ḥadīth* he had the assistance of the most erudite men to be found in the country.

The introductory chapter on the sources of the biography states, with a skill and clearness which have never been surpassed, the criteria which must be applied in utilising, for an account of the Prophet's career, the information furnished by the *Kur'ān* and the supplementary data of tradition. The author's intimate knowledge and experience of Oriental character enabled him to criticise and interpret these data with a unique authority; and the chapter will always be read with profit by those who approach the task of constructing a rational account of the origins of the Faith of Islam. Of the biography itself, among other excellences, may be mentioned the clear and vivid style, the systematic and well-arranged presentment of facts, and the sobriety of judgment in the estimate of probabilities. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the work is marked with a polemic character which must necessarily render it in some degree antipathetic to those who profess the religion of Muḥammad. It began in a controversy between Islam and Christianity, and the echoes of that controversy make themselves heard from time to time as the narrative proceeds. Yet it can scarcely be doubted that the author always strove to be just and fair: anyone who reads the 37th chapter, dealing with the character of the Prophet, must be convinced of this; and it is sufficient evidence of his good faith and candour that, in spite of the strong position which he maintained on the side of his own creed in the standing controversy, he always retained the confidence of the Muhammadans of Upper India, and spoke to them with unquestioned authority on matters in which their religion was concerned.

After his return to Europe Muir continued to occupy himself with Islamic history, and in 1883 produced his second contribution to the subject in *The Annals of the Early Caliphate*. This work is chiefly based upon the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr, the edition of Ṭabarī which had been commenced at Leiden in 1879 not having progressed sufficiently to afford independent material. Balādhurī was also utilised, and Dr. Weil's *Geschichte der Chalifen* again afforded an

outline which was filled in by Muir from the original sources. In 1891 the book, which had dealt in detail only with the history of the first four Caliphs, was expanded in a second edition into *The Caliphate: its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, and carried down to the extinction of the Fatimides in Egypt. A third edition of the work appeared in 1898, and it has evidently been appreciated by the reading public as a vivid and masterly summary of the history of the Islamic Empire during the centuries of its greatest development. It is not, however, anything more than a summary. The facts are related as set forth by others, and the rapid course of the narrative precluded discussion of the data contained in the original authorities. Indeed, until Wellhausen's work, in his *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Part vi, and *Das Arabische Reich*, appeared within the last decade, no one had applied the tests of strict criticism to the traditional material; and the picturesque romances of Saif, son of 'Umar, the Tamīnite, relating to the Early Conquests, were generally accepted as history.

In 1896 Muir gave to the world his last historical work on Islam in his *History of the Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt*. This is mainly founded on the last two volumes of Weil's *Geschichte der Chalifen*; like the *Caliphate*, it is marked by clear and picturesque arrangement of materials, and in its rapid outlines is well calculated to give an accurate idea of one of the most extraordinary experiments in government which have ever been tried in human history.

Besides these standard works, Sir W. Muir made a great number of contributions, as a champion of Christianity, to the Muhammadan controversy. Of these it is not necessary to say much. The little book on *The Coran: its Composition and Teaching, and its Testimony to the Holy Scriptures*, published by the S.P.C.K. in 1878 in its series relating to non-Christian religions, deserves mention. It was a re-arrangement and expansion of an early essay printed so far back as 1855, and re-edited in 1860. Another interesting production was his work on the *Apology of al-Kindy* (1882: 2nd edition 1887), consisting of an introductory essay, which

originally appeared in the Journal of our Society, and a summary of the *Apology*, the original Arabic text of which was printed in 1880 by the Rev. A. Tien for the Turkish Mission Aid Society.

Besides the essay on al-Kindī's *Apology*, Sir W. Muir contributed to our Journal in 1879 an interesting paper on "Ancient Arabic Poetry: its genuineness and authenticity."

In 1903 the great value, importance, and volume of the work done by Sir William Muir in furtherance of the study of Islamic history and literature were recognised by the award to him of the Society's Triennial Jubilee Gold Medal, the previous recipients of which had been the late Professor Cowell (1897) and the late Dr. E. W. West (1900). Sir William had previously received the honorary degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford and that of LL.D. from the Universities of Cambridge, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, while the University of Bologna had made him a Doctor of Philosophy.

C. J. LYALL.

WE regret to announce the death of two of the Honorary Members of the Society, M. Jules Oppert and the Rev. Dr. Edkins. In the January Journal a full account of their life and work will appear.

NOTE.—*The Index for 1905 will appear with the January number for 1906.*

[REDACTED]

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ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

Presented by the Government of India.

Madras District Gazetteers. Bellary, vols. i–ii, 1904 ;
North Arcot, vol. ii, 1904.

Rajputana District Gazetteers. Ajmere ; Merwara.
Vols. i A and i B, 1904.

Presented by the University of St. Joseph at Beyrouth.

Cheikho (Père L.). La Version Arabe de Kalilah et
Dimnah d'après le plus ancien manuscrit arabe daté.
8vo. Beyrouth, 1905.

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CONTENTS.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

	PAGE
XXII.—Nagpur Museum Buddhist Inscription of Bhavadēva Ranakēsarīn. By Professor F. KIELHORN, C.I.E. . .	617
XXIII.—Note on a Jain Inscription at Mathurā. By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (Retd.), Ph.D., C.I.E.	635
XXIV.—The Pahlavi Texts of Yasna XIV, XV, XVI, XX, XXI, for the first time critically translated. By Professor LAWRENCE MILLS	657
XXV.—Notes on Three Buddhist Inscriptions. By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (Retd.), Ph.D., C.I.E.	679
XXVI.—Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān, by Mīrzā Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb of Qazwīn. Translated by E. G. BROWNE	693
XXVII.—The Haydarābād Codex of the Bābar-nāma or Wāqī'āt-i-bābarī of Zāhīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Bābar, Barlās Turk. By ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE	741
XXVIII.—Indices to the Dīwān of Abū Tammām. By D. S. MARGOLIOUTH	763
XXIX.—Notes on Indian Coins and Seals. Part VI. By E. J. RAPSON	783
XXX.—Some Case-Tablets from Tel-loh. By THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES	815

CONTENTS.

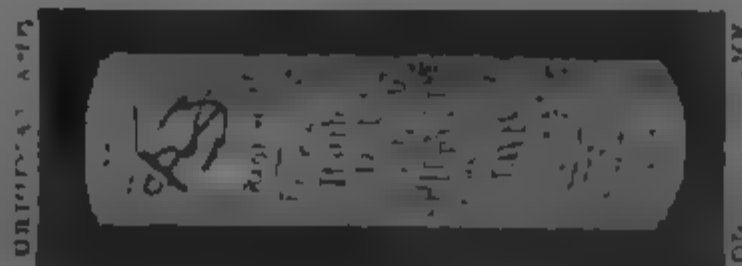
	PAGE
MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS.	
Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra. By SATIS CHANDRA VIDYĀBHŪṢAṆA, M.A.	831
Mo-la-p'o. By R. BURN, I.C.S.	837
"Dvipatāmra-dēśa." By DONALD FERGUSON	838
The Date of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍī. By L. D. BARNETT	841
Omar Khayyam's Qita'. By H. BEVERIDGE	842
"The Musnud of Murshidabad (1704-1904)"	842
Testimonial to Professor Rhys Davids	843
 NOTICES OF BOOKS.	
GASTON MIGEON. Chefs d'œuvre d'Art Japonais. Re- viewed by LAURENCE BINYON	845
G. LE STRANGE. The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate. By H. F. A.	850
D. EDUARDO SAAVEDRA. Homenaje a D. Francisco Codera en su jubilacion del profesorado. By H. HIRSCHFELD	851
E. J. W. GIBB (the late). Ed. by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.B. A History of Ottoman Poetry: Vols. II, III, and IV. By R. A. N.	856
FRITZ HOMMEL. Grundriss der Geographie und Ge- schichte des Alten Orients. By T. G. PINCHES	859
FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN. Les Cylindres de Goudéa. By T. G. PINCHES	862
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Professor K. FLORENZ. Geschichte der Japanischen Litteratur. Vol. I. By J. TAKAKUSU	869
 OBITUARY NOTICES.	
Sir William Muir. By C. J. LYALL	875
 ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY	 881

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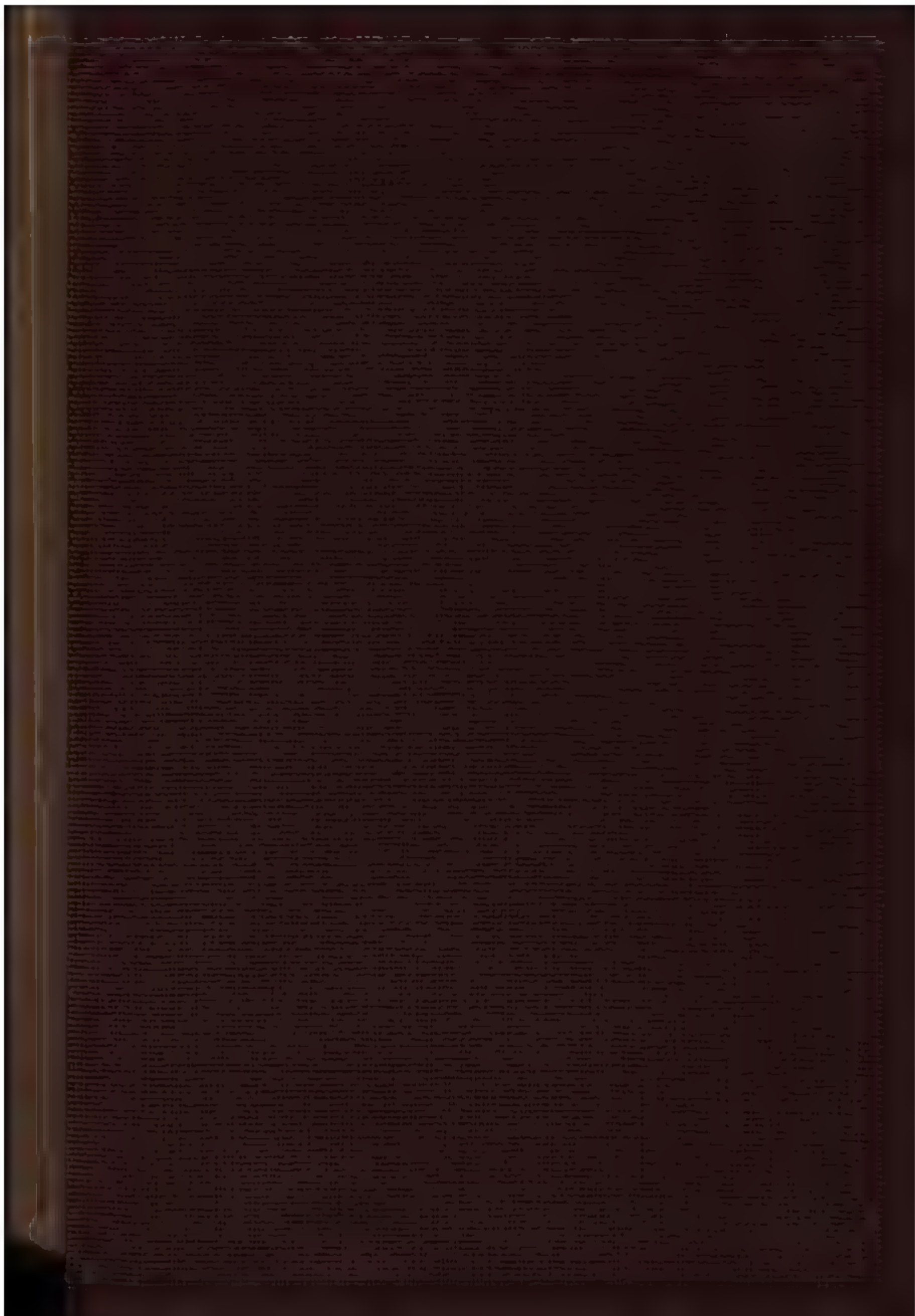
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Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra. By SATIS CHANDRA VIDYĀBHŪṢAṆA, M.A.	831
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The Date of Bhāmaha and Dandī. By L. D. BARNETT	841
Omar Khayyam's Qita'. By H. BEVERIDGE	842
"The Musnud of Murshidabad (1704-1904)."	842
Testimonial to Professor Rhys Davids	843

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E. J. W. GIBB (the late). Ed. by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.B. A History of Ottoman Poetry: Vols. II, III. and IV. By R. A. N.	856
FRITZ HOMMEL. Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des Alten Orients. By T. G. PINCHES	859
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HERMANN RANKE. Ph.D. Early Babylonian Personal Names from the Published Tablets of the so-called Hammurabi Dynasty. By T. G. PINCHES	86
Centenary Memorial Volume: Extra Number of the Bombay Branch of the R.A.S.	
Professor K. FLORENZ. Geschichte der Japanischen Litteratur. Vol. I. By J. TAKAKURA	

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